Understanding Migration
Curriculum Resources for the Classroom
Revised Edition
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# Understanding Migration

## Curriculum Resources for the Classroom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standards Alignment</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1: An Introduction to Migration</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web Resources on Migration</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2: Introductory Activities</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Activity: Finding migration trends in your community</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Activity: Using film to discuss migration and cultural integration</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 3: Using T-Charts and Writing Prompts to Explore Migration</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Activity: Rural–Urban Migration in Brazil</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Activity: The Partition of India</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Activity: Israel &amp; The Palestinians: The “Right of Return”</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Activity: Migration from Nicaragua during the Sandinista-Contra Years</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Activity: Migration from the Former Soviet Republics to Russia</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 4: Using an Advocate/Decision-Making Activity to Discuss Migration</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Activity: Migration Advocate/Decision-Making Activity</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essay Grading Rubric</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should rural residents move to Brazil’s megacities when faced with dwindling opportunities in the countryside?</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web Resources on Brazil and Urbanization</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should the Egyptian government facilitate the emigration of its own citizens?</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web Resources on Egypt and the “Brain Drain” Phenomena</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should people in India move from rural areas to the city to find work?</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should Hindus migrate from Lahore and resettle in India after Partition?</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web Resources on the Partition of India</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should Palestinian Arabs be allowed the “right of return” to Israel?</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web Resources on the Israel/Palestinian Peace Process and the “Right of Return”</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should Nicaraguans have emigrated to other countries during the turbulent years of the Sandinista-Contra upheaval?</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web Resources on Nicaragua and the Sandinista Years</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should Russia continue to allow migration from the post-Soviet “successor states,” regardless of the migrants’ ethnicity?</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web Resources on Russian Migration</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix: Glossary of Terms</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About Hemispheres</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction
Why do people move? Simple as it may seem, this question raises complex questions about the causes of individual versus large-scale migration as well as the global effects of migration. This curriculum unit was conceived in response to numerous requests from educators concerning the discussion of issues related to human migration in the social studies classroom. Our goal was to present this fluid and nebulous concept in an easy-to-follow manner, with clear lesson objectives and outcomes.

Given our own strength as content providers for world studies courses (in Texas, this consists of the 6th grade Contemporary World Cultures course, 9th grade World Geography course, and 10th grade World History course, in addition to AP-level courses and other electives), we chose to address these essential questions by using a case-study approach looking at the phenomenon of migration in a global context.

The unit is aligned to middle and high school standards (Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills, as well as National Geography Standards) and so the activities have been designed for Grades 6–12, although some suggestions for use at lower levels are included below.

In 2011, following the revision of the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS—the state-mandated educational standards) for social studies, we created the revised edition of this unit. It incorporates feedback from field testers and educators who have offered constructive comments on the unit since its first publication. We hope that this unit, which has been used in classrooms nationwide, will be even more useful in this revised edition.

We welcome any feedback or comments you may have.

How to use this unit effectively in the classroom
The unit allows maximum flexibility on the part of the classroom teacher: modular in design, any section (or case study within a section) can be used individually or in combination with other sections. Based on previous coverage of the topic and the academic level of your students, you may incorporate as many or as few activities as support your learning goals. We encourage you to familiarize yourself with the entire unit so as to select the activities/topics that best suit your needs.

Section Overview
Section 1
A brief PowerPoint introduction to migration theory incorporates key vocabulary (e.g., push-pull factors) and real world examples. The original document can be downloaded from the Hemispheres website at: http://www.utexas.edu/cola/orgs/hemispheres/.

Section 2: Introductory Activities
Once students have a basic understanding of the forces that affect migration, we offer two classroom activities to generate a general discussion. Although these activities are intended to be used before Sections 3 or 4, they can also be used individually (or not at all). They should be implemented insofar as they facilitate learning goals and enrich your students’ understanding of migration. Student Activity 1 examines migration trends in your community through a series of interviews. This activity can easily be modified for use at the elementary level, by either interviewing one person as a class or using a story or video; you can discuss migration stories without conducting the spectrum graph activity. Student Activity 2 examines film, asking students to think critically about the film and plot elements relating to migration. Since most films dealing with this topic are for more mature audiences, we suggest using this activity at the high school level. There are some films, such as the animated picture An American Tail, that could be used with younger audiences.
Section 3: Using T-Charts and Writing Prompts to Explore Migration
Intended for a middle school audience, the T-chart case studies may also be used with older students in place of
the advocate/decision-making activity. The five topics, which are simplified versions of real world issues from
Section 4, include background information for the teacher, short readings for students, and four variations of an
analysis activity.

For a high school audience, a writing prompt is provided in the instructions as Variation 4 to use the documents
in the T-chart case studies to write a DBQ essay. A grading rubric for the essay can be found on page 68.

Section 4: Using an Advocate/Decision-Making Activity to Discuss Migration
This “controlled debate” activity requires students to argue one side of a real migration issue. Two to three pages
of essential reading are included for each topic; supplemental materials are provided if time allows or if you feel
that the issue needs additional coverage. We have made a conscious effort to use as many primary document
sources as possible in order to help build critical reading and interpretation skills; reading levels vary according
to the documents selected.

A writing prompt is provided in the instructions (p. 65) to use the documents provided in each case study to write a
persuasive DBQ essay. The essay exercise can be done as an assessment piece for the Advocate/Decision-Making
Activity. A grading rubric for the essay can be found on page 68.

Appendix: Glossary of Terms
We have provided a list of terms defined in footnotes in the glossary for handy reference.

Additional Resources
Each case study in Section 4 also includes a list of Web and print resources for learning more about the topic
it covers. ABC-CLIO, History Alive!, and other content providers may have additional materials that will help
facilitate the coverage of migration in your classroom.

We hope you find this unit useful and that you feel free to select and modify activities as they fit your classroom
needs.
Standards Alignment

This curriculum unit addresses the following standards in the Texas Essential Knowledge & Skills (TEKS), 2010 revision:

113.18 Social Studies, Grade 6

GEOGRAPHY
4) The student understands the factors that influence the locations and characteristics of locations of various contemporary societies on maps and globes and uses latitude and longitude to determine absolute locations.
   The student is expected to:
   B) identify and explain the geographic factors responsible for patterns of population in places and regions;
   C) explain ways in which human migration influences the character of places and regions.

ECONOMICS
8) The student understands the factors of production in a society’s economy.
   The student is expected to:
   A) describe ways in which the factors of production (natural resources, labor, capital, and entrepreneurs) influence the economies of various contemporary societies;
   B) identify problems and issues that may arise when one or more of the factors of production is in relatively short supply; and
   C) explain the impact of relative scarcity of resources on international trade and economic interdependence among and within societies.

HISTORY
1) The student understands that historical events influence contemporary events.
   The student is expected to:
   A) trace characteristics of various contemporary societies in regions that resulted from historical events or factors such as invasion, conquests, colonization, immigration, and trade; and
   B) analyze the historical background of various contemporary societies to evaluate relationships between past conflicts and current conditions.

SOCIAL STUDIES SKILLS
21) The student applies critical-thinking skills to organize and use information acquired through established research methodologies from a variety of valid sources, including electronic technology.
   The student is expected to:
   A) differentiate between, locate, and use valid primary and secondary sources such as computer software; interviews; biographies; oral, print, and visual material; and artifacts to acquire information about various world cultures;
   B) analyze information by sequencing, categorizing, identifying cause-and-effect relationships, comparing, contrasting, finding the main idea, summarizing, making generalizations and predictions, and drawing inferences and conclusions;
   C) organize and interpret information from outlines, reports, databases, and visuals, including graphs, charts, timelines, and maps;
   D) identify different points of view about an issue or current topic;
   E) identify the elements of frame of reference that influenced participants in an event.
113.33 World History Studies

CULTURE
18) The student understands the ways in which cultures change and maintain continuity.
   The student is expected to:
   A) analyze cultural changes in specific regions caused by migration, war, trade, innovations, and diffusion.

GEOGRAPHY
7) The student understands the growth, distribution, movement, and characteristics of world population.
   The student is expected to:
   B) explain the political, economic, social, and environmental factors that contribute to human migration such as how national and international migrations are shaped by push–and–pull factors and how physical geography affects the routes, flows, and destinations of migration.

HISTORY
13) The student understands the impact of major events associated with the Cold War and independence movements.
   The student is expected to:
   F) explain how Arab rejection of the State of Israel has led to ongoing conflict.

SOCIAL STUDIES SKILLS
31) The student uses problem-solving and decision-making skills, working independently and with others, in a variety of settings.
   The student is expected to:
   A) use a problem-solving process to identify a problem, gather information, list and consider options, consider advantages and disadvantages, choose and implement a solution, and evaluate the effectiveness of the solution; and
   B) use a decision-making process to identify a situation that requires a decision, gather information, identify options, predict consequences, and take action to implement a decision.

113.34 World Geography Studies

HISTORY
1) The student understands how geography and processes of spatial exchange (diffusion) influenced events in the past and helped to shape the present.
   The student is expected to:
   A) analyze the effects of physical and human geographic patterns and processes on the past and describe their impact on the present, including significant physical features and environmental conditions that influenced migration patterns and shaped the distribution of culture groups today.

GEOGRAPHY
7) The student understands the growth, distribution, movement, and characteristics of world population.
   The student is expected to:
   B) explain the political, economic, social, and environmental factors that contribute to human migration such as how national and international migrations are shaped by push–and–pull factors and how physical geography affects the routes, flows, and destinations of migration.

8) The student understands how people, places, and environments are connected and interdependent.
   The student is expected to:
   A) compare ways that humans depend on, adapt to, and modify the physical environment, including the influences of culture and technology;
B) describe the interaction between humans and the physical environment and analyze the consequences of extreme weather and other natural disasters such as El Niño, floods, tsunamis, and volcanoes; and
C) evaluate the economic and political relationships between settlements and the environment, including sustainable development and renewable/non-renewable resources.

GOVERNMENT
14) The student understands the processes that influence political divisions, relationships, and policies.
   The student is expected to:
   C) analyze the human and physical factors that influence the power to control territory and resources, create conflict/war, and impact international political relations of sovereign nations such as China, the United States, Japan, and Russia and organized nation groups such as the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU).

CITIZENSHIP
15) Citizenship. The student understands how different points of view influence the development of public policies and decision-making processes on local, state, national, and international levels.
   The student is expected to:
   A) identify and give examples of different points of view that influence the development of public policies and decision-making processes on local, state, national, and international levels; and
   B) explain how citizenship practices, public policies, and decision making may be influenced by cultural beliefs, including nationalism and patriotism.

SOCIAL STUDIES SKILLS
31) The student uses problem-solving and decision-making skills, working independently and with others, in a variety of settings.
   The student is expected to:
   A) use a problem-solving process to identify a problem, gather information, list and consider options, consider advantages and disadvantages, choose and implement a solution, and evaluate the effectiveness of the solution; and
   B) use a decision-making process to identify a situation that requires a decision, gather information, identify options, predict consequences, and take action to implement a decision.

THIS UNIT ALSO ADDRESSES THE FOLLOWING NATIONAL GEOGRAPHY STANDARDS:

Standard 9, Human Systems: The characteristics, distribution, and migration of human populations on Earth’s surface.

GRADES 5–8
By the end of the eighth grade, the student knows and understands:
3. the types and historical patterns of human migration and;
4. the effects of migration on the characteristics of places.

GRADES 9–12
By the end of the twelfth grade, the student knows and understands:
1. trends in world population numbers and patterns and;
2. the impact of human migration on physical and human systems.
Section 1: An Introduction to Migration
Migration is Global

- In 2005, 191 million people were counted as living outside the country of their birth
- The number of migrants worldwide has doubled since World War II
- If they lived in the same place, international migrants would form the 5th most populous country in the world
This is a table showing which countries have the most migrants (defined as people, currently alive, who live in one country but were born in another).

Spend a few minutes on this slide. Are your students surprised by any of the countries on this list? If so, why?

When you’ve gone through this presentation you might want to come back to this slide. Given what they’ve learned about migration, does this explain why some of these countries are on this list?
Push and Pull Factors

**Push Factors**: Reasons why people want to migrate from a place (*factors that push them away*).

**Essential question**: *what makes someone want to leave the place they are living?*
Push and Pull Factors

Pull Factors: Reasons why people want to migrate to a place (*factors that pull them in*).

Essential question: *what makes someone want to move to a specific place?*
Why Do People Migrate?

1. Economic Forces
2. Political Forces
3. Social Forces
4. Environmental Forces

Many times, more than one of these factors is involved.
Migration in search of better economic conditions, employment, etc.
Examples:
• urbanization (moving to the cities because of poor economic conditions in rural areas);
• migration of legal and illegal immigrants to the United States from poorer countries in search of employment.

Migration to escape overpopulation and its effects
Examples:
• migration to the suburbs in order to secure better living conditions—especially better school districts, less crowded living conditions, “This city is no place to raise a child,” etc.

Migration to escape poor climate conditions such as drought, el Niño, etc.
Examples:
• Farmers who “gave up” during the midwest drought of 2010-2011;
• the Ethiopian refugee crisis during the famine in the early 1980s;
• Bangladeshis seeking work elsewhere to avoid yearly flooding caused by the destruction of so much of the land and national infrastructure.

Migration to escape natural disasters
Examples:
• The Haiti earthquake and subsequent refugee crisis;
• Hurricanes Katrina and Rita;
• the “tent cities” erected in Turkey after the 1999 earthquake—some of them are still there, and in other cases the residents have moved away to live with relatives and haven’t come back;
• Hurricane Mitch (1998) destroyed nearly 70% of Honduras’s important crops and displaced nearly one-quarter of its population.
Migration to escape war, invasion, military takeover, etc.
Examples: Every time there is a war, there is a refugee crisis.
• Refugees from Libya in Tunisia and Egypt (and elsewhere); refugees from Iraq living in Jordan;
• Exiles from Cuba in Castro years;
• Tamils from Sri Lanka during the civil war;
• and people on all sides who gave up and left during the Israeli/Palestinian crisis.

Migration to escape persecution on ethnic, political, religious, or other grounds
Examples:
• South American activists and intellectuals from Argentina, Brazil, Chile who self-exiled during their countries’ oppressive dictatorships;
• Tibetans to India after Chinese takeover;
• Hutus and Tutsis fleeing genocide in Rwanda and Burundi.

Migration to escape prosecution for crimes committed:
Examples: although this tends to be the reason for few migrations, they are often well-publicized examples.
• Many Nazi war criminals fled to South America after World War II;
• British train robber Ronnie Biggs evaded the law for 35 years by escaping to Brazil, where he became quite the celebrity when he opened his home to tourists;
• The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, a country unrecognized by the United Nations or any country except Turkey, has become a haven for money launderers and drug smugglers who live in villas on the Mediterranean island because Northern Cyprus has no extradition treaties and they can live a comfortable life without fear of prosecution.
Migration as punishment for crimes committed
Examples:
• When the colony of Georgia was established by the British, it was a penal colony. After U.S. independence from Britain, the British established the new colony at New South Wales, Australia as a replacement. The Australians are arguably much more proud of this heritage than the Georgians.

Migration as a result of enslavement
Example:
• Many in the U.S. (and throughout the Western Hemisphere) can trace their roots back to the Atlantic slave trade from Africa.

Forced migration, with or without political agreement
Examples of forced migration without political agreement include:
• The forced migration of European Jewish populations during the holocaust;
• The “Trail of Tears” relocation of Native Americans to Oklahoma;
• The resettlement of Japanese Americans to internment camps during World War II.

Forced migration with political agreement: this indicates situations where governments agree on the transfers of their respective populations—although usually without the consent of the people who are affected by the move.
• After the U.S.-Mexican War, 1848, when Mexico signed over much of its territory to the U.S., Mexicans had to leave their homes in order to remain Mexican nationals, although they could remain on their land and become U.S. citizens. In some cases, families split in order to retain both land and citizenship.
• The dismantlement of Israeli settlements in Sinai as part of the Camp David Accords in the early 1980s uprooted many communities who were resettled within Israel proper, many of whom had been living in Sinai since they immigrated to Israel. This happened again when Israel withdrew from the Gaza Strip in 2005.
Migration to spread a religion
Examples:
• Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam all began at a specific point in time at one specific geographic location and spread rapidly from there—in the case of both Buddhism and Christianity, these religions are now a minority at their geographic point of origin;
• Missionary movements, such as the Jesuits throughout the Americas to convert indigenous peoples in 16th & 17th centuries.

Migration to reunite with family, friends, etc. who have previously migrated
This is also called “chain” migration.

Migration to spread a political philosophy, such as Marxism, democracy, etc.
Examples:
• Argentine Che Guevara moved to help foment revolution in Cuba and Bolivia;
• Lenin emigrated from Switzerland to Russia during World War I to galvanize the Bolshevik revolution;
• The Ayatollah Khomeini emigrated from Iraq to France in 1978, where he was able to use French mass media to help spread his call for Islamic revolution in Iran.

Migration to find personal freedom, to live a certain lifestyle, or to hold certain beliefs, not necessarily as the result of persecution
Examples:
• The Pilgrims—no one forced them to leave England or Holland, but they felt that emigrating to the New World would give them more freedom;
• “Ghettoizations” such as the migration of African Americans to urban centers in the north after the Civil War, etc;
• The migration of gays to San Francisco and New York in the post-Stonewall era.
Students may notice that natural disasters is listed twice: why not? Disasters can ruin the economy as well as the environment.

Excessive or prolonged drought in an agricultural area can be devastating.

Climate change here does not necessarily refer to the current climate change (avoid arguments/discussion about whether climate change is man-made): island nations in the Indian Ocean (such as the Maldives, whose highest elevation is six inches above sea level) and the Pacific Ocean are concerned about the possibility of rising sea levels.

Historically, the rise of the river civilizations (Nile, Tigris/Euphrates, Indus) is linked to the end of the last Ice Age, when the deserts became drier and hotter, forcing once nomadic civilizations to settle in a more limited area where they found that being organized on a social level (i.e., government) made for more efficient use of space and resources.
What are the effects of migration?

1. Effects on the immigrants
2. Effects on the host country
3. Effects on the home country
4. Multi-national issues
An Introduction to Migration

Issues of identity
Post 9/11 this has been a huge issue for Arab-American and Muslim-American immigrants (and even second- and third-generations)—where their loyalties lie? Which side do they support?
In addition, the past twenty-five years have seen the “hyphenization” of Americans—we are now “Mexican-American,” “Jewish-American,” “Italian-American,” etc.

Issues of adaptation and assimilation
This can be traced over generations as ancestral languages are lost and replaced by the language of the new country. One interesting twist on this is the “Spanglish” phenomenon.

Differing cultural values between generations
Anyone who has seen films like Bend it like Beckham or My Big Fat Greek Wedding or Real Women Have Curves will be familiar with the stereotype of the young generations, born abroad, struggling against the “restrictive” values of the immigrant generation that seem archaic and “old fashioned.”
The most common complaints about immigration are that 1) immigrants take jobs away from the local population; 2) they drive down wages; 3) and they are a burden on the country’s social welfare system.

**Economic impact**

The loss of jobs or perceived loss of jobs—studies during one of the recent economic recessions indicate that although Americans are losing jobs, and many of them blame immigrants for “taking our jobs away from us,” immigrants who find employment are rarely taking jobs of the same type or class as the jobs that are being lost.

Despite this lack of a correlation between the loss of jobs and the hiring of immigrants, there is still a popular perception that one of the main factors in rising unemployment rates is that immigrants are willing to work for less and are therefore being hired en masse to replace laid-off workers.

Compare this with the situation in post-World War II Scandinavia, where immigration was encouraged because the population was experiencing negative growth, and migrants were desperately needed to keep the economy working.

**Welfare issues**

Both real and perceived. The popular perception is that the vast majority of immigrants are on welfare—and that this is one of their primary motives in choosing to come to the United States. A 2005 study, however, found that although immigrants make up 10.4% of the population, they account for only 7.9% of the country’s health care expenditures and only 8% of the government’s health care funds.

**Social attitudes**

Racism; Islamophobia; ghettoization.

*One interesting note: although this slide easily applies to the United States, the case study that laid out the framework for it was looking at the status of immigrants in Germany and Sweden. These issues are not limited to the United States by any means.*
Remittances
Money made by nationals working abroad and sent to relatives in the home country.
• Mexico receives $14 billion per year in remittances;
• Egypt receives $1 billion.

Loss of revenue
Income earned abroad is not subject to tax by the home country, and is usually not cycled back into the home country economy, especially in nations where there is little trust in the banking system.
Top 20 Remittance-Receiving Countries
(by $ amount)

Top 20 Remittance-Receiving Countries (by % of GDP)

Families left behind
In the Indian state of Kerala, it has become routine for men to marry young, start a family and then go to the Persian Gulf to work, leaving the wife and children behind for 10 years. Society in this part of India is male-dominated, and it is very difficult for females to function as the head of household.

“Brain drain”
When students go abroad for study and advanced degrees, many times they choose not to return home because they will never be able to earn as much money there as they would if they remain abroad to work. As many of them study abroad on state-sponsored scholarships, this is an investment in human development not returned. Nor is this a small problem. According to the 2002 Arab Human Development Report by the United Nations, fully 51% of Arab youth aspire to go abroad for their higher education and would prefer not to return home afterwards.

Population decrease
48 countries have seen a drop of 15% or more in their populations due to emigration.
“Open border” policies
The European Union has a free-border policy—any citizen of any EU member state has the right to live and work in any other EU member state. What is the effect on employment, social attitudes, etc.?

Immigration policies
Every so often, a U.S. administration official suggests amnesty for illegal immigrants in the U.S. Mexico is often in favor of guest worker or amnesty programs in the U.S.; the American government (and public) often feel quite differently.

Security issues
Obviously this is a big issue in the U.S. after 9/11. Multinational efforts are underway to make sure that nations know who is crossing their borders—and for what purpose.

Human trafficking and slavery
Millions of people are trafficked across international borders each year (see pp. 17-18). In many cases, people pay to be taken across the border and find themselves in sweat shops or working to pay off their debts as prostitutes.
An Introduction to Migration
AN INTRODUCTION TO MIGRATION
Web Resources on Migration

History of International Migration
http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/migration/
The aim of this website is to help researchers and students who want to study European migration movements by providing them with a kind of framework and with documents and information about sources on migration. Lots of charts, time lines, etc.

The IDP Project
http://www.idpproject.org/
This website looks specifically at issues of internal displacement, such as refugees from civil wars, etc. Country studies present background data, statistics on the number of refugees, maps, and more. Great for high school and AP students doing research.

International Organization for Migration
http://www.iom.int/
“Managing migration for the benefit of all” is the motto on this website. Excellent links for migration and humanitarian resources. Includes press briefing notes on up-to-the-day releases.

Immigration: The Living Mosaic of People, Culture, and Hope
http://library.thinkquest.org/20619/index.html
An online lesson plan discussing immigration to America, and looking at the factors that influenced a number of major immigrant groups to make the journey. A good resource for making the subject of migration relevant to American students. Appropriate for high school and advanced middle school.

Latin American Migration Project (LAMP)
http://lamp.opr.princeton.edu/
A joint project of the Princeton University and Universidad de Guadalajara, this research endeavor has conducted research in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti, and Peru. In addition, a modified version of the LAMP survey has been implemented in Paraguay. While most of these surveys have focused on migration to the United States, some have obtained information on other international migration flows. Website includes databases on each country.

Migration Information Source
http://www.migrationinformation.org/
Presents migration data from around the world, including a table-generation feature to compare data. Most of the case studies involve migration to Europe, the U.S., and Australia, but the site includes data for groups arriving from all over the world. Entire activities could be based around the data available on this site.

Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford
www.forcedmigration.org/webguide/webguide.pdf
This guide provides a good, far-reaching assortment of various resources for the study of forced migration. It also offers the option to view the site in HTML.

Stalker’s Guide to International Migration
http://www.pstalker.com/migration/index.htm
An easy to follow, well-written introduction to the causes, effects, and issues surrounding international migration. Covers many of the issues addressed in Section 1 in more detail, including specific examples. Also includes links to further resources on the Internet, suggestions for further reading, and more.
Section 2: Introductory Activities
Student Activity: Finding migration trends in your community

Time needed:
1 class period (45 min.–1 hour) should be sufficient to do the activities. You will need preparation time to prepare students to conduct interviews and collect data. Depending on the results of the activity, follow-up time may be needed for research at your discretion.

Supplies for this activity:
• Student Worksheet 1 (page 26)
• World Outline Map (page 27)
• Index cards—five for each student
• Masking tape OR chalkboard/dry erase board OR flip chart/casel/bulletin board
• Chalk OR dry erase markers OR colored markers OR push pins

Preparation:
Distribute Student Worksheet 1 and the World Outline Map to your students. Each student should interview the same number of people, using the questions on the worksheet—we suggest that each student interview five people in order to have a large amount of data to use in the activities that follow. However you may wish to assign younger students to interview fewer adults. For the best results, each subject should not be interviewed by more than one student. Students should record the answers they are given on separate sheets of paper, clearly labeled with each interviewee’s name.

You may wish to discuss the following terms with your students before they begin:

• Emigration means that you left a place where you lived to go somewhere else, while immigration means that you came to a place to live there. If your family migrated to the United States from Spain, they emigrated from Spain, and immigrated to the United States.
• Ancestors: members of your family who came before you: your parents, your grandparents, your great-grandparents, etc. are your ancestors.
• Ancestral language: the language spoken by your ancestors or family before immigrating to the country where you live now. In some cases, this may be the same language that you speak now. In other cases, it may be different.

Class activities:
Distribute index cards to each student (each student should have one card for each person that they interview). The student should write the name of one interview subject on each card large enough to be read from a distance. Students should have each interviewee’s info with them to be able to complete the activity.

Explain to students what a spectrum is. Tell them they will explore migration trends by plotting each subject on the spectrum. Place a 10– to 15–foot long piece of masking tape across the floor in the front of the class. On the chalkboard behind the spectrum, label the ends of the spectrum as shown:

| Earliest Immigrants | Latest Immigrants |

You may also want to demarcate years in 50 year intervals. Have each student place each of their index cards on the spectrum to indicate when their subject immigrated. Ask the class to identify patterns on the spectrum graph. In what year(s) did large numbers of people immigrate at the same time? Students may do additional research to determine if there is a historical event that took place either in the home country or the host country that would prompt large numbers of people to migrate.
Now, create a second spectrum labelled as follows:

| Farther back | grandparents (1) | parents (2) | me (3) |

Have each student look at Question 3 in the “On your own” section of their worksheet. On the back of each index card, students should write a 1, 2, or 3, indicating how many generations their subject’s family continued to speak his or her ancestral language. Then have each student place the card at the appropriate place on the timeline.

Compare the results of this spectrum to the immigration timeline. Can you observe any patterns? Do people who migrated more recently tend to speak their ancestral language more than people who migrated a long time ago? Why do you think that might be? Are there any exceptions to this? Why?

The final activity uses the Venn Diagram below. You may choose to draw a large Venn Diagram on the chalkboard, or to create one on the floor using tape, chalk, or other materials. Students can place their cards in the appropriate place, draw an X, insert a pushpin, etc. to indicate the reasons that their subjects migrated.

![Venn Diagram](image)

Have students analyze the patterns on the diagram. Are there any trends? For example, many African-American subjects will have identified forced migration due to slavery as the reason for emigration. Have students try to identify the reasons for other noticed trends.

On the chalkboard or a flip chart, have students identify the countries from which their subjects’ families emigrated. Tally up the numbers. Which country represents the largest number of immigrants? Which has the smallest?

Have students with subjects whose ancestry lies in the country with the largest tally recreate the above spectrums using those subjects and identify any patterns. Repeat this with the second largest country. If patterns have emerged, have students research and identify reasons for them. Why did emigrants leave their country? What did they do when they came to the U.S.?
ASSIGNMENT: Interview five adults about their family’s origins in this country. Ask them all the questions and write the answers below or on an index card. Fill in all of the blanks, even if your subject doesn’t know the answer or is unsure. Some people may have more than one answer for some of the questions—if so, try to keep the answers in order.

Student Worksheet 1

Name: ___________________________ Date: ________________ Class: ______________

Subject’s Name: ___________________________ Subject’s Age: __________________

Were you born in this country (yes / no)? If no, where were you born?

Where did your family come from (specify country)?

When did your family immigrate to this country?

Why did your family immigrate?

Did your entire family migrate at once? If so, do you know why? And if not, do you know why not?

Does anyone in your family speak their “ancestral” language? Do you? Do your parents? Your grandparents?

1. Calculate how many generations your subject’s family has been in the country. Count “1” if your subject immigrated, “2” for their parents, “3” for their grandparents, etc. If you can’t tell, write “unable to calculate.”

2. Classify the reason that the subject’s family immigrated. Did they immigrate for economic reasons? Political reasons? Social reasons? Environmental reasons? If they migrated for a combination of reasons, list each of the classifications.

3. Calculate how many generations your subject’s family continued to speak their ancestral language. Count “3” if your subject still speaks his/her ancestral language, “2” for their parents, “1” for their grandparents, etc. If you can’t tell, write “unable to calculate.”

4. Using a blank outline map of the world, you should color in the country or countries where your subjects have their origins. Create a key that uses different colors to indicate how many subjects have family origins in a particular country.

On your own: On a separate sheet of paper, answer the following questions for each of your subjects:
Color in the country or countries where your subjects have their origins. Create a key that uses different colors to indicate how many subjects have family origins in a particular country.
Student Activity: Using film to discuss migration and cultural integration

There are many films and television shows that involve immigrants and issues of cultural integration. The following is a list of films you or your students may have seen:

- An American Tail
- Babel
- Bend It Like Beckham
- Bread and Roses
- Crash
- Gangs of New York
- The Godfather
- The House of Sand and Fog
- The Joy Luck Club
- In America
- Le Grande Voyage
- Mississippi Masala
- My Big Fat Greek Wedding
- My Son, the Fanatic
- Real Women Have Curves
- Strictly Ballroom
- Tortilla Soup
- Ugly Betty
- The Wedding Banquet
- West Side Story

This list is by no means complete, and not all of the titles listed may be appropriate viewing for all students.

Activity suggestions: Ask students to view one of these films, or to view films in small groups. Have students consider the following questions about these films. You may also choose to distribute these questions as a handout—see Student Worksheet 2.

- Each of these films features an immigrant family. Where did the family come from?
- Can you tell when they migrated?
- Can you tell why they migrated?
- What do each of these films say about immigrants and subsequent generations?
- What issues do the younger generations in these films face?
- What are the concerns of the older generations?
- How do they resolve their differences—or do they?

Engage your class in discussion about their answers. What other issues can your students identify in these films that are related to migration and cultural integration?
Assignment: Watch one of the films that your teacher suggests, and answer the following questions:

Title of film: ____________________________________________

Who are the main characters in this film? List their names and their relationship to each other:

In a few sentences, summarize the plot of the film:

This film features an immigrant family. Who are the members of the family?

Where did the family come from?

Can you tell when they emigrated from their home country? If so, when?

Can you tell why they migrated? If so, what was the reason?

What difficulties do the older and younger generations in the film experience in trying to relate to each other?

What issues do the younger generations in the film face?

What issues do the older generations in the film face?

How do they resolve their differences—or do they?

On the back, describe any other issues from the film you can identify that are related to migration and cultural integration.
Section 3: Using T-Charts and Writing Prompts to Explore Migration
Student Activity: Rural–Urban Migration in Brazil

Time needed:
1 class period (45 min.–1 hour) should be sufficient to complete the reading and T-Chart or writing prompt activities. The writing prompt may be done in class or assigned as homework. (Although the T-Chart and writing prompt activities complement each other, it is not necessary—and may be redundant—to assign both to your students.)

Supplies for this activity:
• Map of the world (not included)
• Reading: Rural–Urban Migration in Brazil
• Either the T-Chart: Brazil worksheet (p. 35) or the Writing Prompt: Brazil worksheet (p. 36)
• Chalkboard or dry-erase board

Preparation:
Have students identify Brazil on a map of the world. Compare its size to that of the United States.

You may wish to go over the following terms with your students:

• Rural: something or someone that is from or about the countryside.
• Slum: a group of houses or a neighborhood that is in bad condition where very poor people live.
• Urban: something or someone that is from or about a city.

Class activities:
Distribute the Rural–Urban Migration in Brazil reading to all students. Have them read quietly.

Variation 1:
Distribute the T-Chart: Brazil worksheet and have students complete the chart individually or in small groups. When finished, draw a T-Chart on the board and have each student or group offer one point and write it in the appropriate place on the board. Continue until all of the unique points offered by students are included. Discuss the results with the class. Ask students to compare the answers they gave with the answers that others gave. Are there any similarities? Are there any differences? Why? Or why not? Ask for a show of hands to determine which side the students feel has a stronger argument. Ask one or two students to explain their reasons.

Variation 2:
After students have finished reading, replicate the T-Chart from the T-Chart: Brazil worksheet on the board. Complete the T-Chart by having students suggest points in favor of and in opposition to urban migration and write them in the appropriate column. As a follow-up to this activity, you may wish to assign the Writing Prompt: Brazil worksheet as homework or an in-class activity.

Variation 3:
Assign both the Rural–Urban Migration in Brazil reading and the Writing Prompt: Brazil worksheet as homework. In class the next day, replicate the T-Chart from the T-Chart: Brazil worksheet on the board. Complete the T-Chart by having students suggest points in favor of and in opposition to urban migration and write them in the appropriate column. Continue until all of the unique points offered by students are included. Discuss the results with the class. Ask students to compare the answers they gave with the answers that others gave. Are there any similarities? Are there any differences? Why? Or why not? Ask for a show of hands to determine which side students supported in their writing, and have some of the students read the conclusion from their writing prompt out loud to the class.
**Variation 4:**
Use the readings as primary documents for an introductory DBQ exercise. Students should identify the push and pull factors given in the readings, explaining why each factor is either a push factor or a pull factor. Students should also discuss the reason(s) for the migration issue, whether they are economic, social, political, or environmental in nature, and defend their analysis (note that there may be more than one correct answer). Finally, students should identify the argument that they find more persuasive, and explain their position using information either cited in the documents or found elsewhere.

You may wish to use the following prompt:

*Read the introduction and the two documents provided. In each document, identify the push and pull factors given. Consider the overall issue. Are the causes economic, social, political, or environmental (or more than one of these) in nature?*

*Write an essay in which you describe the issue presented. Identify the major push and pull factors that advocate for migration, as well as the factors that can be used to argue against migration. Explain the causes behind the factors. Cite specific passages and examples from the documents to support your answers. Remember to consider the perspective of the author of each document.*

*Finally, explain which argument you find more persuasive, based on the reasons given by the authors. Explain your answer citing information from the documents or from additional research.*

A grading rubric may be found on page 68.
Rural–Urban Migration in Brazil

Brazil is one of many Latin American countries that has faced a trend of rural–urban migration. People in the countryside are poor, and move to try to find a better life in Brazil’s cities. But they often lack the skills to get good jobs, and are forced to live in *favelas* (shantytowns). Read the following and think about why people from rural areas would choose to stay or go to the big cities.

---

I am 12 years old and I live in Rio de Janeiro, a city of about 6 million people. My family moved here a year ago from our small farm in the Northeast—after years of drought, we had no choice but to leave our land because we didn’t have enough food to eat. Nothing would grow, and we had to kill our cows and chickens before they died of hunger. Now we live in a *favela*, an overcrowded, dirty city slum on a steep hill.

When we got here, my father collected spare pieces of metal, cardboard, and anything else he could find to build a house. We built our house on a piece of land where no one else was living, but we don’t own the land and our house could wash away during a heavy rainstorm. We don’t have electricity or running water. After we moved, my little brother got very sick from drinking dirty water.

My parents can’t find jobs because they don’t have a lot of skills. My father spends his days picking plastic, newspapers, and aluminum cans out of dumpsters to recycle them for a little bit of money. My mother is a washerwoman: she makes a few dollars a week washing other people’s laundry. She works 12 hours every day, and her arms always hurt from having to scrub everything by hand.

We haven’t eaten meat since moving to the city, but at least we have some food every day…and sometimes mom buys some bones to make a tasty soup. My parents’ earn enough money to buy us rice and beans, but they aren’t able to save money to build a better house or to send us to school. My brothers and I have started to help my father collect recycling. I wish I could go to school with my friends at home, but this is our life now…

---

I’m a 13-year old who lives in the countryside of the state of Ceará, one of Brazil’s poorest states. Years ago, my family began practicing *aviculture* on our family farm—we raise chickens. But the droughts made it hard to keep the chickens alive and without the chickens, we didn’t earn enough money. Also, two big corporations bought up a lot of land in the area—they own more than half of the land in our county—and we ended up having to sell them our land in order to get money to survive. Now my parents can’t find work because there aren’t any jobs and we don’t even have our own land to grow food.

My parents are thinking about moving to the city in order to find stable work. Lots of my aunts and uncles have already left and they say they are making much better wages. There are more jobs in the city and you can always find something if you’re hardworking. They also say that they’ve been able to find good housing and that it’s easier to live in the city—everything is close: schools, hospitals, shopping. They feel less isolated than they did here in the country.

Since last year, my mother has been sick and it is hard to get her to the doctor. The closest hospital is more than two hours away. It would be good to be in the city, where she can get the help she needs. My father read in the newspaper that people who live in the city live longer than those who live in rural areas: health care and nutrition are much better.

I’m a little afraid of life in the big city—of all those people and the fast-paced life—but I hope that my family can make a better life than we have here.

---

*Aviculture*: the industry of raising birds.

*Shantytown*: a poor area of a city where people live in shacks and huts. Brazil’s shantytowns are called *favelas*, and the people who live in them are called *favelados*.
**Assignment**: Read the passages on *Rural–Urban Migration in Brazil*. Then complete the chart below, listing reasons why people from the countryside might want to migrate to the city in the left column, and reasons why people from the countryside might not want to migrate to the city in the right column.

Make as many points as you need for each side. The first three are already labeled for you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons to move to the city</th>
<th>Reasons to stay in the countryside</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which side do you agree with? Cite examples from the text to support your answer:
Dear João:

In the space below, write a letter to João in which you explain that there are good reasons to move to the city, but that there are also reasons that life in the city can be very hard. You should provide at least two reasons why you think life is better in the city and two reasons why life can be worse in the city.

At the end of the letter, tell João whether or not you think his family should move to Rio de Janeiro. Use examples from the reading to explain why you do or do not think moving is a good idea.

Dear João:
Student Activity: The Partition of India

Time needed:
1 class period (45 min.—1 hour) should be sufficient to complete the reading and T-Chart or writing prompt activities. The writing prompt may be done in class or assigned as homework. (Although the T-Chart and writing prompt activities complement each other, it is not necessary—and may be redundant—to assign both to your students.)

Supplies for this activity:
• Map of the world (not included)
• Reading: The Partition of India
• Either the T-Chart: India/Pakistan worksheet (p. 41) or the Writing Prompt: India/Pakistan worksheet (p. 42)
• Chalkboard or dry-erase board

Preparation:
Have students identify India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) on a map of the world. Compare their size to that of the United States.

You may wish to go over the following term with your students:

• Partition: dividing something into smaller parts. In this case, Partition refers to the division of British India into two countries in 1947: present-day India, and Pakistan (which split into Pakistan and Bangladesh in 1971).

Class activities:
Distribute The Partition of India reading to all students. Have them read quietly.

Variation 1:
Distribute the T-Chart: India/Pakistan worksheet and have students complete the chart individually or in small groups. When finished, draw a T-Chart on the board and have each student or group offer one point and write it in the appropriate place on the board. Continue until all of the unique points offered by students are included. Discuss the results with the class. Ask students to compare the answers they gave with the answers that others gave. Are there any similarities? Are there any differences? Why? Or why not? Ask for a show of hands to determine which side the students feel has a stronger argument. Ask one or two students to explain their reasons.

Variation 2:
After students have finished reading, replicate the T-Chart from the T-Chart: India/Pakistan worksheet on the board. Complete the T-Chart by having students suggest points in favor of and in opposition to migration and write them in the appropriate column. As a follow-up to this activity, you may wish to assign the Writing Prompt: India/Pakistan worksheet as homework or an in-class activity.

Variation 3:
Assign both The Partition of India reading and the Writing Prompt: India/Pakistan worksheet as homework. In class the next day, replicate the T-Chart from the T-Chart: India/Pakistan worksheet on the board. Complete the T-Chart by having students suggest points in favor of and in opposition to migration and write them in the appropriate column. Continue until all of the unique points offered by students are included. Discuss the results with the class. Ask students to compare the answers they give with the answers that others give. Are there any similarities? Are there any differences? Why? Or why not? Ask for a show of hands to determine which side students supported in their writing, and have some of the students read the conclusion from their writing prompt out loud to the class.
Variation 4:
Use the readings as primary documents for an introductory DBQ exercise. Students should identify the push and pull factors given in the readings, explaining why each factor is either a push factor or a pull factor. Students should also discuss the reason(s) for the migration issue, whether they are economic, social, political, or environmental in nature, and defend their analysis (note that there may be more than one correct answer). Finally, students should identify the argument that they find more persuasive, and explain their position using information either cited in the documents or found elsewhere.

You may wish to use the following prompt:

Read the introduction and the two documents provided. In each document, identify the push and pull factors given. Consider the overall issue. Are the causes economic, social, political, or environmental (or more than one of these) in nature?

Write an essay in which you describe the issue presented. Identify the major push and pull factors that advocate for migration, as well as the factors that can be used to argue against migration. Explain the causes behind the factors. Cite specific passages and examples from the documents to support your answers. Remember to consider the perspective of the author of each document.

Finally, explain which argument you find more persuasive, based on the reasons given by the authors. Explain your answer citing information from the documents or from additional research.

A grading rubric may be found on page 68.
The Partition of India

After colonial rule, the British left India in 1947, under the agreement that it be Partitioned—divided—along religious lines. Areas where a majority of Hindus lived were given to India; areas where mostly Muslims lived became the new country of Pakistan. After Partition millions of people found themselves on the “wrong” side of the border. The city of Calcutta and the surrounding area, whose population was 75% Hindu, were awarded to India. The Muslims who lived there had to decide whether to remain or to set out and create new lives in Pakistan. Read the following accounts and complete the activity.

My name is Minhaj, and I am a Muslim boy. I once lived in a village near Calcutta, which is now in the new country of India. I lived in a large house with my mother and father and six sisters and brothers.

Now we live in my uncle’s home in a town in Pakistan. The house is very crowded and every day my father worries about finding work so our family won’t be such a burden to my uncle.

After Partition, we heard stories of trouble in nearby villages. Other Muslim families in our village started to send their children away to Pakistan. At first, my father refused to budge. There was too much at stake—we owned a lot of property and everyone in the family was comfortable. My father owned the most popular clothing shop in the area. My older brothers also worked there. Our family also ran the high school in the village. No one wanted to leave behind our property, so we decided to wait and see.

Soon, some troublemakers came into our village and started to cause problems. They came and stood outside our house in the middle of the night and yelled things. They threw rocks at our windows and broke them. We were afraid that they might break down our door and come inside to hurt us.

The next day we found out that the mob had wrecked my family’s stores and closed down our school. All of our money was invested in the store and we lost it all in one night. Our Hindu friends and neighbors in the village tried to help us, but they became scared for their own safety and so they urged us to leave.

I miss my old home and friends. But there is nothing left for us in our village. Now we must start a new life in Pakistan.

My name is Wazia, and I am a Muslim girl. I have a large family with deep ties to the city of Calcutta. My father’s family has lived here for many generations. Before the British left India, my father worked for the Calcutta Assembly. He now works for the new government of India. We live in a large house that we own, across the street from the assembly building.

One of the things I love about Calcutta is that we have so many different groups living together in relative peace. I go to a school with children from different backgrounds—Hindu and Muslim boys and girls go to school together. Many of my friends are Hindu. We visit each other’s houses as if they were our own. Until Partition, we didn’t even know the differences between us.

After Partition, my mother tried to convince my father to move to Pakistan. On the radio, we heard about violence in some parts of the country, but we were lucky not to experience any in our own neighborhood. Still, we stayed in our house for many days just to be safe. Our friends and neighbors would visit and bring us things from the market.

My mother was also worried about staying in Calcutta because her family lives in a village that ended up on the Pakistani side of the border. Before Partition, we visited them every year during the Ramadan holiday. She worried that she would not be able to see them again. At first, it seemed she was wrong to worry. We were able to go back and forth freely and you did not need a passport or visa. Now things have changed and it is difficult to go back and forth. I haven’t seen my mother’s family in two years.

But still I’m glad we stayed in Calcutta—I can’t imagine living any other place.
**Assignment:** Read the passages on *The Partition of India*. Then complete the chart below, listing reasons why Muslims living in Calcutta might have wanted to emigrate to Pakistan in the left column, and reasons why they might have chosen to stay in the city in the right column.

Make as many points as you need for each side. The first three are already labeled for you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons why Muslims might have chosen to emigrate to Pakistan</th>
<th>Reasons why Muslims might have chosen to stay in Calcutta</th>
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Which side do you agree with? Cite examples from the text to support your answer:
Examining both sides of the issue: The Partition of India

Imagine that you are a member of the Muslim Business Council in Calcutta, shortly after the partition of India in 1947. You have been asked to make a presentation to the Council, which is trying to decide if it should encourage Muslim business owners to remain in Calcutta, or to emigrate to Pakistan.

In the space below, prepare your presentation by first giving the reasons why Muslims might choose to stay in Calcutta, and then why they might choose to leave. Give at least two points for each side, using examples from the text or other points that you can think of to make your case.

At the end of your presentation, you should give your personal recommendation to the Council. Use examples from the reading to explain why you do or do not think that your fellow Muslims should remain in Calcutta.

My Esteemed Colleagues:

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My Esteemed Colleagues:
Student Activity: Israel & The Palestinians: The “Right of Return”

Time needed:
1 class period (45 min.–1 hour) should be sufficient to complete the reading and T-Chart or writing prompt activities. The writing prompt may be done in class or assigned as homework. (Although the T-Chart and writing prompt activities complement each other, it is not necessary—and may be redundant—to assign both to your students.)

Supplies for this activity:
- Map of the world (not included)
- Reading: Israel & The Palestinians: The “Right of Return” (p. 46)
- The T-Chart: Israel/Palestinians worksheet (p. 47) or the Writing Prompt: Israel/Palestinians worksheet (p. 48)
- Chalkboard or dry-erase board

Preparation:
Have students identify Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza Strip on a map of the world. You may also wish to use the map on page 111 to identify the location of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the Palestinian refugee camps in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. Have students compare the size of Israel and the Palestinian Territories.

You may wish to go over the following term with your students:

- Refugee: a person who seeks shelter from war, disaster, or persecution by leaving their home.

Class activities:
Distribute the Israel & The Palestinians: “The Right of Return” reading to all students. Have them read quietly.

Variation 1:
Distribute the T-Chart: Israel/Palestinians worksheet and have students complete the chart individually or in small groups. When finished, draw a T-Chart on the board and have each student or group offer one point and write it in the appropriate place on the board. Continue until all of the unique points offered by students are included. Discuss the results with the class. Ask students to compare the answers they gave with the answers that others gave. Are there any similarities? Are there any differences? Why? Or why not? Ask for a show of hands to determine which side the students feel has a stronger argument. Ask one or two students to explain their reasons.

Variation 2:
After students have finished reading, replicate the T-Chart on the T-Chart: Israel/Palestinians worksheet on the board. Complete the T-Chart by having students suggest points in favor of and opposition to the right of return and write them in the appropriate column. As a follow-up to this activity, you may wish to assign the Writing Prompt: Israel/Palestinians worksheet as homework or an in-class activity.

Variation 3:
Assign both the Israel & The Palestinians: “The Right of Return” reading and the Writing Prompt: Israel/Palestinians worksheet as homework. In class the next day, replicate the T-Chart on the T-Chart: Israel/Palestinians worksheet on the board. Complete the T-Chart by having students suggest points in favor of and opposition to the right of return and write them in the appropriate column. Continue until all of the unique points offered by students are included. Discuss the results with the class. Ask students to compare the answers they gave with the answers that others gave. Are there any similarities? Are there any differences? Why? Or why not? Ask for a show of hands to determine which side students supported in their writing, and have some of the students read the conclusion from their writing prompt out loud to the class.
Variation 4:
Use the readings as primary documents for an introductory DBQ exercise. Students should identify the push and pull factors given in the readings, explaining why each factor is either a push factor or a pull factor. Students should also discuss the reason(s) for the migration issue, whether they are economic, social, political, or environmental in nature, and defend their analysis (note that there may be more than one correct answer). Finally, students should identify the argument that they find more persuasive, and explain their position using information either cited in the documents or found elsewhere.

You may wish to use the following prompt:

Read the introduction and the two documents provided. In each document, identify the push and pull factors given. Consider the overall issue. Are the causes economic, social, political, or environmental (or more than one of these) in nature?

Write an essay in which you describe the issue presented. Identify the major push and pull factors that advocate for migration, as well as the factors that can be used to argue against migration. Explain the causes behind the factors. Cite specific passages and examples from the documents to support your answers. Remember to consider the perspective of the author of each document.

Finally, explain which argument you find more persuasive, based on the reasons given by the authors. Explain your answer citing information from the documents or from additional research.

A grading rubric may be found on page 68.
One of the most difficult issues that Israelis and Palestinians must solve in order to work out a peace agreement is the issue of the “Palestinian right of return.” When the state of Israel was established in 1947, a war broke out between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Many of the Arab residents who lived in what became Israel fled their homes during the war. Many more fled during the 1967 war. Now, many Palestinians want the right to return to their homes in Israel. This is an issue that is very emotional for people on both sides. Read the following passages, and then discuss the arguments for and against the right of return.

I am Palestinian and I am 14 years old. I live with my family in a refugee camp in southern Lebanon. My grandparents were born in a village near the city of Haifa in what is now Israel. They had a farm there. Then the Jews came from Europe and the war happened and my grandparents had to flee to Lebanon.

Life is hard here. We can't leave the country because we’re not citizens of Lebanon, and we don't have passports. It’s hard to get jobs, and it’s hard for us to go to college or university. For us, our best hope is that we can go home to my grandparents' farm. Then we’d be full citizens with all the rights other people have.

This is about what's right. No one invited the Jews to come to Palestine. They just showed up. Our land was taken away from us. Since then, we’ve been living in terrible conditions in Lebanon. I don’t blame the Lebanese. They didn’t ask for all of us to come here, but we didn’t have anywhere else to go. The Lebanese government shouldn’t have to take responsibility for a bunch of outsiders.

The Israelis say that there’s no room for us. They say that there wouldn’t be any jobs for us. But Jews come to Israel all the time. Since the early 1990s, nearly 750,000 Jews have come to Israel from Russia, and the Israelis never said, “No, you can't come, there’s no space or jobs for you.” But that’s what they say to us. I think the Israelis are just trying to keep us out. They want Israel to be only for the Jews.

I just want the same chance for a normal life as anyone else. But I can’t have that chance when I’m living in a refugee camp. The Israelis should admit that they did something wrong and give us back what is rightfully ours.

I am Israeli and I am 15 years old. My grandparents came to Israel from Europe, where they were both in concentration camps during World War II. My parents were born here, just like me, my older sister, and my younger brother. For us, Israel is the homeland of the Jewish people, and it is the place where we belong.

I know that the Palestinians say they want to come back. But I don’t understand why. They have lived in other countries for many years. Palestinians my age were born in other countries, just like their parents and their grandparents. I feel like an Israeli. Why doesn’t a Palestinian born in Jordan feel like a Jordanian?

Jews come to Israel from all over the world, and we treat them like they belong here from the moment they arrive. When the Palestinians fled to other countries, they were forced to live in refugee camps and treated like second-class citizens. If the Palestinians are mad at anyone, they should be mad at the Arabs who made them stay in refugee camps instead of letting them get on with their lives.

There are a lot of people in Israel. I don’t know where all the Palestinians would go if they did decide to come back. There aren’t enough houses to go around. And what about work? Lots of people who live here already have trouble finding jobs—what are the Palestinians supposed to do if they come back?

I think the Palestinians should get on with their lives. I don’t understand why anyone would spend their entire life trying to get the right to move to a country they’ve never even been to. I know that being forced to leave your home is hard, but my grandparents did it, and they lived long happy lives. Why can’t the Palestinians?

Refugee: a person who seeks shelter from war, disaster, or persecution by leaving their home.
Assignment: Read the passages on *Israel & The Palestinians: The “Right of Return.”* Then complete the chart below, listing reasons why the Palestinians should be granted the right of return in the left column, and reasons why the Palestinians should not be granted the right of return in the right column.

Make as many points as you need for each side. The first three are already labeled for you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons why the Palestinians should be given the right of return</th>
<th>Reasons why the Palestinians should not be given the right of return</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which side do you agree with? Cite examples from the text to support your answer:
Examining both sides of the issue: The Palestinian “Right of Return”

Imagine that you are a member of a United Nations team who has been sent to Israel and the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon to talk to people about their feelings toward the Palestinian right of return issue.

Upon your return home, you must write a letter to the United Nations Secretary-General in which you identify points both in favor of the right of return and against it. Your letter should include at least two points in favor of and two points against the right of return.

At the end of the letter, you must make a recommendation to the Secretary-General about whether or not the right of return for Palestinian refugees should be part of a peace settlement between Israel and the Palestinians. Back up your recommendation with evidence from the text.

Mr. Secretary-General:
Student Activity: Migration from Nicaragua during the Sandinista-Contra Years

Time needed:
1 class period (45 min.–1 hour) should be sufficient to complete the reading and T-Chart or writing prompt activities. The writing prompt may be done in class or assigned as homework. (Although the T-Chart and writing prompt activities complement each other, it is not necessary—and may be redundant—to assign both to your students.)

Supplies for this activity:
• Map of the world (not included)
• Reading: Migration from Nicaragua during the Sandinista-Contra Years (p. 52)
• Either the T-Chart: Nicaragua worksheet (p. 53) or the Writing Prompt: Nicaragua worksheet (p. 54)
• Chalkboard or dry-erase board

Preparation:
Have students identify Nicaragua on a map of the world. Compare its size to that of the United States.

You may wish to go over the following term with your students:

• Dictatorship: a system of government in which absolute power is held by one person (a “dictator”).

Class activities:
Distribute the Migration from Nicaragua during the Sandinista-Contra Years reading to all students. Have them read quietly.

Variation 1:
Distribute the T-Chart: Nicaragua worksheet and have students complete the chart individually or in small groups. When finished, draw a T-Chart on the board and have each student or group offer one point and write it in the appropriate place on the board. Continue until all of the unique points offered by students are included. Discuss the results with the class. Ask students to compare the answers they gave with the answers that others gave. Are there any similarities? Are there any differences? Why? Or why not? Ask for a show of hands to determine which side the students feel has a stronger argument. Ask one or two students to explain their reasons.

Variation 2:
After students have finished reading, replicate the T-Chart from the T-Chart: Nicaragua worksheet on the board. Complete the T-Chart by having students suggest points in favor of and in opposition to migration and write them in the appropriate column. As a follow-up to this activity, you may wish to assign the Writing Prompt: Nicaragua worksheet as homework or an in-class activity.

Variation 3:
Assign both the Migration from Nicaragua during the Sandinista-Contra Years reading and the Writing Prompt: Nicaragua worksheet as homework. In class the next day, replicate the T-Chart from the T-Chart: Nicaragua worksheet on the board. Complete the T-Chart by having students suggest points in favor of and in opposition to migration and write them in the appropriate column. Continue until all of the unique points offered by students are included. Discuss the results with the class. Ask students to compare the answers they gave with the answers that others gave. Are there any similarities? Are there any differences? Why? Or why not? Ask for a show of hands to determine which side students supported in their writing, and have some of the students read the conclusion from their writing prompt out loud to the class.
Variation 4:
Use the readings as primary documents for an introductory DBQ exercise. Students should identify the push and pull factors given in the readings, explaining why each factor is either a push factor or a pull factor. Students should also discuss the reason(s) for the migration issue, whether they are economic, social, political, or environmental in nature, and defend their analysis (note that there may be more than one correct answer). Finally, students should identify the argument that they find more persuasive, and explain their position using information either cited in the documents or found elsewhere.

You may wish to use the following prompt:

Read the introduction and the two documents provided. In each document, identify the push and pull factors given. Consider the overall issue. Are the causes economic, social, political, or environmental (or more than one of these) in nature?

Write an essay in which you describe the issue presented. Identify the major push and pull factors that advocate for migration, as well as the factors that can be used to argue against migration. Explain the causes behind the factors. Cite specific passages and examples from the documents to support your answers. Remember to consider the perspective of the author of each document.

Finally, explain which argument you find more persuasive, based on the reasons given by the authors. Explain your answer citing information from the documents or from additional research.

A grading rubric may be found on page 68.
Migration from Nicaragua during the Sandinista–Contra Years

In 1979, after over four decades of the brutal Somoza dictatorship, the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front, or the Sandinistas) toppled the government. However, the country was in trouble (the economy was in ruins, food was scarce, education was weak, and medical help almost nonexistent) and the Sandinistas were soon fighting a guerilla war launched by U.S.-backed Contras, or counterrevolutionaries. The new government faced numerous problems. Many Nicaraguans left their country, seeking peace and stability in other nations.

I live in Jinotega, a small city in northern Nicaragua. Five years ago, when the Sandinistas took over the government and got rid of the terrible Somozas who had ruled us for so long, my family was very happy. The Sandinistas promised that we would have free elections for the first time in 40 years.

But the situation in Nicaragua was not good. During the revolution, 50,000 people were killed and 500,000 people lost their homes. Farmland was destroyed during the fighting and so there wasn’t much food. After the fighting stopped, it was hard to get back to normal life. There had been so much destruction and the new government didn’t have the money to rebuild our country.

To make things worse, we are still at war—with the Contras, who are trying to get rid of the Sandinistas. Innocent people die every day. Recently, a truck on its way to Jinotega was blown up by the Contras: 11 people were killed and 33 were seriously hurt. I’m afraid to stay here, afraid that someone in my family will be hurt. And all men over 16 have to join the army—if we stay, I’ll be forced to join next year.

The United States has declared an embargo on Nicaragua because of our government—this means that we can’t trade or do business with each other. This has hurt us because the U.S. was our biggest trading partner. Now we have a hard time getting supplies like food, and we also have less money than ever before.

I have an uncle who moved to Miami at the beginning of the war. He is living there illegally, because he only got a visa to stay for three months, but he is happy because he has a job and a good place to live. My family might go to Miami, too. That way we’ll be safe.

I live in Managua, the capital of Nicaragua. Even though the revolution was hard, my family supported the Sandinistas. The awful Somozas were gone, and the Sandinistas represented all the things that we wanted for Nicaragua: education, equality, democracy.

One of the first things the new government did was start a National Literacy Campaign. My sister volunteered to help teach people all over the country to read. We’ve just learned that our literacy rate rose from 45% to 86%. We are very proud of my sister for having participated in this project.

The Sandinistas also pledged to help distribute money more equally. They took control of land that the Somoza family had owned. My father read in the newspaper that the family owned 168 factories—25% of the factories in Nicaragua! It’s amazing how much money they controlled. Now money and land are being distributed to more people. Small groups of farmers are given plots of land to start community farms. Wealth is being shared instead of concentrated in the hands of a few people.

Because of the continuing war with the Contras, lots of people are leaving Nicaragua. They think they will be safer and better off in Costa Rica or the United States. The problem is that many are entering other countries illegally and have to work in low-paying jobs. Their lives are still hard.

My father says it’s important to stay in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas aren’t perfect, and we need to be here to remind them of what they promised us. We need to rebuild our country. It’s important to stay and try to make a better Nicaragua, even if you don’t agree with everything the Sandinistas are doing. We’ve gotten rid of our terrible dictators—now it’s time to move forward!

Embargo: an official order forbidding something, usually trade with another country.

Literacy: the ability to read and write; a literacy campaign is a program to help people learn how to read and write.
Assignment: Read the passages on Migration from Nicaragua during the Sandinista–Contra Years. Then complete the chart below, listing reasons why Nicaraguans might have wanted to leave their country in the left column, and reasons why Nicaraguans might have wanted to stay in the right column. Think about the political, economic, and security reasons why people would stay or go.

Make as many points as you need for each side. The first three are already labeled for you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons why Nicaraguans should have left during the Sandinista years</th>
<th>Reasons why Nicaraguans should have stayed during the Sandinista years</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which side do you agree with? Cite examples from the text to support your answer:
Examining both sides of the issue: Nicaragua during the Sandinista–Contra Years

Imagine that you are living in Nicaragua during the years of the Sandinistas’ rule. Your father has called a family meeting in which all of the members of your family have been asked to give their thoughts about whether or not they should try to leave Nicaragua and settle in Miami.

In preparation for the meeting, you have decided to write down your thoughts as a speech. As you write, you should be prepared to give at least two reasons why you think that your family should leave Nicaragua, and two reasons why you think that your family should stay.

At the end of your speech, you should make your recommendation to your family. Do you want to stay in Nicaragua or leave for another country? Use examples from the text to back up your recommendation.

To My Family:
Student Activity: Migration from the Former Soviet Republics to Russia

Time needed:
1 class period (45 min.–1 hour) should be sufficient to complete the reading and T-Chart or writing prompt activities. The writing prompt may be done in class or assigned as homework. (Although the T-Chart and writing prompt activities complement each other, it is not necessary—and may be redundant—to assign both to your students.)

Supplies for this activity:
• Map of the world (not included)
• Reading: Migration from the Former Soviet Republics to Russia (p. 58)
• Either the T-Chart: Russia worksheet (p. 59) or the Writing Prompt: Russia worksheet (p. 60)
• Chalkboard or dry-erase board

Preparation:
Have students identify Russia on a map of the world. Compare its size to that of the United States. You may also wish to use the map on page 135 to further explore the percentage of ethnic Russians living in the former Soviet republics.

You may wish to go over the following terms with your students:

• Ethnic, ethnicity: common characteristics such as race, language, culture, and/or religion that make people feel they are part of a common group.

Class activities:
Distribute the Migration from the Former Soviet Republics to Russia reading to all students. Have them read quietly.

Variation 1:
Distribute the T-Chart: Russia worksheet and have students complete the chart individually or in small groups. When finished, draw a T-Chart on the board and have each student or group offer one point and write it in the appropriate place on the board. Continue until all of the unique points offered by students are included. Discuss the results with the class. Ask students to compare the answers they gave with the answers that others gave. Are there any similarities? Are there any differences? Why? Or why not? Ask for a show of hands to determine which side the students feel has a stronger argument. Ask one or two students to explain their reasons.

Variation 2:
After students have finished reading, replicate the T-Chart from the T-Chart: Russia worksheet on the board. Complete the T-Chart by having students suggest points in favor of and in opposition to migration and write them in the appropriate column. As a follow-up to this activity, you may wish to assign the Writing Prompt: Russia worksheet as homework or an in-class activity.

Variation 3:
Assign both the Migration from the Former Soviet Republics to Russia reading and the Writing Prompt: Russia worksheet as homework. In class the next day, replicate the T-Chart from the T-Chart: Russia worksheet on the board. Complete the T-Chart by having students suggest points in favor of and in opposition to migration and write them in the appropriate column. Continue until all of the unique points offered by students are included. Discuss the results with the class. Ask students to compare the answers they gave with the answers that others gave. Are there any similarities? Are there any differences? Why? Or why not? Ask for a show of hands to determine which side students supported in their writing, and have some of the students read the conclusion from their writing prompt out loud to the class.
Variation 4:
Use the readings as primary documents for an introductory DBQ exercise. Students should identify the push and pull factors given in the readings, explaining why each factor is either a push factor or a pull factor. Students should also discuss the reason(s) for the migration issue, whether they are economic, social, political, or environmental in nature, and defend their analysis (note that there may be more than one correct answer). Finally, students should identify the argument that they find more persuasive, and explain their position using information either cited in the documents or found elsewhere.

You may wish to use the following prompt:

Read the introduction and the two documents provided. In each document, identify the push and pull factors given. Consider the overall issue. Are the causes economic, social, political, or environmental (or more than one of these) in nature?

Write an essay in which you describe the issue presented. Identify the major push and pull factors that advocate for migration, as well as the factors that can be used to argue against migration. Explain the causes behind the factors. Cite specific passages and examples from the documents to support your answers. Remember to consider the perspective of the author of each document.

Finally, explain which argument you find more persuasive, based on the reasons given by the authors. Explain your answer citing information from the documents or from additional research.

A grading rubric may be found on page 68.
Migration from the Former Soviet Republics to Russia

The Soviet Union consisted of fifteen “soviet socialist republics,” many of which were originally independent nations that had been conquered by the Russian Empire or over the course of the 1917 revolution that established the Soviet Union. In 1989, the last Soviet census listed 128 separate ethnic groups living in the fifteen republics. At the time of the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, more than twenty-five million ethnic Russians were living in the former Soviet republics outside of Russia. Because Russians formed the dominant group during the Soviet years and often got the best jobs and housing, after the transition Russians still living in these republics were often treated poorly. They faced the difficult choice of whether to try to remain in the post-Soviet republics, or whether to try to make a new life in Russia. Read the two accounts below and complete the activity.

My name is Boris and I am 16 years old. I am an ethnic Russian, but I was born in Riga, the capital of Latvia, located on the Baltic Sea. My parents were born in Russia and moved here when my father was in the Soviet navy. Because of this, the Latvian government says that we are not Latvian citizens.

I am in high school. All through grade school I studied in Russian. But the Latvian government has decreed that 60% of high school instruction must be in Latvian. Fortunately, I can speak Latvian and I’m doing OK—my friend Igor doesn’t speak any Latvian at all, and he is struggling in class. When we go on to university, Igor will have to pay to go to a private university so he can study in Russian.

My mother, who is a teacher, lost her job because she can’t teach in Latvian. They’ve also started using Latvian as the main language of business at the Defense Ministry and it’s likely my father will lose his job. My father speaks very little Latvian.

Because we’re not citizens of Latvia, my parents will have a hard time finding new jobs here. Companies prefer to hire Latvians. If we were Latvian citizens it would be different, but the citizenship exams are very difficult, including a Latvian language test as well as tests in history and culture. I could probably pass, but my parents couldn’t. They say they’re frustrated at not being able to vote.

My mother and father have decided that we’re going to move in with my grandparents in Moscow when my father’s job ends. I’ve been to Moscow a few times to see them. I don’t like it there—Moscow is too big. I also like going to the beach with my friends here, and there’s no beach in Moscow. I’ve lived all my life in Latvia, but I don’t feel like I have a future here anymore.

My name is Tatiana. I am 17 years old, and I live in Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan. My grandmother is Kyrgyz, but my grandfather’s family is Russian, and he made sure that all his children, including my mother, listed their nationality as Russian. Under the Soviet system, there were advantages to being Russian. Nowadays, I’m not so sure.

My father is Assistant Director at one of the coal mines. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union, production at the coal mine has gone down and my father is only paid 8 months out of the year. Unemployment is high here, and my father thinks we should move to Russia so he can find a more reliable job.

Many of my friends have already moved to Russia with their families. They have sent me letters about their new lives in Russia. Many of them have told me that people in Russia treat them badly. One girl wrote me that someone spat on her while she was standing in line at the store and told her to “go back where you came from.” Because my grandmother is Kyrgyz, I have dark hair and don’t “look Russian.” I wouldn’t want the same thing to happen to me!

My father thinks I should apply to university in Moscow so I will have a “better chance” in life. I think I can have a chance right here. I want to apply to a university here in Kyrgyzstan. When I graduate I’ll have an opportunity to work for an international company. I think this can help our economy.

There are a lot of people in Kyrgyzstan who want everyone who is not Kyrgyz to leave. That’s just silly. There are a lot of people in Kyrgyzstan who aren’t Kyrgyz. If we all went away, there would be no one left here! This country was strong under the Soviets, and if we all work together, I am sure that it can be strong again.

Ethnic, ethnicity: common characteristics such as race, language, culture, and/or religion that make people feel they are part of a common group.
Assignment: Read the passages on Migration from the Former Soviet Republics to Russia. Then complete the chart below, listing reasons why ethnic Russians living in the former Soviet republics might want to emigrate to Russia in the left column, and reasons why they might choose to stay in the right column. Make as many points as you need for each side. The first three are already labeled for you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons why ethnic Russians should emigrate to Russia</th>
<th>Reasons why ethnic Russians should remain in the former Soviet republics</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which side do you agree with? Cite examples from the text to support your answer:
Dear Readers:

Exchanging both sides of the issue: Ethnic Russians in the former Soviet republics
You are an editorial columnist for a Russian-language newspaper in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. The editor—in—chief, your boss, has asked you to write an editorial column in which you will examine the reasons that ethnic Russians living in Kyrgyzstan, one of the former Soviet republics, might choose to emigrate from Kyrgyzstan to Russia.

In your editorial column, you should list at least two reasons why ethnic Russians might consider leaving Kyrgyzstan, and two reasons why they might consider staying. Give examples from the reading, or use other examples that apply to the situation.

At the end of your editorial, you should offer your opinion on whether or not Russians should remain in Kyrgyzstan. Use information from the text to support your answer.

Dear Readers:
Section 4: Using an Advocate/Decision-Making Activity to Discuss Migration
Student Activity: Migration Advocate/Decision-Making Activity

Advocate/decision-making activities allow for complete class involvement. Unlike class debates, which are usually dominated by a few of the most vocal students, the advocate/decision-making activity works well because each student is accountable for a role. Every student is either a debater (“advocate”) or a judge (“decision-maker”). The exercise sets up clear points of disagreement, and the competition to persuade the decision-maker enhances student motivation. In addition, such activities can be used with a large variety of historical and contemporary social studies problems and issues.

This activity revolves around a complex historical or contemporary migration issue that is presented to the students. It is presented in the form of a “should” question, allowing participants to examine reasons for support or opposition of the issue under discussion. Case studies for use with this activity can be found beginning on page 70.

Time Needed:
Two class periods of 45 minutes–1 hour each or one 90-minute class period will be sufficient for steps 3–5, assuming that:
• class preparation (step 1) is done outside of this time frame (this will require approximately 10–15 minutes to assign roles, distribute worksheets and readings, and to explain the first steps of the activity);
• individual preparation (step 2) is assigned as homework; and
• group preparation (step 3), confrontation (step 4), and de-briefing (step 5) are done in class.

We recommend a minimum of 30 additional minutes if individual preparation (step 2) is assigned as an in-classs activity.

Supplies for this activity:
• the Advocate's Worksheet (p. 66)
• the Decision-Maker's Worksheet (p. 67)
• copies of the 2-4 page brief from any of the case studies that follow in this section, beginning on p. 70

Conducting the activity:
There are five steps in this activity, and an optional sixth step for assessment. It is also possible to do the assessment activity—writing a persuasive essay—without doing the advocate/decision-making activity. Begin by selecting the question(s) your class will debate.

Step 1: Class preparation:
Divide the students into 3 groups and assign each group one of the following roles: 1) advocates in favor, 2) advocates in opposition, and 3) decision-makers. The groups should be equal in size. When the class number is not divisible by 3, make the one or two extra students decision-makers.

Step 2: Individual preparation:
During this phase, the students should quietly read their background documentation. Each case study contains a brief that all students should read. Supplemental readings follow, which may be assigned as extra credit or as homework. While reading, each student should complete the appropriate worksheet.

Advocates prepare their arguments by finding relevant evidence in the text that supports their position, using the worksheet on page 66. Decision-makers prepare questions to ask the advocates and consider what the main arguments on each side are likely to be, completing the first section of the worksheet on page 67. Alternatively, you may choose to assign roles to students after they have done the reading and note-taking, requiring all students to examine all sides of the issue and prepare an argument for both sides.
Step 3: Group preparation:
Have your students come together in groups according to the roles they have been assigned: advocates in favor will meet with the other advocates in favor, advocates in opposition with their counterparts, and decision-makers with the other decision-makers.

In each group, students should share the information gathered during individual preparation, and the arguments they have prepared. The advocates should decide the best arguments for their perspective, while decision-makers should analyze both perspectives, deciding the best questions to ask.

Step 4: Confrontation:
Re-group your students into small groups of 3, consisting of one advocate from each side and a decision-maker. (If your class is not divisible by 3, there will be one or two groups with an extra decision-maker.)

For the first ten minutes, advocates in favor are allowed to present their argument to the decision-maker, who may ask questions. During this period, the advocates in opposition may only listen and take notes.

For the next ten minutes, advocates in opposition have their chance to present their argument, while their opponent may only listen and take notes.

For the final 10–15 minute period, the advocates may debate the issue, presenting rebuttals or challenges to the argument presented, and the decision-maker may further question both advocates.

At the end of this period, the decision-maker should complete his or her worksheet, revealing their decision and the reasons for it.

Step 5: De-briefing:
Individual decision-makers should stand before the class and summarize the debate process for their group, discussing which arguments were most persuasive and most supportable. They should end by announcing their decision and the reasons for it.

Arguments and decisions may also be reviewed in terms of values. A homework assignment, for all participants, could include an essay examining values: What values underlay the positions and statements? Where did the values conflict? What values did the decision-makers demonstrate?

Assessment (optional):
The assessment piece is a DBQ activity that uses the documents in each case study and the following essay prompt:

Read the introduction and the documents provided. Identify the push and pull factors given in the documents. Consider the overall issue. Are the causes economic, social, political, or environmental (or more than one of these) in nature?

Write a persuasive essay in which you describe the issue presented. Be sure to identify the major push and pull factors, their causes, and the potential effects they may have on the migrants, the place they are planning to leave, and the place to which they are planning to migrate. Cite specific passages and examples from the documents to support your answer. Remember to consider the perspective of the authors of each document. Finally, explain which argument you find more persuasive, based on the factors you have described above. Justify your decision citing information from the documents, or from additional research.

A grading rubric may be found on page 68.

This activity was originally developed by John Rossi of the School of Education, Virginia Commonwealth University. This adaptation by Hemispheres, The University of Texas at Austin, is based on a revised version used by the Education Program of the United States Institute of Peace.
My position on the issue is that

1. One reason to support the position is

   One piece of evidence that backs up this reason is

2. A second reason to support the position is

   One piece of evidence that backs up this reason is

3. A third reason to support the position is

   One piece of evidence that backs up this reason is

4. The opponents of this position might say

   I would reply to their reason by saying
I. List the questions you will ask the advocates when they try to persuade you. Ask challenging questions that show what you already know about the issue. Make sure your set of questions is balanced and does not show favoritism for one side.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

II. On the back of this sheet, list the reasons given by each advocate when they attempt to persuade you. Divide the reasons into two columns, as shown here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASONS FOR</th>
<th>REASONS AGAINST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

III. Before making a decision, think about these questions:

1. Is the reason relevant?
2. Is the reason supported by evidence?
3. What reasons presented by one advocate went unchallenged by the other advocate?
4. What contrary evidence was presented?
5. How unbiased are the sources?

IV. After evaluating the reasons and evidence presented by both advocates, I have decided that:


V. The reasons and/or evidence that most influenced my decision, in order of importance, are:

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 - Above Standards</td>
<td>5 - Merits Standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - Approaching Standards</td>
<td>2 - Below Standards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Essay: Understanding Migration**

**Focus or Thesis Statement**

The thesis statement names the topic of the essay and outlines the main points to be discussed.

**Evidence and Examples**

- All of the evidence and examples are specific, relevant, and explanations are given that show how each piece of evidence supports the author's position.
- Most of the evidence and examples are specific, relevant, and explanations are given that show how each piece of evidence supports the author's position.
- At least one of the pieces of evidence and examples is relevant and has an explanation that shows how that piece of evidence supports the author's position.
- Evidence and examples are NOT relevant AND/OR are not explained.

**Accuracy**

- All supportive facts and statistics are reported accurately.
- Almost all supportive facts and statistics are reported accurately.
- Most supportive facts and statistics are reported accurately.
- Most supportive facts and statistics were inaccurately reported.

**Closing Paragraph**

- The conclusion is strong and leaves the reader solidly understanding the writer's position. Effective restatement of the position statement begins the closing paragraph.
- The conclusion is recognizable. The author's position is restated within the first two sentences of the closing paragraph.
- The author's position is restated within the closing paragraph, but not near the beginning.
- There is no conclusion - the paper just ends.

**Grammar & Spelling**

- Author makes no errors in grammar or spelling that distract the reader from the content.
- Author makes 1-2 errors in grammar or spelling that distract the reader from the content.
- Author makes 3-4 errors in grammar or spelling that distract the reader from the content.
- Author makes more than 4 errors in grammar or spelling that distract the reader from the content.
Should rural residents move to Brazil’s megacities when faced with dwindling opportunities in the countryside?

Brazil is one of many Latin American countries that have faced a trend of rural-to-urban migration. People in the countryside are poor, and move to try to find a better life in Brazil’s urban centers. In cities such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, however, these migrants often lack the skills to obtain good jobs, and are forced to live in favelas (shantytowns) at the outskirts of the city, which lack basic services like electricity and sewage. Read the following documents to defend your position in the Advocate/Decision-Making Activity.

### Reading 1: Testimony from Bishops of Northeastern Brazil

**“The Agrarian Problem”**

Our peasants, as a general rule, continue to be bound to the plow and to various sharecropping systems which extract more value from their labor for the year than the value of the land that they work. The legal resources to which they may appeal, in practice have little efficacy. In rental arrangements, for example, the peasants are made to pay a percentage of the value of the rented land that is much higher than the percentage fixed by the Land Statute. The landowner almost always demands a higher rate, and if the peasant does not agree, he will deny him use of the land in future years.

The situation of rural wage laborers is not very different. In theory, their working conditions are defined and protected by labor legislation. But observe what happens in the sugar zone, in a monoculture that employs the majority of rural wage-earners of the Northeast. Employers, in order to get around the provision of the labor laws, resort to mass expulsion of the peasants from their lands … The expelled workers then must live in congested conditions in shantytowns near the “evacuated” land, forming a reserve of cheap labor easily available to agricultural employers. Now, recruited as “clandestine workers”—a term derived from the fact that they accept employment without a formal labor agreement—they must accept a wage that is even below the legal minimum …

Condemned to marginality in the countryside, exploited, without access to land, the peasant must either continue his struggle for land or emigrate to the region’s urban centers, to São Paulo or some other place where he continues to be exploited …

The city is only a continuation of his odyssey. Disqualified by his lack of skills to compete for the kind of jobs generated by industry, jobs whose number is inadequate to absorb the expansion of the urban labor force, he swells the unemployed in the service sector, trying to find some sort of activity that will enable him to satisfy his most elemental need: to kill his hunger.

His situation, however, does not distinguish him basically from those who are employed, because they, too, are victims of the process of marginalization inherent in the system. The surplus of labor reduces their capacity to struggle for the conquest and preservation of their rights. On top of all this, wages are fixed at a level incompatible with the workers’ most elementary needs.

**Source:** Helder Camar y obispos de Brazil, *El grito del tercer mundo: Testimonios* (Buenos Aires: Meray Editor, 1974). (Permission pending.)

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**Agrarian:** related to farmers, farming, or agriculture.  
**Clandestine:** something kept or done in secret.  
**Marginality, marginalization:** kept on the outside; made insignificant.  
**Monoculture:** the use of land for growing only one type of crop.  
**Sharecropping:** a system in which farmers rent land in exchange for a share of the crops grown instead of paying rent.

Reading 2: Life in the Cities
About 10 million people are packed into São Paulo, Brazil’s largest city. Adding in the suburbs and favelas, the metropolitan area is home to about 16 million people. That makes São Paulo the third-largest city in the world. Rio de Janeiro is Brazil’s second largest city and ninth-largest in the world. About 5.5 million people live in the city and about 10 million in the metropolitan area.

Why do rural Brazilians leave the wide-open spaces for the crowded cities? They want better jobs, housing, and living conditions. Cities also offer superior health care and nutrition. Urban residents, young and old, are healthier and live longer than rural people.

Overall, Brazilians are healthier now than ever before. In 1950, when most Brazilians lived in rural areas, the average life expectancy was forty-six years. By 1990, it had risen to sixty-five.

City Problems
In the mid-1990s, there were around 3,500 favelas in Brazil. These big-city slums are overcrowded and unhealthy. People from rural areas keep pouring in every day. Many have no job skills. For housing, they set up cardboard or metal shacks. In some favelas, the government has built public housing. But most of the slums have no electricity, running water, or sewers.


Reading 3: Interviews with Migrants
We found most migrants unable to describe their decision to migrate with any precision. It was clear that specific decisions involved complex factors, many of them not even conscious. Often a mixture of motives, involving pushes and pulls, works differently for persons in different life circumstances, as the following vignettes demonstrate.

Adult men with rural backgrounds and families tend to leave their homes only when it seems impossible to stay. For example, Sebastião left a small town in [the state of] Pernambuco’s interior at the age of 54. He came to Rio with his wife and three of 16 children, some of whom were already in the city, because, as he put it, “I couldn’t make it there anymore…. There weren’t any more jobs to be found and the land wasn’t supporting us.” To make the trip he sold his only possession, one cow, and walked two days to arrive at Recife, where he bought a ticket to Rio for the equivalent of about U.S. $50.00.

Contrasted with this is the case of Amaro, a younger man who came to Rio from [the state of] Minas Gerais at the age of 19 to search for “better opportunities.” At 17 Amaro had already left his birthplace, a fazenda (Brazilian-style plantation) and moved to the nearest municipal seat because “the situation was lousy and I wanted a better life.” He had a brother in Rio who came to visit him and described “all the advantages in Rio, including better salaries and more movimento.” Shortly afterward, Amaro borrowed money from his mother for the trip and convinced a cousin to go along. Amaro lived in three other favelas before settling on Catacumba as his home. The prominent factor in his decision, and that of many like him, was the desire to “be where the action is.” In his mind, the countryside was a dead-end where the years plodded on in dull predictability while the city represented the unknown, exciting, and unforeseeable future.

These people, in different life circumstances, came to the city for a mixture of reasons, hardship weighing more heavily for some, the attraction of urban opportunity more compelling for others.

### Table: Percent of Urbanization in Brazil by Region, 1980–2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>67.59%</td>
<td>75.59%</td>
<td>81.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>50.32%</td>
<td>59.05%</td>
<td>69.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>50.46%</td>
<td>60.65%</td>
<td>69.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast</td>
<td>82.81%</td>
<td>88.02%</td>
<td>90.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>62.41%</td>
<td>74.12%</td>
<td>80.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center-West</td>
<td>70.84%</td>
<td>81.28%</td>
<td>86.73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Urbanization:* the process by which cities grow.
Mexico City was not the only Latin American **megapolis** to reach its city limits during the 1980s. São Paulo, at the other end of the region, also experienced a slowing of the spectacular growth that had made it South America’s largest metropolitan area.

“From 1940 to 1980, [São Paulo was] a very strong pole of attraction for migrants,” said Lucio Kowarick, one of Brazil’s leading experts on migration and urban growth. Both peaked during the economic miracle of the 1970s, when thirty million Brazilians left their rural homes to seek a better life in the country’s cities. A booming São Paulo, with half of Brazil’s industrial jobs, was their most popular destination.

But during the economic crisis of the 1980s, to the surprise of the **pundits**, the population growth of the areas on the edge of São Paulo slowed by two-thirds, while that of the inner city accelerated and surpassed it. The poor, including the working poor, were leaving their suburban shantytowns for inner-city slums. “It is a new phenomenon,” Lucio Kowarick pointed out, but one that “you are beginning to see in Buenos Aires and Montevideo as well. What you see in São Paulo today may be what happens in other large cities of the region in the next two decades.”

It was, Kowarick acknowledged, a pessimistic forecast. “Before, living in a **favela** in São Paulo, a family had to work hard, day and night, for ten to twenty years, but at the end of that time you had your own house. But if you are renting a room in an inner-city tenement, at the end of ten years you will have nothing.”

Today Greater São Paulo has more than twenty million people, multiple centers, heavy traffic, and high pollution. It is a difficult city to live and work in, even for the professional with a car, phone, and maid. For a worker who lives in a suburban shantytown and has to commute to work four hours a day on crowded buses, it is a purgatory. For the unemployed poor, it can be hell. With over a million workers unemployed, São Paulo is a hard place to look for a job, while the consolidation of **favelas** in its suburbs has made land expensive, squatting more difficult, and evictions common. In the inner city, at least there are jobs to be had in the service enterprises that have replaced industry as the leading economic sector, and it is possible to rent a tenement room cheaply and save time and money on commuting as well. It is little wonder that poor people are moving back to the center, returning to a pattern of lower-class housing that prevailed before 1930, but in far less auspicious circumstances. By 1990 it seemed as if the limits of São Paulo’s urban sprawl had finally been reached.

Many others were leaving São Paulo altogether, heading for more dynamic industrial zones in the region, such as São Bernardo, or to smaller cities in the western part of São Paulo state like Campinas. New migrants are still arriving in São Paulo, but far fewer than in the past. Increasingly, they are bypassing São Paulo for greener pastures elsewhere.

This is particularly true for rural migrants, who in the absence of industrial opportunities are heading instead for the western part of the state or the adjoining regions of Mato Grosso, the new centers of export agriculture. There they can find work as **boias frias**, the “cold lunch” workers who are bused daily from **favelas** on the outskirts of small cities hundreds of kilometers away to harvest soybeans or cotton and return home at night. The work is hard, the pay is low, and the commute is long, but it is a job in an unstable economy and the cost of living is cheaper than in São Paulo. Significantly, Brazil’s small cities—with twenty to fifty thousand inhabitants—grew faster in the 1980s than the large ones like São Paulo or Rio de Janeiro that had led the way before.

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**Megalopolis:** a very large urban area, usually consisting of several cities that have grown so that there is no visible border between them. Also called a megalcity or a primate city.

**Pundit:** a learned person or authoritative voice; in this case, someone who offers political opinions such as an editorial columnist.
Working as a *boia fria* might put rice and beans on the table, at least for part of the year, but there was no future in it, unlike the industrial jobs São Paulo had offered in the past. There was no land available for squatters and “the landlords want everything for themselves,” Avelino complained in a Campinas shantytown. Here he “just worked to be able to eat.” For those with higher aspirations and greater resourcefulness, the agricultural regions of western São Paulo and southern Mato Grosso became a jumping-off point for a far more ambitious migration north through the Mato Grosso wilderness to [the states of] Rondônia and Acre in the farthest reaches of the Amazon rain forest. When asked what he would do if he won the lottery, Avelino replied, “Ave Maria! I’d buy a farm in Rondônia.”

The draw of rain forest land was part of a new Brazilian migration pattern, a flow this time to the north of Brazil, into the vast expanses of its last frontier, the Amazon. During the 1980s more than one hundred thousand Brazilian families migrated from the south to Rondônia, attracted by the government’s lure of free land. They burned down a quarter of Rondônia’s rain forest, spread diseases that decimated the small remaining indigenous population, and helped turn the state into a wild west frontier. Yet, by 1990, Rondônia was looking like another illusory El Dorado. Its leached soils could not support the growing of rice and beans. Coffee prices were too low to feed a family and the rubber trees migrants planted often failed to produce. Today, abandoned farms dot the landscape and more than half of the cleared land is overgrown with brush and trees. Environmental concerns pressed on Brazil by international agencies have now limited lumbering and mining as well. As a result, migrants have gravitated increasingly to Rondônia’s towns, turning them into cities. Its capital, Porto Velho, is even beginning to develop big-city problems. “People are abandoning the countryside,” said Francisco José Silveira Pereira, the state’s environmental chief. “In 1980, Rondônia was seventy percent rural. Today, it is sixty percent urban.” Hoping to escape São Paulo, the new migrants seemed to be re-creating it inside the Amazon instead.

Supplemental Reading 2: “Life in the Favela”

Carolina Maria de Jesus is a poor African-American woman who lived in an urban favela (shantytown) earning her living by picking over trash and doing odd jobs. She came to the favela as a migrant from northeast Brazil after her boyfriend and employers deserted her when she became pregnant. Her story is unusual because the publication of her diary documenting life among the impoverished earned her an income that enabled her to move her family out of poverty. Her story tells of the violence, squalor, indignity, and drudgery of favela life—and also of her undaunted perseverance. The diary has been translated into dozens of languages and has a worldwide audience.

May 23, 1958 … The sky is beautiful, worthy of contemplation because the drifting clouds are forming dazzling landscapes. Soft breezes pass by carrying the perfume of flowers. And the sun is always punctual at rising and setting. The birds travel in space, showing off in their happiness. The night brings up the sparkling stars to adorn the blue sky. There are so many beautiful things in the world that are impossible to describe. Only one thing saddens us: the prices when we go shopping. They overshadow all the beauty that exists.

Theresa, Meryi’s sister, drank poison. And for no reason. They say she found a note from a woman in her lover’s pocket. It ate away her mouth, her throat, and her stomach. She lost a lot of blood. The doctors say that even if she does get well she will be helpless. She has two sons, one four years old and the other nine months.

May 26 At dawn it was raining. I only have four cruzeiros, a little food left over from yesterday, and some bones. I went to look for water to boil the bones. There is still a little macaroni and I made a soup for the children. I saw a neighbor washing beans. How envious I became. It’s been two weeks that I haven’t washed clothes because I haven’t any soap. I sold some boards for 40 cruzeiros. The woman told me she’d pay today. If she pays I’ll buy soap.

For days, there hasn’t been a policeman in the favela, but today one came because Julião beat his father. He gave him such a violent blow that the old man cried and went to call the police.

May 27 It seems that the slaughterhouse threw kerosene on their garbage dump so the favelados would not look for meat to eat. I didn’t have any breakfast and walked around half dizzy. The daze of hunger is worse than that of alcohol. The daze of alcohol makes us sing, but the one of hunger makes us shake. I know how horrible it is to only have air in the stomach.

I began to have a bitter taste in my mouth. I thought: is there no end to the bitterness of life? I think that when I was born I was marked by fate to go hungry. I filled one sack of paper. When I entered Paulo Guimarães Street, a woman gave me some newspapers. They were clean and I went to the junk yard picking up everything that I found. Steel, tin, coal, everything serves the favelado. Leon weighed the paper and I got six cruzeiros.

I wanted to save money to buy beans but I couldn’t because my stomach was screaming and torturing me. I decided to do something about it and bought a bread roll. What a surprising effect food has on our organisms. Before I ate, I saw the sky, the trees, and the birds all in yellow, but after I ate, everything was normal to my eyes.

Food in the stomach is like fuel in machines. I was able to work better. My body stopped weighing me down. I started to walk faster. I had the feeling that I was gliding in space. I started to smile as if I was witnessing a beautiful play. And will there ever be a drama more beautiful than that of eating? I felt that I was eating for the first time in my life…

June 13, 1958 I dressed the boys and they went to school. I went to look for paper. At the slaughterhouse I saw a young girl eating sausages from the garbage. “You should get yourself a job and you’d have a better life.”

... continues
She asked me if looking for paper earned money. I told her it did. She said she wanted to work so she could walk around looking pretty. She was 15 years old, the age when we think the world is wonderful. The age when the rose unfolds. Later it falls petal by petal and leaves just the thorns.

The prices mount up like waves of the sea. Each one is stronger. Who fights with waves? Only the sharks. But the strongest shark is the thinking one. He walks on earth. He is the merchant.

Lentils are 100 cruzeiros a kilo, a fact that pleases me immensely. I danced, sang and jumped and thanked God, the judge of kings! Where am I to get 100 cruzeiros? It was in January when the waters flooded the warehouses and ruined the food. Well done. Rather than sell the things cheaply, they kept them waiting for higher prices. I saw men throw sacks of rice into the river. They threw dried codfish, cheese, and sweets. How I envied the fish who didn’t work but lived better than I. …

August 14, 1958 Ditinho, Lena’s boy, is a veteran of the favela. But he’s bald and never learned to read, never learned a trade. Only learned to drink pinga. Lena has a nicely built shack on Port Street. But Tuburcio tricked poor Lena. They traded shacks and he gave her a badly built one and kept hers. Afterward he sold it for 15,000 cruzeiros.

I went to the junk yard and got 15 cruzeiros. I passed by the shoemaker to tell him to fix Vera’s shoes. I kept hurrying up the streets. I was nervous because I had very little money and tomorrow is a holiday. A woman who was returning from market told me to go and look for paper at Porto Seguro Street, the building on the corner, fourth floor, apartment 44.

I went up in the elevator, Vera and I. But I was so frightened that the minutes I stayed inside the elevator seemed to me like centuries. When I got to the fourth floor I breathed easier. I had the impression that I was coming out of a tomb. I rang the bell and the lady of the house and maid appeared. She gave me a bag of paper. Her two sons took me to the elevator. The elevator, instead of going down, went up two more floors. But I was accompanied, I wasn’t frightened. I kept thinking: people claim they aren’t afraid of anything but at times they are frightened by something completely harmless.

On the sixth floor a man got into the elevator and looked at me with disgust. I’m used to these looks, they don’t bother me. He wanted to know what I was doing in the elevator. I explained to him that the mother of those two boys had given me some newspapers. And that was the reason for my presence in his elevator. I asked him if he was a doctor or a Congressman. He told me he was a Senator.

The man was well dressed. I was barefoot. Not in condition to ride in his elevator.

I asked a news vendor to help me put the sack on my back, and that the day I was clean I would give him an embrace. He laughed and told me: “Then I know I’m going to die without getting a hug from you, because you never are clean.”

He helped me put the rest of the paper on my head. I went in a factory and after I went to see Senhor Rodolfo. I earned 20 more cruzeiros. Afterward I was tired. I headed toward home. I was so tired that I couldn’t stand up. I had the impression that I was going to die. I thought: if I don’t die, I’ll never work like this again. I could barely breathe. I got 100 cruzeiros.

I went to lie down. The fleas didn’t leave me in peace. I’m so tired of the life that I lead. …


Shark: In Portuguese slang, shark is the name given to anyone who tries to make high or illicit profits from others.
Supplemental Reading 3: Reports on movements to improve rural life in Brazil
“Analysis: Fight for land in Brazil”

The fight for land in Brazil provides a startling illustration of social inequality.

According to the government, just 2% of farmers own more than half of all arable lands in the country—one of the highest concentrations in the world.

On the other hand, it is estimated that about 25 million landless people have to survive on temporary jobs—most of them working for the big land owners for extremely low wages.

This situation has led to a permanent agrarian conflict in the country, with hundreds of land occupations, public buildings invasions and violence spread across Brazil.

From 1991 to 1998 more than 350 people were killed in rural battles for the land, according to the Land Pastoral Commission.

Most of the dead had links either with the Catholic Church or with the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST)—a group created in 1985 to keep pressure on the government to speed up its land reform programme.

The MST claims to be the largest and one of the most organised social movements in Latin America, sponsoring primary schools and food co-operatives around Brazil.

“To occupy, to resist, to produce”

The group’s main tactic is to invade farms and stay there as long as possible to force the government to redistribute the land to its members.

Inside their camps, the landless operate in a fashion and do whatever they can to make their motto come true: “to occupy, to resist and to produce.”

The MST say the government is doing little to help 100,000 families who are camped all around Brazil waiting for a piece of land to live on.

Land reform

However, the government says it has settled more than 287,000 families since 1995—the highest figures yet.

Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso has also accused the group on more than one occasion of being “fascist” and breaking the law.

In this wave of protests, the MST has been demanding a public audience with the president and Finance Minister Pedro Malan.

The government, however, has decided not to talk to the landless.

Analysts say the lack of dialogue will only maintain the stand off and may delay any solution to the acute problem of land reform in the country.


Arable: land that can be used for agriculture.
“Brazil landless march for reform”

More than 1,000 landless workers in Brazil are marching to the capital to call for wide-ranging land reform. Their 180-kilometre (112-mile) march to Brasilia is in support of plans to settle one million landless families over the next four years.

It comes as the government is drafting a national land reform programme which is due to be presented to President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva.

The marchers are expected to meet him when they arrive on 20 November.

Tense relations

Lula’s Workers’ Party, which leads the governing coalition, has always had a close relationship with the Landless Movement (MST).

However, the MST has recently been invading farms and imposing blockades to try to force the government to adhere to its election promises of land reform.

The president of the Workers’ Party, Jose Genoino, spoke to the workers as they set off and promised that he would arrange a meeting with Lula for them.

Jose Valdir Miesnerovicz, of the MST’s national leadership, told the BBC that a national land reform plan was needed to resolve Brazil’s “historic problems” of concentration of land ownership, unemployment and poverty.

He said the MST march was not intended as a protest against Lula’s government, and added that he hoped the movement could help the government implement its plan.

Correspondents say land distribution in Brazil is among the most uneven in the world, with 20% of the population owning 90% of farmland and the poorest 40% owning just 1% of the land.

Rural boost

In another initiative aimed at improving life in rural Brazil, Lula has launched a $2.5bn government programme, Light For All, aimed at providing electricity for several million families in remote areas.

Three-quarters of the money will be provided by the federal government, the rest by state authorities.

The programme will run until 2008 and mainly benefit poor Brazilians.

Earlier this year, the president initiated his Zero Hunger plan, which is also aimed at improving living conditions for the poorest Brazilians.

Web Resources on Brazil and Urbanization
Listed below are a few resources related to rural–urban migration, rural life, and urban life in Brazil.

Library of Congress, Country Study: Brazil
http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/brtoc.html
A succinct overview of the geography, society, economy, transportation and telecommunications, politics and government, and national security of Brazil. Good background material for a better understanding of Brazil’s history.

Migration and Human Capital in Brazil during the 1990s
http://www.eldis.org/static/DOC12726.htm
Link to full text of a World Bank paper on the dynamics of migration in Brazil, which historically has been a mechanism for adjustment to economic instability. The authors profiles migrants from the northeast and southeast of Brazil, and draw comparisons between the two groups.

UNICEF and Children’s Right: Street Kids
http://www.globalclassroom.org/rights5.html
Includes a section on problems caused by urbanization in Brazil. The very issue of street children is also relevant to rural–urban migration in Brazil. This is part of the “Global Classroom” site, which is designed to be used for discussion in classes.

Landless Workers Movement (MST)
http://www.mstbrazil.org/
The English site of the MST (Movimento Sem Terra, or Landless Workers Movement), one of Latin America’s largest and most active social movements. Read updates on MST projects, get the background on the situation in Brazil, read about education, human rights, and agriculture. A good starting place to understand this important movement.

Rio de Janeiro: Many Cities in One
http://www.macalester.edu/courses/geog61/chad/titlepag.htm
Linked from the World Urbanization home page, an overview of the city of Rio with an entire section devoted to the favelas, where they are, what services they do/don’t have, how their communities function, etc.

Favela Faces
http://www.favelafaces.org/
A bilingual website that uses photographs and short video interviews to tell the stories behind the faces of four people living in or around the favelas of Rio de Janeiro.
Should the Egyptian government facilitate the emigration of its own citizens?

In 2003, the government of Egypt launched a website to help its citizens find jobs overseas. Advocates of the website say that it will help Egypt’s “labor surplus” find employment. Opponents argue that the government should not be encouraging emigration as a solution to high unemployment rates. Read the following documents to defend your position in the Advocate/Decision-Making Activity.

### Chart: Number of Egyptian Migrants by Country of Destination, 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Receiving Country</th>
<th>Number of Egyptian Migrants</th>
<th>Distribution by Destination (%)</th>
<th>Overall Distribution (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KSA</td>
<td>923,600</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>332,600</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>226,850</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>190,550</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>95,000</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>65,629</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>12,500</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total in Arab Countries</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,912,729</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>69.9</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States of America (USA)</td>
<td>318,000</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total in Non-Arab Countries</strong></td>
<td><strong>824,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>30.1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,736,729</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Egyptians seeking to work abroad are in a unique position among the world’s migrant labour market with the launch on Monday of the Integrated Migration Information System (IMIS), a project aimed at helping Egyptian workers find employers abroad.

With its surplus of skilled labour and its young population, Egypt is in a strong position to feed European economies straining under the burden of ageing populations. A joint project between the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the Egyptian Ministry of Manpower and Emigration (MME) and the Italian government, the IMIS is a pilot project in regulating migration flow and maintaining contact with Egyptians working abroad. Rafaat Radwan, chairman of the Information and Decision Support Centre (IDSC), hailed the project as a chance to “bridge the gap between North and South” and play a role in the “dialogue of civilisations”, but what this initial IT phase really boils down to is an online match making service.

Potential workers log onto a newly established bilingual Web site (www.emigration.gov.eg), where they can post their CV in English and Arabic and search a database of employers. Using extensively detailed occupational descriptions based on International Labour Organisation lingo, some 8–10,000 job titles are listed on the site. Companies or other entrepreneurs seeking workers with particular skills can in turn search profiles of workers and contact the MME about promising candidates. Remarkably user-friendly, the IMIS Web site also caters to what publicity material refers to as the “Egyptian diaspora,” as well as embassies abroad seeking to post information for potential immigrants.

At the IMIS inauguration on Monday, Italian Ambassador Antonio Badini noted a “temporary excess” of manpower in Egypt and pointed to a dearth of manpower in some areas in Italy, saying that the IMIS project will help to improve economic and social development in Italy while allowing Egypt to “compete more effectively in the international arena.”

Minister of Manpower and Emigration Ahmed El-Amawy likewise stressed the importance of increasing Egypt’s ties with the world and singled out the Italian expatriate community in Egypt as historically one of the most significant. Saluting what he referred to as a “fruitful cooperation” between the two countries, El-Amawy pointed to the need to facilitate legal emigration as well as to aid Egyptian immigrants already abroad.

By facilitating this project, however, some will argue that the government is encouraging the dreaded “brain-drain”—an exodus of Egypt’s highly skilled labour. But Hassan Abdel-Moneim, senior regional advisor for the Middle East and special envoy to the Gulf countries at the IOM in Geneva, is tired of what he sees as an age-old threat that has never amounted to anything. “At IOM, we believe there is no ‘brain drain’, it’s a ‘brain gain’,” he says. An Egyptian expatriate himself, Abdel-Moneim notes that Egyptians typically keep close ties with their families and there is a strong incentive to return home. He noted that it is important to create an environment that encourages foreign-trained workers to either return to Egypt or invest in the country.

Reading 2: Library of Congress Country Study: Egypt

Social Issues: Emigration

The 1986 census estimated that 2.25 million Egyptian nationals were working outside the country. Only small numbers of Egyptians, primarily professionals, had left the country in search of employment before 1974. Then, in that year, the government lifted all restrictions on labor migration. The move came at a time when oil-rich Arab states of the Persian Gulf and neighboring Libya were implementing major development programs with funds generated by the quadrupling of oil revenues in 1973…. By 1980 more than 1 million Egyptians were working abroad. That number doubled by 1982. The emergence of foreign job opportunities alleviated some of the pressure on domestic employment. Many of these workers sent a significant portion of their earnings to their families in Egypt. As early as 1979, these remittances amounted to US $2 billion, a sum equivalent to the country’s combined earnings from cotton exports, Suez Canal transit fees, and tourism.

The foreign demand for Egyptian labor peaked in 1983, at which time an estimated 3.28 million Egyptian workers were employed abroad. After that year, political and economic developments in the Arab oil-producing countries caused a retrenchment in employment opportunities. The Iran-Iraq War decline in oil prices forced the Persian Gulf oil industry into a recession, which caused many Egyptians to lose their jobs. Up to 1 million workers returned home. Most of the expatriate workforce remained abroad but new labor migration from Egypt slowed considerably. In late 1989, the number of Egyptian workers abroad still exceeded 2.2 million.

The majority of Egyptian labor migrants expected to return home eventually, but thousands left their country each year with the intention of permanently resettling in various Arab countries, Europe, or North America. These emigrants tended to be highly educated professionals, mostly doctors, engineers, and teachers. Their departure caused a serious “brain drain” for Egypt. Iraq and, to a lesser extent, Kuwait were the Arab countries most likely to accept skilled Egyptians as permanent residents. Iraq, which sought agriculturists trained in irrigation techniques, encouraged Egyptian farmers to move to the sparsely populated but fertile lands in the south. Outside of the Arab countries, the United States was a preferred destination. Between 1970 and 1985, about 45,000 Egyptians immigrated to the United States.

Economy: Employment

Employment grew at a slower rate than did the population and the labor force, resulting in a worsening unemployment situation. According to official accounts, the rate of unemployment increased from 2.8 percent in the period from 1975 to 1977 to about 12 percent in 1986. The figures probably understated the problem, because other informed sources put the rates at 20 percent to 25 percent in 1987 and 1988.

In addition to unemployment, economists pointed to underemployment, or disguised unemployment. There was a consensus that underemployment was rampant in the government bureaucracy, because of overstaffing and low remuneration. In 1990 the government was considering paying private-sector employers a two year salary for every new graduate they hired. It viewed the measure as a means of checking the expansion of the bureaucracy and ameliorating the unemployment problem.

Although Egypt had a high percentage of high-school and college graduates, the country continued to face shortages in skilled labor. Probably 35 percent of civil servants and 60 percent of persons in public-sector enterprises were unskilled or illiterate. The lack of skilled labor was blamed on, among other things, the cultural bias against manual work, the theoretical nature of courses in most higher education institutions, and the emigration of skilled personnel abroad, where they received higher wages. There were complaints that the implementation of development plans was hampered by the insufficient supply of skilled labor.


Ameliorate: relieve or reduce pressure.
Remittance: income sent home by migrant workers from abroad; remittances are generally not taxed by the home country.
Remuneration: salary or payment for a job or services rendered.
Supplemental Reading 1: “Unchecked Exodus”

What can be done to bring back the thousands of highly trained Egyptian medical professionals working abroad—and keep the ones we have?

It can hardly be considered a new problem. The issue of the brain drain—the steady flow of intellectual talent out of developing countries such as this one—has been the subject of much hand-wringing for decades.

It’s an issue that cuts across all areas of education and technology. In the medical field, some of the top medical professionals in the world—such as London heart surgeon Magdi Yaqoub—are Egyptian, but very few of those acknowledged giants actually work in Egypt. The net loss of all this brain-power on the country’s medical system is nearly incalculable.

Dr. Venice Kamel Ghouda, former minister of scientific research, estimates that at least 10,000 Egyptian experts in medicine and biotechnology are currently working abroad. If they all came back, she says, “That’s enough to start a new technological revolution in Egypt.”

Egypt has a solid level of base medical training, but only certain select pockets of the medical system can be considered on a par with international standards. Some of these advanced fields, such as plastic surgery, actually draw a steady stream of foreign customers who come seeking top-notch treatment at comparatively low prices.

If anything, the talent-loss problem has loomed larger in recent years as technological capacity has progressed to the point where the country can finally utilize advanced skills. Thirty years ago, perhaps, there truly was no place here for people wishing to do advanced research in some fields.

Expatriates who do return don’t necessarily contribute to the improvement of local health care. One common phenomenon is for expatriate surgeons to set up shop for a couple of months in Egypt—where they can charge high rates and be treated like visiting royalty, thanks to the mystique of their foreign status.

The roots of the current medical and technological brain drain lie in the emigrant wave of the ’60s. Compared to previous Arab emigrant generations, this wave was a largely educated, white-collar exodus—the cream of the crop of the country’s young students, whose talents had enabled them to secure grants to do post-graduate work abroad.

Among doctors and medical professionals, opinions are split on the issue of emigration. Some who travel to receive foreign training view it as a sort of patriotic duty to return and apply their skills at home; others claim that they can do more advanced, ground-breaking research abroad—thereby benefiting all humanity, including Egyptians. “I believe that Egyptians that came here 15 or more years ago can help more by staying in the US and helping from here,” says Malak Kotb, a professor in biotechnology at the University of Tennessee in Memphis. She claims that India makes far better use of its expatriate talent base than Egypt. “Unfortunately, there is no official program to optimally utilize our abilities.”

Ahmed Al Danaf, professor of plastic surgery at Matariyya Teaching Hospital, is one who chose to return. He spent four years studying in France, but says he never considered staying abroad. “I had the objective of getting the most training in the shortest amount of time and returning.”

Expatriate: someone who resides in a foreign country.
Obviously not everyone feels that way though. Al Danaf says that of his Egyptian colleagues who were overseas for training at the same time, about half of them never came back. “They leave Egypt for the money, they leave Egypt for the research opportunities. Some of them leave Egypt because they’re sick of the system here.”

That system, which drives away some of Egypt’s best and brightest, is a major obstacle for those seeking to repatriate medical brainpower. The rampant nepotism and back-scratching which plagues Egyptian academia often makes the decision to stay abroad that much more attractive.

Ahmed Abdelal, a professor of molecular biology at Georgia State University, speaks of a need to change the “reward system” and eliminate the “wasta” (connections) requirement that largely decides who advances in Egyptian colleges and medical faculties. Bottom line: many of the doctors who stayed overseas did so simply because they felt there was a better chance outside the country of being judged solely on their merits.

Even those who wish to give something back to the motherland face obstacles. Kotb says her attempts to reach out to peers in Egypt were often met with indifference or even outright hostility. “Sometimes it was almost like people were suspicious of my motives,” she says.

While the campaign to encourage emigrants to invest their money back in their homeland has been underway for several years now, the effort to do the same with overseas expertise is still in its formative stages. Venice Kamel Gouda has recently founded the Egyptian Expert Network Overseas in an attempt to create an “emigrant think-tank” of experts. Under the auspices of a campaign known as gusour (bridges), Gouda has created a fledgling on-line community of Egyptian expatriate doctors and medical professionals—some of whom have come back for seminars, short-term consultancies or sabbaticals.

“They don’t have to move back to Egypt. There are a lot of ways they can help,” says Gouda, who is focusing on medical and biotechnology professionals.

One of the program’s success stories is Kotb, who says she “jumped at the chance” to offer her services when approached by Gouda. Kotb participated in a group that put together an American-Egyptian agreement on biotechnology transfer and will be coming to Egypt this month to conduct a seminar on biotech.

Obviously the best way to keep medical talent at home is to keep students and doctors from leaving in the first place—by improving the level of advanced research in the country to the point where there’s no longer a need for young talents to travel to receive proper training. “That’s something that’s really missing here—the advanced training,” says Al Danaf. He describes the basic medical training here as solid, but says that for advanced specializations, a stint at a foreign medical school is still necessary.

Perversely, the same lack of specialized training that leads to the brain drain also ensures that the phenomenon continues. Those expatriate doctors and medical professionals could be working and teaching here, offering all that foreign-acquired knowledge so that the new generation of doctors wouldn’t have to travel in search of it (and maybe stay abroad). So the best way to stop the brain drain is to improve the level of advanced training at home, and the best way to improve the training is to reverse the brain drain.

As Al Danaf sees it, “If all these people returned to Egypt, the world here would change overnight.”

Supplemental Reading 2: “Stop the brain-drain from the Arab world”
One of the main problems facing the Arab world today is the so-called brain drain. Such a movement of highly skilled, talented individuals is becoming so acute that many are worrying about its effects on the economic development of the region.

One study carried out by the London-based Gulf Centre for Strategic Studies in 2001 suggests that Arab countries will lose their experts if the brain drain continues at the current rate.

More and more educated professionals such as engineers, doctors and scientists are looking for greener pastures in western countries. Also more Arab students receiving an education in Britain, the US, or France stay after completing their studies.

UNESCO defines the brain drain as an odd form of scientific exchange among states because it is characterised by a movement in one direction that inevitably flows to developed countries.

Brain drain has long become a worldwide phenomenon. UNCTAD suggests that between 1960 and 1987, 825,000 skilled immigrants entered the US and Canada from developing countries.

The movement of skilled labour increased in the 1990s as a result of the global marketplace and the introduction of new growth industries, such as Information and Communications Technology.

In a paper presented at the 4th Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics in Oslo last year, Andreas Solimano says this movement resulted in 900,000 skilled professionals pouring into the US from the developing countries.

The movement of labour across the world became much more fluid in the 1990s, with the concept of globalisation, the tearing down of barriers and as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc. This meant skilled and professional labour became more mobile which resulted in the flow to the west.

It is argued that between 500,000 and 800,000 Russian scientists migrated to Europe and America in the past 10 years, according to a BBC report. Today, there is also a brain drain from countries in Africa, Taiwan, New Zealand, China and India as well as Iran, Korea and the Philippines. And if there isn’t a brain drain in Pakistan, professional people are also actively thinking about going abroad.

No different
The Arab world is no different, with the brain drain phenomenon occurring from the region, too. The latest Human Development Report of 2003, the second under the auspices of the United Nations Development Fund, UNDP, states that 25 per cent of the 300,000 graduates from Arab universities in 1995-1996 migrated, and that 15,000 doctors did likewise between 1998 and 2000.

At the 10th Afro-Arab Parliamentary Conference at Addis Ababa in January 2003, the Arab-African brain drain issue was discussed at length, with measures to be taken to reverse it. It was stated that 37 per cent of the world’s migration of experts and specialists comes from African and Arab countries.

It is also suggested that 54 per cent of doctors, 26 per cent of engineers and 17 per cent of scientists graduating from Arab and African universities migrate to Europe, the US and Canada, and half of African and Arab students studying abroad never return.
One study published in Egypt and carried by ArabicNews.com backs up the UNDP report when it says that 50 per cent of medical doctors, 23 per cent of engineers and 15 per cent of Arab scientists are lost every year to Europe and North America.

This has resulted in significant material losses. Parliamentarians in Addis Ababa noted that a total of $13 billion was lost to the Arab world and African countries in the 1970s as a result of the brain drain.

Today, it is estimated that Arab states annually lose up to $1.5 billion as a result of the brain drain. Ashraf Khalil, writing in the *Cairo Times* in 1999, said that the loss to the Egyptian medical sector was incalculable.

Dr. Venice Kamel Ghouda, former Egyptian Minister of Scientific Research, quoted in her article, suggests that at the end of the 1990s, there were at least 10,000 Egyptian experts in the medical and biotechnology sector working abroad. If these people came back it would be “enough to start a new technological revolution in Egypt.”

But losses are measured in other ways. Experts suggest Arab and developing countries invest a lot in educating and training young men and women. This translates into a loss to their states when these people migrate, with the direct benefit accruing to the recipient states that do not need to fork out the cost of educating them.

**Significant knowledge**

Thus, this brain drain also creates a significant knowledge gap in the sender states, which no longer possess the technical know-how because of the migration of labour.

One solution to the brain drain includes establishing a network between the home country and its immigrant community abroad. Through her Egyptian Expert Network Overseas, Dr. Ghouda has tried to create “an emigrant think-tank” of experts that will serve as a bridge with their country through the exchange of information, offering consultancies and coming on sabbaticals to their home countries.

However, the problem may be in creating real job opportunities and the right environment for making people stay in the Arab world, according to Amr Moussa, the Secretary General of the Arab League. He told delegates at a conference on Information Technology and Telecommunications in the Arab world last September that the brain drain would be stemmed through progress made by Arab countries in the Information Technology field.

In the final analysis, however, it is clear that it is up to governments to act to stop the brain drain.

*Dr. Marwan Asmar is a member of the Gulf News Research Centre.*

*Source: Marwan Asmar, “Stop the brain drain from the Arab world,” *Gulf News (Dubai)*, December 29, 2003. (Reprinted with permission.*)
### Supplemental Chart: Survey of Egyptians Living Abroad: Reasons for Leaving Egypt

*This chart indicates the results of a survey of Egyptians living abroad: whole numbers indicate the number of responses received for a particular answer, with the percentage of the total given in parentheses below.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons behind Emigration</th>
<th>Arab Countries</th>
<th>Western Countries</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Difficult political situation in Egypt</td>
<td>4 (2.5%)</td>
<td>21 (12.7%)</td>
<td>25 (7.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult economic situation and poverty in Egypt</td>
<td>65 (41.1%)</td>
<td>24 (14.5%)</td>
<td>89 (27.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impossibility of getting employment in Egypt</td>
<td>28 (17.7%)</td>
<td>8 (4.8%)</td>
<td>36 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impossibility of personal development and improvement</td>
<td>19 (12%)</td>
<td>48 (29.1%)</td>
<td>67 (20.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Egypt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption and prejudice in Egypt</td>
<td>42 (26.8%)</td>
<td>40 (24.2%)</td>
<td>82 (25.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insufficient income opportunities in Egypt</td>
<td>41 (25.9%)</td>
<td>32 (19.4%)</td>
<td>73 (22.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventure and the desire to see a new country</td>
<td>10 (6.3%)</td>
<td>34 (20.6%)</td>
<td>44 (13.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born abroad</td>
<td>16 (10.1%)</td>
<td>36 (21.8%)</td>
<td>52 (16.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>9 (5.7%)</td>
<td>57 (34.5%)</td>
<td>66 (20.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages do not sum to 100 due to multiple responses provided by respondents.*

Web Resources on Egypt and the “Brain Drain” Phenomena

Canada’s Brain Drain
http://www.canadiansocialresearch.net/hightax.htm
Website that examines reasons why Canadian professionals are leaving for the United States. There are a lot of parallels with the issues discussed in relation to Egypt, which could make an interesting activity in comparing the two case studies.

Library of Congress, Country Study: Egypt
http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/egtoc.html
A succinct overview of the geography, society, economy, transportation and telecommunications, politics and government, and national security of Egypt. Good background material for a better understanding of Egypt’s history.

Government of Egypt, Ministry of Manpower and Emigration
http://www.emigration.gov.eg
The website, mentioned in the case study, that allows Egyptians to post their curricula vitae for review by potential employers abroad.
Should people in India move from rural areas to the city to find work?

Like other parts of South Asia, India is experiencing an explosion of rural-to-urban migration. Pressures on agricultural land and the hope for a better life are motivating the rural poor to seek employment in the country’s sprawling cities. Many rural households now have members who have migrated to cities for work and these urban migrants often contribute the majority of the household’s income.

Read the following documents to support your position in the Advocate/Decision-Making Activity. Think about the different factors that would motivate you to leave your village to find work in a city and the problems that you might face in doing so.

**Reading 1: Library of Congress Country Study: India**

*Urban Life: The Growth of Cities*

Accelerating urbanization is powerfully affecting the transformation of Indian society. Slightly more than 26 percent of the country’s population is urban, and in 1991 more than half of urban dwellers lived in 299 urban agglomerates or cities of more than 100,000 people. By 1991 India had twenty-four cities with populations of at least 1 million. In that year, among cities of the world, Bombay ranked seventh in the world at 12.6 million, and Calcutta ranked eighth at almost 11 million. About half of these increases are the result of rural-urban migration, as villagers seek better lives for themselves in the cities.

Most Indian cities are very densely populated. New Delhi, for example, had 6,352 people per square kilometer in 1991. Congestion, noise, traffic jams, air pollution, and major shortages of key necessities characterize urban life. Every major city in India faces the same proliferating problems of grossly inadequate housing, transportation, sewerage, electric power, water supplies, schools, and hospitals. Slums and jumbles of pavement dwellers’ lean-tos constantly multiply. An increasing number of trucks, buses, cars, three-wheel auto-rickshaws, motorcycles, and motor-scooters, all spewing uncontrolled fumes, surge in sometimes haphazard patterns over city streets jammed with jaywalking pedestrians, cattle, and goats. Accident rates are high (India’s fatality rate from road accidents, the most common cause of accidental death, is said to be twenty times higher than United States rates), and it is a daily occurrence for a city dweller to witness a crash or the running down of a pedestrian. In 1984 the citizens of Bhopal suffered the nightmare of India’s largest industrial accident, when poisonous gas leaking from a Union Carbide plant killed and injured thousands of city dwellers. Less spectacularly, on a daily basis, uncontrolled pollutants from factories all over India damage the urban environments in which millions live.

Finding employment in the urban setting can be extremely challenging, and, whenever possible, networks of relatives and friends are used to help seek jobs. Millions of Indians are unemployed or underemployed. Ingenuity and tenacity are the hallmarks of urban workers, who carry out a remarkable multitude of tasks and sell an incredible variety of foods, trinkets, and services, all under difficult conditions. Many of the urban poor are migrant laborers.

For nearly everyone within the highly challenging urban environment, ties to family and kin remain crucial to prosperity. Even in the harshest urban conditions, families show remarkable resilience. Neighborhoods, too, take on importance, and neighbors from various backgrounds develop cooperative ties with one another. Neighborhood solidarity is expressed at such annual Hindu festivals as Ganesh’s Birthday (Ganesh Chaturthi) in Bombay and Durga Puja in Calcutta, when neighborhood associations create elaborate images of the deities and take them out in grand processions.

Chart 1: India Population Growth Rate Map

Reading 2: “An Overview of Migration in India, Its Impacts and Key Issues”

In India internal mobility is critical to the livelihoods of many people, especially for people from resource-poor areas. In some regions of India, three out of four households include a migrant. In one district in West Bengal, the number of seasonal migrants exceeds 500,000.

Industrialization has widened the gap between rural and urban areas, prompting the workforce to move to industrializing areas. In developing countries such as India, the workforce shift has been dominated by an expansion of the “informal” sector. Seasonal workers are mostly absorbed into the informal sector of the economy.

In 2001, India’s population exceeded 1 billion. Between 1951 and 2001, the proportion of the population living in urban areas rose from 17.3% to 32.8%. The ratio between the highest to lowest state per capita income increased from 2.6 in 1980–83 to 3.5 in 1997–2000. It is estimated that 26.1% of India’s population lives below the poverty line.

Generally, India’s poor are illiterate and belong to low socioeconomic status groups. Recent studies have shown that migration is an important economic strategy for poor households in several regions of India. Migration in India is predominately short distance, around 60% of migrants changing their residence within their home district. The primary motivation for migration is influenced by the conditions of the labor market. Of the 27.4% who changed place of residence in 1991, 8.8% moved for employment reasons.

For temporary migrants, agriculture, seasonal industries and informal sector work in urban areas are the most popular reasons for migration. Short duration migration constituted 2.1% of rural employed persons and 1.3% of urban employed persons. Casual labor formed 3.1% and 1.5% of the informal labor force in rural and urban areas respectively.

The National Commission of Rural Labor concluded that uneven development was the root cause of seasonal migration. Workers could be locked into a debt-migration cycle where earnings from migration are used to repay debts at home which in turn makes migration an economic necessity. For example, in the rice belt of West Bengal, the difference in wages between source and destination are the main reasons for migration.

Migrant laborers are exposed to large uncertainties in the potential job market. The poorer migrants trade their freedom of making individual contracts with employers for the possibility of securing advances and employment from contractors. Migrants work long and odd hours. Payments are often not made on time with piece rate payment predominating. Although this provides greater flexibility to the employer, migrants may prefer these wage systems and they can maximize the return on a per day basis, thereby raising the possibility of saving part of their wages.

Migrant workers, whether urban or rural, live in deplorable conditions. Most live in open spaces or makeshift shelters. Slum dwellers, who are mostly migrants, live with inadequate water and bad drainage. Food costs more for migrant workers who are not able to obtain temporary ration cards. Migrants cannot access various health care programs due to their temporary status. Free public health care is not available to them.

Chart 2: Urban Profile of India, 2002

**Capital:** Delhi (2001 Census)

**Largest City:** Mumbai 16,368,084

**2nd Largest City:** Calcutta 13,216,546

**Urban Population 288,283,000**

- **Lived in urban areas in 2000:**
  - Urban 211,761,000
  - Rural 76,522,000

**Annual Growth Rates (2000-2015)**

- **Urban:** 2.7%
- **Rural:** 0.5%

**City Sizes # of cities**

- 10 million + 3
- 5-9.99 m 3
- 2.5 - 4.99 m 4
- .75-2.49 m 33
- .10-.749 m 194

**Urban Poverty**

- **87,926,315** urban dwellers were below the poverty level.

- 25% of the country’s poor live in urban areas.

**Economy & Employment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Decentralization**

- Sample Urban Area: Delhi, pop. 12.8 million (2001)

- Able to set none of local tax levels
- Able to choose none of contractors for projects
- Able to borrow none of user charges
- Funds transfer is not known in advance
- Central government cannot remove local govt. officials

**Infrastructure & Basic Services**

- **23,062,640** urban dwellers lack water supply.

- **77,836,410** urban dwellers lack sanitation coverage.

**Health**

- **Under 5 yrs.-old. mortality rate (per 1,000 births, 1998)**
  - Urban: 143.6
  - Rural: 155.0

- **Children severely underweight (under 3 yrs.-old)**
  - Urban: 30.9%
  - Rural: 29.0%

**Crime**

- India’s crime rate is still low by Western standards. The New Delhi area (pop. 10.5 million) is widely described as the country’s “murder capital,” even though it had a relatively modest total of 500 homicides in 1994, compared with 1,607 for New York City (pop. 8 million).

- The murder rate for Indian cities is rising steadily. Also, approximately 40-50% of Indian women in urban slum areas reported incidences of physical domestic violence according to a survey by the International Center for Research of Women in 2000.

**UNEMPLOYMENT.** More than 90% of the labor force is employed in the unorganized sector, which lack social security and other benefits. In urban India, contract and sub-contract as well as migratory agricultural laborers make up most of the unorganized labor force. Data confirm the much higher rates of unemployment among the youth, particularly in urban areas.

**Population without Water Supply in 2000**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population (000's)</th>
<th>% of rel. pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>23,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>101,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>124,616</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pop. without Sanitation Coverage in 2000**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population (000's)</th>
<th>% of rel. pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>23,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>623,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>701,662</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Supplemental Reading 1

India is a part of the global trend towards increasing urbanisation in which more than half of the world’s population is living in cities and towns. 27.8 percent of India’s population (285 million) lives in urban areas as per the 2001 census.

It is important to note that the contribution of the urban sector to GDP is currently expected to be in the range of 50–60 percent. Cities hold tremendous potential as engines of economic and social development, creating jobs and generating wealth through economies of scale. National economic growth and poverty reduction efforts will be increasingly determined by the productivity of these cities and towns.

Table A 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last Residence Elsewhere in India</th>
<th>Total Migrants (in '000)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural-rural</td>
<td>145,045</td>
<td>26,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural-urban</td>
<td>39,910</td>
<td>18,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban-rural</td>
<td>13,479</td>
<td>4,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban-urban</td>
<td>26,420</td>
<td>11,530</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
1. The figures do not include the data for Jammu & Kashmir.
2. Place of last residence unclassifiable as ‘Rural’ or ‘Urban’ is included in ‘Total’.

Supplemental Reading 2: “Money Talks ... and Walks”

March 2004—Orissa has a long history of supplying substantial numbers of migrant workers to various parts of India, including the economically important pockets of Mumbai, Calcutta, and Gujarat. Rough estimates put the figure of migrant Oriya labourers in Gujarat at about 800,000. Of this number, about 80 per cent work in the power loom and diamond polishing businesses in and around Surat. The remaining are spread across the state, working in various factories including plastics, textiles, salt manufacturing, pharmaceuticals, brick manufacturing, and fertilisers.

Orissa has been a source for such migration for more than a half century. Some important reasons are frequent cyclones and natural calamities in the state, a substantial reduction in the availability of forest produce, and the lack of employment opportunities, all resulting in heavy indebtedness amongst its people. To cope, the poor, mainly from the drought-affected parts of western Orissa, temporarily migrate to other districts and states. They come back during the monsoons to plant the kharif crop, and later to harvest it. Migration is more permanent among people from places like Khurda, Nayagarh, and Ganjam. These migrants are generally better off economically, with some education. They migrate to other states mainly in search of better employment opportunities, and not so much because of a vulnerability to drought or famine, like people in western Orissa.

Among the many problems that migrant workers face, a crucial one is the limited scope to save their earnings, which are temporary in nature. When workers do not have any work, they have to return to their homes for money. In the villages, their dependents (wives or mothers) opt for conventional methods of saving when there is some money (purchasing land, jewelry, and cash). They cannot address emergency situations. This creates further indebtedness and migration, and the vicious circle continues. Since there is no support system available, the bargaining power of the migrant workers is negligible and they are compelled to work at low wages. It has come out in discussions with migrant workers that most of them return permanently to their places of origin after 10 or 15 years, without any savings, and their poverty persists generation after generation. Though at their place of work, workers may earn reasonable wages, they tend to squander their earnings due to the lack of avenues for saving to families.

Supplemental Reading 3: Jobless Growth

Trends in India

This incident (ethnic violence directed at migrant workers) can be interpreted as a symptom of a larger malaise. The root of the problem is ‘jobless growth’ in the Indian economy—that is, despite an acceleration in the growth rate in India; the pace of creation of work opportunities has not kept pace with the growing requirement. In the post-liberalisation period, unemployment on a Current Daily Status basis rose from 6.0 percent in 1993–94 to 7.3 percent in 1999–2000 resulting in an additional 27 million job seekers. The most disturbing fact is that of these, 74 percent are in the rural areas and 60 percent among them are educated.

There is substantial decline in employment elasticity (e.g., increase in employment for every unit rise in GDP) in almost all the major productive sectors, except for transport and finance. In agriculture, the employment elasticity has dropped to near zero. The reason for the phenomenon of jobless growth could be that growth in India has essentially been capital intensive. Further, the public sector is in the process of shedding excess labour in the name of downsizing for meeting the efficiency challenges of market competition.

Regional imbalances

This trend of rising unemployment is compounded by the existence of regional imbalances in development within the country, which have collectively accelerated the phenomenon of migration. Variation in economic development across regions is a primary motive for migration to greener pastures. The rural poor are concentrated in eastern India, and in the rainfall-dependant parts of central and western India, which continue to have low agricultural productivity, while the bulk of the jobs are being created in western and southern India.

This increase in migration is essentially due to regional differences in the population pressure on land, inequality of infrastructure, industrial development, and modernization of agriculture. In particular, the developed areas have increased demand for labour during specific seasonal activities, especially sowing and harvesting in the case of agricultural activities. As this demand often supersedes the availability of local labour, these developed regions offer a higher wage rate and/or greater number of days of employment.

Should Hindus migrate from Lahore and settle in India after Partition?

After two centuries of colonial rule, the British withdrew from the Indian subcontinent in 1947, under the condition that the colony be divided into two countries: India and Pakistan. New borders were drawn for these countries based on the demographics of the two largest religious communities. India was to be primarily Hindu, while Pakistan would be mostly Muslim. Other religious communities, such as the Sikhs, were left without a specific country of their own. Within months, millions of people found themselves on the “wrong” side of the border—estimates of the number of people uprooted range from 8–18 million.

This case study looks at the decision faced by Hindus who found themselves located in Lahore, in the Punjab region. The city, close to the newly formed border, was also one of the last places to be decided upon when the subcontinent was divided. When Lahore was finally awarded to Pakistan, the city’s Hindu residents were forced to decide whether to stay or resettle in India. Although the majority of Hindus left Lahore after Partition, some did stay.

Read the following documents to support your position in the Advocate Decision-Making activity. Think about why a Hindu resident of Lahore might choose to remain in the city, now a part of Pakistan, and why they might decide to relocate to India.

**Reading 1: A Description of Lahore before Partition**

In all Hindus and Sikhs owned two thirds of the city’s shops, four fifths of its factories and paid seven tenths of [Lahore’s] taxes. In addition, [Hindus and Sikhs held a great number of positions] in the schools and colleges, banks, offices and [legal courts] established by the British. Despite the Mughal splendors of Shah Jehan's Shalimar Gardens, Akbar’s imposing Fort and Aurangzeb’s massive Badshahi Mosque, Lahore was not an Islamic city, but rather possessed a cosmopolitan feel ...

Ultimately, numbers not wealth counted in the judgment on which side of the new international boundary Lahore would lie. Within the Lahore district, Muslims accounted for three fifths of the total population. In the city of Lahore itself, the proportion of Muslims was slightly higher, although Hindu politicians claimed that this was the product of boundary changes, which had ‘gerrymandered’ the inclusion of Muslim outlying villages in the city boundaries. The award of Lahore to Pakistan was only made public the day after independence. By that stage, extensive areas of the city which had been inhabited by Hindus and Sikhs were in ruins following weeks of [violence and rioting] in the city. The cosmopolitan ‘Paris of the East’ was a distant and poignant memory.


**Reading 2: Portrait of a Lost City**

My father was, at the time of partition, the Managing Director of the National City Bank. He was also one of the founders of the National Bank of Lahore and was the first one to introduce the teller system in Punjab.

My father decided to stay back in Lahore after partition for several reasons. As he was the head of a small institution, he had to remain behind to carry on the bank’s business and to gradually wind it up. Since our house … was not declared evacuee property, he was able to stay there without any fear. Years later, he refused to migrate to India because he felt that he was too old to make a fresh start in a new place. Another important reason that kept him in Pakistan was his second wife, who was a Muslim.

*Gerrymander: to divide territory—such as when creating a voting district—in a way that deliberately gives one party an advantage over another.*
But in the end, despite all these reasons, he realized that the Lahore in which he had spent the best years of his life had changed. So he finally decided to move to India and rejoin his family in 1957...

For a long time, the Punjabis who had lost their homes in the turmoil of ’47 could not forget the houses they had built and the towns and villages where their families had been living for generations. Despite all that had happened in the riots, there was a lurking desire in almost every heart to see, at least once again, the houses, bazaars, schools and fields where they had spent a great part of their lives. There were thousands who could not believe that they were leaving their homes for good; at their departure they had left their houses, utensils and cattle in the custody of neighbors of the other community ...

After crossing to the other side, even while they struggled to get land and housing, faint hopes of going back one day to their ancestral homes lingered in their minds. The old ties were not yet severed, and in that period of flux people with whom they had left their possessions wrote letters telling them what was happening: “Your brown buffalo has given birth to a she-calf—there was a bumper crop this year—our youngest boy had got a job in town,” and so on. For a long time, people of this generation which had witnessed the drama of partition, could not believe that they had finally broken away from the land of their forefathers ...

When the riots subsided and life settled down to a routine, many among the displaced ventured to visit the other side. Crossing the border was not such a difficult task as it is now. The visa system was introduced much later and getting a permit was relatively easy. It was sheer nostalgia for their old homes which made people travel to the other side. Among them there were also some who went to get back their valuables left in the custody of neighbors or friends. But most of them went just to see the houses they had built and the towns they had lived in.

Going to a place deep in the countryside across the border meant a long journey and some danger for a person wishing to see his native place. Such villages, therefore, rarely had visitors of this kind. But in towns which are not far from the border [such as Lahore] there used to be streams of visitors who wanted only to see the sights and revive old memories. In the early years, it was not uncommon for people living in evacuee property to find a stranger before their house peering awkwardly inside. In such situations, people were generally hospitable and sympathetic for they also had nursed a desire to see their old homes across the border ...

The displaced in Punjab remembered their old homes not only for the properties left behind. There were many who pined for their friends too. It may seem strange to an outsider that any friendship [between Hindus and Muslims] survived the carnage through which the country had passed. But the riots were the doings of a handful. The average man was merely swayed by the wind which was blowing. When bloodshed ended, most people regretted what had happened. At many places the common folk were no more than helpless spectators of the events. For those who valued human relationships, it was really painful to see their friends and neighbors depart … After partition, there were innumerable people in Punjab who longed to meet their friends, to exchange their favorite swear-words with them, and to revive the gaiety of bygone days. But the question was where to meet. At a time when the riots had just subsided, the Hindus and Sikhs considered it hazardous to travel in West Punjab. The Muslims, too, thought that a journey in East Punjab was a dangerous proposition. Interestingly enough, there were many who thought that a meeting at the border was the only alternative. The authorities of India and Pakistan were also helpful and allowed people to meet in a small stretch which they called “no man’s land.” In those days, thousands flocked to the border at Wagah to learn how former friends were faring and to discuss their problems with each other.

Chart: Muslim population in India as a percentage of total, based on 1931 statistics

Supplemental Reading 1: Lahore 1947

In the walled city hell had [broken] loose and the bazaars of the Hindus were being put to the torch turn by turn. As long as the Hindus had the assurance that Lahore would be part of India they stuck to their positions, but as soon as it became known that the city would form part of Pakistan, they lost their nerve. And when, somewhere at the very top, though not openly, it was decided that there would be an exchange of populations, and official trucks began to be provided for the movement, there was no question of Hindus remaining in Lahore.

My daily life was spent among Muslims, so most Muslims who were not personal friends took me for one of them. Once a bizarre situation was created. It was the 15th of August and I was having breakfast in Nagina Bakery where the usual jolly crowd was gathered, when three rough-looking Muslims entered the place and sat down at the next table. Gradually they joined us in our conversation and then regaled us with stories of their loot and murder in a triumphant manner.

One of them was addressing me all the time and narrating the tale of their attack on a Gurudwara (a Sikh temple). He said the inmates of the Gurudwara had sufficient ammunition and they continued to defend themselves by firing at the attackers all the time. But then their ammunition was exhausted and these young fellows jumped over the wall into the Gurudwara and killed the Sikhs one by one.

I don’t know whether it was complete trust in my Muslim friends or a streak of the devil in me that I told him that he was narrating all this to a Hindu. His tone changed at once, and he said, “If I had met you two days ago I would certainly have killed you, but yesterday Pakistan came into being and now you are my guest. Come with me to my house and I shall treat you like one, and if anyone so much as raises a finger at you I’ll cut his head off.” Then taking a few bullets from his pocket, he added, “Look, these are some of the bullets that your brothers have been firing at us.”

Supplemental Reading 2: Refugee Letters

From a letter written by a refugee who served in the Congress Party before Partition to the General secretary of the All India Congress Committee:

I am coming from [Pakistan] where I worked in the Congress [Party] for about 26 years. I was an organizer and worker of the Congress Party and my work was appreciated by the Provincial Congress as well as our great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal [Nehru]. I [was sent to] jail several times in connection with the civil disobedience movement. I spent a high portion of my properties in Congress work [many people donated their property to the Congress Party...] and what [I] saved [was] lost in Pakistan. I came here with [only] the clothes on my body. I am seeking a way to serve my motherland ... but regret to say that still I can find no work...

Nobody knows me here and the work I have done for the Congress [Party] ... Here in UP [where] I want to pass my further life, the Congress organizations as well as the administration are ignoring me. They won’t ... take me as an ordinary member even. My life [was] spent in the national movements [for] which I have pride ... now I am 56 and forcibly exiled from my home. I am wandering disappointed. Will you kindly advise me what to do and where to go in this critical moment of my life? I have [still a strong desire] to serve my country.

[signed]
Jai Hind.

From a letter written by Bir Vishan Dass, Secretary to the General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee:

I am addressing you as one of the unfortunate refugees from Pakistan with sanguine hope that you will kindly do all you can to alleviate some of my difficulties. At present I am staying in a camp at Kurukshetra with my family members for the last six months. Our leaders speak very loudly re the various schemes to rehabilitate us but we see nothing practical to solve our miserable plight.

If we write to our leaders and sympathizers explaining our problems we get no response from them or even the courtesy of acknowledgement. In the West Punjab I was a leading Congress man and social worker. The object of my writing to you now is to find out as to whether you can do anything for the displaced congress workers of Pakistan. I have also addressed some letters to leading Congress men of Jullundur but so far have heard nothing from them...

Having failed in all my attempts for securing some employment, I at last in despair accepted the job of a peon in the above Vocational Training Centre on RS 30 plus RS 25. You can well imagine how long I can [live on] this meager amount when I have to support a [large] family. I am contacting you once again, firstly, to seek your advice, and secondly, to seek your help in getting a good and secure employment.


UP: Uttar Pradesh, a state in India.
Supplemental Reading 3: Account of a volunteer worker who helped to relocate Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan to India

On September 13, 1947, I set out on a mass evacuation duty across the international boundary of India and Pakistan. The convoy consisted of civilian trucks headed by a military escort and I had under my command a posse of ten soldiers in uniform. The destination we were to reach was Nakodar-Mehatpur refugee camp.

At the starting point from Lahore, the convoy trucks were brimming with non-Muslim refugees to be taken to Amritsar. As we moved along, we saw Lahore wearing a deserted look. Columns of smoke were rising high up in the sky from all around the residential areas, making the atmosphere gloomy, and dull.

We left behind the outskirts of the city and saw roads littered with dead bodies on the one hand, and on the other crowded, wild-looking, maimed, starved mankind clad in torn, dirty rags.

As we proceeded further still, a pile of dead bodies on both sides of the road stretched for miles. There was no time to perform funeral rituals, since deaths were occurring at brief intervals in virtually every family due to the cholera epidemic. The dear departed ones were stacked on roadsides heartlessly, with no display of emotion or tears, since these facilities had vanished in the face of utter horror let loose on the fugitives by gangs of Sikh militants. These gangs were assaulting Muslim caravans and convoys, abducting young girls, looting leftover belongings and massacring old and young indiscriminately.

Supplemental Reading 4: A Family Divided

In this next account a woman tells of how her mother’s family was divided during Partition. At Partition, her mother’s brother, Rana, stayed back in Lahore, living in the family home and converting to Islam after marrying a Muslim woman. Her mother, aunts and other uncle resettled in India. Uncle stayed in Lahore and continued to live on the family property. This is her account of meeting and talking with him for the first time.

Like many North Indian families, ours too was divided at Partition. My mother, who was single at the time, found herself on the Indian side of the border. Rana, her brother, chose to stay behind.

Not only had he stayed back, but … he had become a Muslim. My mother made two difficult and dangerous journeys, amidst the worst communal violence, to Lahore to fetch her family to India. The first time she brought her younger brother Billo, and a sister, Savita. The second time she went to fetch her mother and Rana, the youngest (her father had long since died). But, she said, Rana refused to come and he wasn’t willing to let my grandmother go either.

Once the country was divided it became virtually impossible for people of different communities to move freely in the ‘other’ country. There was a deep suspicion on both sides, and any cross-border movement was watched and monitored by the police and intelligence. Rana and his family kept close contact for some time, but found themselves constantly under surveillance, with their letters being opened, and questions being asked. After a while they simply gave up trying to communicate.

I stayed with my uncle for a week in that rambling haveli [house]; and for a week we talked.

Why had he not left with his brother and sisters at Partition, I asked him. ‘Why did you stay back?’ He replied that, like a lot of other people, he had never expected Partition to happen the way it had. ‘Many of us thought, yes, there’ll be change, but why should we have to move?’ He hadn’t thought political decisions could affect his life, and by the time he realized otherwise, it was too late, the point of no return had actually been reached. ‘I was barely twenty. I’d had little education. What would I have done in India? I had no qualifications, no job, nothing to recommend me.’ But he had family in India, surely one of them would have looked after him? ‘No one really made an offer to take me on—except your mother. But she was single, and had already taken on the responsibility of two other siblings.’

The way Ranamama described it, the choice to stay on was not really a choice at all. In fact, like many people, he thought he wasn’t choosing, but was actually waiting to do so when things were decided for him. But what about the choice to convert? Was he now a believer? Had he been one then? What did religion mean to him—after all, the entire rationale for the creation of two countries out of one was said to have been religion. And, it was widely believed—with some truth—that large numbers of people were forced to convert to the ‘other’ religion. But Rana?

‘No one forced me to do anything. But in a sense there really wasn’t a choice. The only way I could stay on was by converting. And so, well, I did. I married a Muslim girl, changed my religion, and took a Muslim name.

‘One thing I’ll tell you,’ said Rana in answer to my question. ‘I have not slept one night in these forty years without regretting my decision. Not one night.’ I was chilled to the bone. How could he say this, what did he mean, how had he lived through these forty years, indeed how would he live through the next forty, if this was what he felt? ‘You see, my child,’ he said,… ‘somehow a convert is never forgiven. Your past follows you, it hounds you. For me, it’s worst because I’ve continued to live in the same place. Even today, when I walk out to the market, I often hear people whispering, “Hindu, Hindu.” No you don’t know what it is like. They never forgive you for being a convert.’
As the years went by Ranamama began to live an internal life, mostly in his head, that no one quite knew about, but everyone, particularly his family, was suspicious of. His children—especially his daughters and daughters-in-law—cared for him but they all feared what went on inside his head.

Perhaps the one person who, in some sense, understood the dilemmas in his head was ... his wife. She decided quite early on, and sensibly I thought, that she would not allow her children to have the kind of crisis of identity that Rana had. They were brought up as good Muslims, the girls remained in purdah, they studied at home from the mullah, they learned to read the Koran. For the younger ones especially, who had no memory of Partition, Rana with his many stories of his family and friends, his home, remained their father, and yet a stranger.

I could not understand how he could have lived like this; was there anyone he could have spoken to? He told me no. How could he talk about what was so deep, so tortured? And to whom? There was no one, no one could even begin to understand.

I was so shocked. I protested. ‘What about your family? They are your blood.’

‘No’, he said, ‘for them I remain a stranger.’


Mullah: a Muslim cleric.

Purdah: the practice of veiling.
Web Resources on the Partition of India

Partition of India
http://www.emory.edu/ENGLISH/Bahri/Part.html
This site contains a brief introduction, maps, a timeline, informational articles, and links to more information.

“Clinton Goes to India,” Online NewsHour
http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/features/jan-june00/clinton_india.html
This site has good background information on Partition.

“Conflict between India, Pakistan runs deep,” CNN Interactive
http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/9708/India97/shared/sibling-rivalry/#1
A short article that outlines the main points of this conflict.

“The Partition of India”
http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/southasia/History/Independent/partition.html
A point-of-view article that discusses the narrative history of Partition.

Pakistan Toward Partition
A Library of Congress Country Study. No claims are made regarding the accuracy of the information in Pakistan Toward Partition.

“India-Pakistan Dispute,” Online NewsHour
An unbiased and short introduction to the underpinnings of Partition.

“Timeline Leading to Partition,” Indianchild
A timeline that is appropriate for middle school-level discussions.
Should Palestinian Arabs be allowed the “right of return” to Israel?

One of the most important—and difficult—issues facing the teams negotiating the Israel-Palestinian peace process is the issue of the “right of return” for Palestinian refugees. During the Arab-Israeli war that followed the 1947 partition by the U.N. of the Palestine mandate into an Arab and a Jewish state, many Palestinians fled or were driven from their homes. Following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, another wave of Palestinians was displaced when Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza. According to the United Nations Relief Works Agency, there are over three million refugees registered in the West Bank and Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.

The Palestinians say that they were forcibly expelled from their homes in 1947 and 1967, an act that was against international law at the time. Because of this, the Palestinians claim that they have the right to return to the homes and property that they left behind, including those that are now within the internationally recognized borders of the state of Israel. They base this claim on a number of resolutions issued by the United Nations. General Assembly Resolution 194, passed in December 1948, states that “refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practical date.”

Israel disagrees with the Palestinian position. For many decades, various Israeli leaders have ruled out the possibility of allowing three million registered Palestinian refugees to migrate to a country with a population of only six million. Opening the gates to the three million registered refugees would cause rapid expansion of the population and create a massive crisis for Israel’s political and economic infrastructure. Many Israelis also see a problem of identity. Israel’s national identity is tied in many ways to Judaism and the Jewish identity of its citizens. If Israel agreed to the right of return, Muslim and Christian Palestinians would form the majority of Israel’s population.

The issue of right of return is emotionally charged and difficult to resolve, but its resolution is essential to the success of the peace process. Following are some perspectives on the issue.

**Reading 1: “The ‘Big Lie’ Tactic”**

In the five years after its establishment in 1948, Israel absorbed close to 500,000 Jewish refugees—about half from the wreckage of the Holocaust and the remainder from Arab countries. A similar number poured in over the next three years. As a result, the new state’s population had doubled by 1953 and tripled by 1956. Yet no one has ever suggested that these refugees have a “right of return” to their countries of origin.

In fact, none of these refugees were even granted monetary compensation—another “inalienable right” claimed for the Palestinians. Nor is there any lack of other examples that fit this pattern. Why, then, are the Palestinian refugees so unquestionably awarded a “right” enjoyed by virtually no other refugees in history? The best explanation lies in a circumstance that is also virtually unique to the Palestinians: Unlike most of history’s refugees, the countries to which the Palestinians fled refused to absorb them—preferring to leave them in squalid refugee camps for the sake of encouraging anti-Israel sentiment…

Yet the Palestinians—whose Arab hosts bear direct responsibility for their flight—through their decision to declare war on Israel rather than accepting the UN partition plan—still languish in refugee camps after 52 years… The only just solution to their problem is for the Arab world, and particularly the Palestinian state—to be, to absorb them—just as Israel has absorbed Jewish refugees the world over since 1948.

Chart: Map of official United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNWRA) camps, 1993

Official UNRWA Palestinian Refugee Camps, November 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registered Refugee Populations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>UNRWA Camps</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaza Strip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Registered by United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).

Reading 3: “Return to Square One: Not a Legal Right”
Palestinians are adamant that they possess a right to return to the State of Israel and that no final peace agreement may be reached with Israel without the realization of their right of return. In response, Israel contends that it cannot allow such a return as it would undermine the demographic balance in the country and jeopardize Israel’s existence as a Jewish State.

However, the Israeli logic is based on a fallacy, in that it replaces Palestinians who still dream (after more than half a century) of returning to their homes (most of which no longer exist) by a prototype of Palestinian extremists out to wrest control over the Jewish state. Moreover, Israel has been able to absorb more than one million Jews from the Soviet Union. This proves that the issue is not one of numbers but of identity, of whether immigration to Israel is Jewish or Palestinian.

Palestinians do not have a legal right to return to Israel. Any negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians should start from the understanding that this is the legal situation. The sole right possessed by the Palestinians is to obtain compensation. The parties should start discussions and negotiations regarding the amount of the compensation and the method of its payment.


Reading 4: “The Right of Return and the Right of Choice”
If the Palestinian right of return is compromised, then so should the Israeli law of return for all Jews to Israel. The two states are sharing the same resources and will both suffer from the lack of water, for instance. If we accept the Israeli law of return and deny the Palestinian right of return this means that we accept indirectly the myth which says that this is the land of the Jews, and we are the invaders. If our rights are to be compromised then this should again mean that their “rights” are also to be compromised and there should be no more Jewish immigration to this area. Even in any proposed solution which might bring an independent state to the Palestinians and if the PLO were to be replaced by a government, this government would no longer represent the refugees and the Palestinians outside. They would establish their own liberation organization to continue the struggle. Such a solution will not bring about a definitive end to the struggle.

Supplemental Reading 1: “The ‘Big Lie’ Tactic—the Palestinian Right of Return”

One of the most surprising developments of the past few weeks has been the support expressed by many ordinary Americans and Europeans for the “right of return” of Palestinian refugees to Israel. What is surprising about this proposition, put forth in numerous letters and opinion pieces published in the press recently, is that it accords Palestinians a “right” enjoyed by virtually no other refugees in history.

Most of the writers are unaware of this. But that so many well-meaning people can mindlessly parrot the canard that the repatriation of refugees is an “inalienable right” is yet another proof of the efficacy of the well-known tactic of the “big lie”—that any lie, however outrageous, will eventually be believed if repeated often enough. Certainly, it would be hard to think of many lies as easily disprovable as the idea that refugees have a “right of return” to their former homes.

The history of the 20th century is one long lesson in the falsity of this claim. To cite just a few examples:

- Millions of Muslims fled India for Pakistan following the bloody riots of 1947. India not only stripped them of citizenship, but barred them, in its constitution, from ever returning. No one ever suggested that these Muslims had a “right of return.”
- After World War II, Czechoslovakia expelled all its German citizens. Yet no one suggested that the millions of Sudeten Germans had a “right of return.” In 1997, Germany even signed a treaty acknowledging the irrevocability of the expulsion.
- When the communists took power in Vietnam, millions of “boat people” fled to the United States and various Asian countries. No one has ever suggested that these people have a “right of return.”
- In the five years after its establishment in 1948, Israel absorbed close to 500,000 Jewish refugees—about half from the wreckage of the Holocaust and the remainder from Arab countries. A similar number poured in over the next three years. As a result, the new state’s population had doubled by 1953 and tripled by 1956. Yet no one has ever suggested that these refugees have a “right of return” to their countries of origin.

In fact, none of these refugees were even granted monetary compensation—another “inalienable right” claimed for the Palestinians. Nor is there any lack of other examples that fit this pattern. Why, then, are the Palestinian refugees so unquestionably awarded a “right” enjoyed by virtually no other refugees in history?

The best explanation lies in a circumstance that is also virtually unique to the Palestinians: Unlike most of history’s refugees, the countries to which the Palestinians fled refused to absorb them—preferring to leave them in squalid refugee camps for the sake of encouraging anti-Israel sentiment.

The [Muslims] who fled India became full-fledged citizens of Pakistan. The Sudeten Germans were fully absorbed in Germany. The Vietnamese boat people are now productive citizens of the US. Jewish refugees from the Arab world have been fully integrated into Israel.

Yet the Palestinians—whose Arab hosts bear direct responsibility for their flight through their decision to declare war on Israel rather than accepting the UN partition plan—still languish in refugee camps after 52 years.

Jordan, at least, granted its Palestinian refugees citizenship, but made no effort to get them out of the camps. This is why refugee camps were still flourishing when Israel conquered the West Bank in 1967, after 19 years of Jordanian rule.

... continues
Yet the refugees who fled to Jordanian-controlled territory were lucky: Those who went to Lebanon, for instance, not only were not made citizens, but were also deprived of basic civil rights, such as the right to work in over 70 different professions.

Ironically, the one country that did try to improve the situation of the refugees was Israel.

In Gaza, for instance, some 36,000 refugees had been moved into better housing by 1973, before international pressure and PLO threats against the refugees put a stop to the project.

The most astonishing element in this tale of neglect, however, is the role of the Palestinians themselves. Most of the refugees have been under autonomous Palestinian rule for the last five years—yet the Palestinian Authority has spent not one cent of the millions of dollars it received in foreign aid to improve their living conditions. Apparently, it, too, prefers to let its people suffer for propaganda purposes.

It is impossible not to pity refugees who, thanks to the callous unconcern of their fellow Arabs, have been living in misery for the last 50 years. But that does not entitle them to a “right of return” accorded no other refugees in history. The only just solution to their problem is for the Arab world, and particularly the Palestinian state—to be, to absorb them—just as Israel has absorbed Jewish refugees the world over since 1948.


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Supplemental Reading 2: “Return to Square One: Not a Legal Right”

Palestinians are adamant that they possess a right to return to the State of Israel and that no final peace agreement may be reached with Israel without the realization of their right of return. In response, Israel contends that it cannot allow such a return as it would undermine the demographic balance in the country and jeopardize Israel’s existence as a Jewish State.

While Israel’s response entails an indirect admission of the Palestinian’s right of return, in fact, the legal situation does not support the assumption of such a right of return.

Israeli authorities should be aware of the fact, and make clear that Palestinians do not possess any legal right to return to Israel. Consequently, Israel does not bear the onus of justifying its refusal to implement the right to return.

The law that governs these issues is international law. International law is based on either treaties between states or on customary rules which are evidenced by the general practice of states accepted as law. When speaking about their right of return, the Palestinians point to UN Resolution 194 (III) of December 11, 1948, which provides that “...the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property.” ...[O]ne should bear in mind that in 1948, when the resolution was adopted, neither Israel nor the Palestinians agreed to abide by it and neither party saw themselves as obliged to adhere to its recommendations. Consequently it seems bizarre to refer to it today as a binding legal obligation. Moreover, the content of the resolution is not clear, while the scope of the alleged obligations imposed by it is widely debatable.

This all leads to the conclusion that Resolution 194 (III) did not create any legal right or obligation according to international law.

Palestinians refer to various human rights treaties to assert their right of return. They cite general human rights treaties such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 which... continues
was ratified by Israel in 1991 and international legal sources dealing specifically with issues of citizenship and nationality law, refugee law and humanitarian law.

A careful study of those sources leads to a very clear conclusion that none of them imposes a legal obligation upon Israel to repatriate the Palestinian refugees. In addition, one should also bear in mind that the Palestinian refugee problem arose in 1948 after the British left the area and hostilities erupted between Israel and its neighboring Arab states. This occurred only three years after the termination of World War II and the establishment of the UN in 1945.

Up to that point, international law assigned a very low profile to issues of human rights. Consequently, it is obvious that all human rights that the Palestinians refer to as international legal sources according them the right to repatriate to Israel were not binding legal norms in 1948.

It should also be stressed that in 1948, the transfer of populations as a consequence of political change was not considered wrongful as a matter of international law. In 1923, Greece and Turkey decided upon an exchange of populations as part of a peace treaty; in 1945 millions of Germans who lived in Eastern Europe were transferred to Germany, and in 1947 when Britain left India, British India was divided into two states: India and Pakistan and the split caused a mass transfer of populations.

Going back to the Palestinian refugee problem, it should be recalled that concurrently with the flight of the Arab population from Israel, Jews were fleeing neighboring Arab states. Many of these refugee Jews found safe haven in Israel and became its citizens. So, in effect, what took place in 1948 was a transfer of populations spurred by the political changes in the region and the war. Such a process was not contradictory to international law applying at that date.

Although reality in 1948 was one of population transfer, the Arab refugees’ narrative is of forcible expulsion. Consequently they insist that since forcible expulsion was forbidden in 1948, and was already then considered a crime against humanity, Israel is under an absolute obligation to allow repatriation of Palestinian refugees.

Even if Israel accepts this allegation (which it does not), nowhere in international law is there a provision that a state is obliged to remedy the wrong caused to expellees by enabling repatriation. Current proposals for resolving the problems of refugees include repatriation and restitution of property but only when a limited number of years have lapsed between the flight of the refugees from their homes and their proposed return.

The Dayton Peace agreement of 1995, which ended the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, explicitly provides in Annex VI for the right of return of displaced persons. But as opposed to it, when suggesting a solution to the refugee problem in Cyprus, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan distinguished the Cyprus case from that of Bosnia-Herzegovina and explained that restitution and repatriation are not suitable since: “...events in Cyprus happened 30 to 40 years ago and the displaced people ... have had to rebuild their lives and their economies during this time.”

The Palestinian refugee problem occurred 55 years ago, which means that even current developments in international law would not call for the right of Palestinian refugees to repatriation and/or restitution.

Palestinians do not have a legal right to return to Israel. Any negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians should start from the understanding that this is the legal situation. The sole right possessed by the Palestinians is to obtain compensation. The parties should start discussions and negotiations regarding the amount of the compensation and the method of its payment.

Supplemental Reading 3: “The Right of Return and the Right of Choice”

For the last fifty-five years and since Al-Nakba “the catastrophe” in 1948, the Palestinians have been struggling for their freedom, independence, self-determination and the right of return to their homeland. Unfortunately, because of the international power struggle and the consequences of the cold war, every single Palestinian demand or right was forced to be renegotiated, and has never been respected, honored or taken seriously...

Any signatory country who tries to bypass this is violating its own signature. If they were serious in accepting and recognizing the Palestinian right of return, they should, at the same time, acknowledge the injustice committed against the Palestinians in 1948. This means that they should not have recognized the State of Israel without immediate recognition of the Palestinian right to a homeland as well. And they should have worked to realize this goal without delay or further negotiations. Although I honestly believe that Israel was not created by the UN resolution, as some people in the West like to think; it was created by force and aggression. If this were not the case, a Palestinian state should have been established next to Israel long ago...

The right of refugees to return to their land is an essential and main element in the Israeli /Palestinian conflict. It is not like exchanging land here and there or modifying the borders. It is more important than the Jerusalem issue and the underground resources, because we are talking about people and human beings, who have been suffering from the consequences for many years. We are not talking about dead stones, temples, churches and mosques, but about the root cause of the conflict and the future of millions of children, women and men.

The number of Palestinian refugees nowadays is around 7 million out of about 10 million Palestinians. Most of these refugees are hosted in countries which are subjected to continuous harassment and imposed political changes from the USA and Israel. With the knowledge of the international community, more than 300,000 Palestinian refugees were kicked out of most of the Gulf countries after the Gulf War. In Iraq there are about 100,000 refugees suffering the consequences of the current American occupation and its war on Iraq. The refugees in Syria, Lebanon, and maybe Libya are awaiting their destiny as well...

For Israel, recognizing the right of return for the refugees is recognition of the Palestinian nation and their right to self-determination, which contradicts the Zionist ideology in theory and practice. All their justifications for not accepting this right have been intensified mainly through the demographic threat, which might change the Jewish nature of Israel, if the refugees return in considerable numbers. Accepting this claim by the international community would automatically enhance the already growing racism inside Israel and will encourage Israel to deal with the current demographic threat in clear racist ways.

We should note that the number of Palestinians, without the return of refugees, is already increasing over the Jewish numbers inside Israel and soon both would have equal numbers. Here I refer to the Herzilya conference in 2000, where many Israeli scholars, academics, demographers and security officials came with racist solutions to the Arab demographic threat, for example, controlling the Arab birth rate, deportation and other racist measures.

The world's acceptance of this demographic threat justification means that Israel should and must deal in any way possible with this threat based on their interests in having a pure Jewish state. This would mean turning their backs on the interests of the other citizens in the state and in the surrounding territories. How will the international community deal with this then?

The international community should be aware of this demographic factor and understand that such a concept, if it is to be accepted, is only a recipe for Israel to deport and carry out ethnic cleansing of even the Israeli Palestinians eventually and not only not accepting that Palestinian refugees return. In... continues

Demography: the study of the characteristics of a particular population.
addition, the international community should be aware that around 80% of the Israelis are living in around 15% of Israel. The remaining 85% of the land, on which around 20% of Israelis live, is mostly land that once belonged to the Palestinian refugees and most of it is not used...

The right of return is an individual right, non-negotiable for anyone except the refugees themselves. The right of choice comes after the right of return has been realized and recognized. This right includes firstly the right of the Palestinian refugee to return to his/her own property and secondly the right for compensation. These two things are integrated and are not interchangeable. The right of return is secured in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Hague Convention, the Fourth Geneva Convention, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and even in the Magna Carta in 1215. Bypassing all these agreements by Israel or anybody else means bypassing the history of the modern and civilized world.

In this case and based on the above mentioned agreements and covenants, even if the Palestinians were to accept the denial of their right to return to their homeland under pressure from Israel and other powerful states, the international community itself should stand up and fight. Otherwise, a dangerous precedent would be set that could negatively influence refugee issues all over the world.

People would start suspecting the measures taken in Europe and other countries to repatriate refugees living in Europe and elsewhere to their origin countries. They should question as well: why the Germans who left Germany for Russia before the Soviet time had the right to return to Germany and why the Kazak or the Kyrgyz or the Ukrainian had the right to return to their original countries after 80 years living and settling in another country in the former Soviet Union. Why the refugees in Nepal, East Timor, Chechnya, Rwanda, Sudan, Bosnia and Kosovo had the right of return and the list is countless and, why, only, the Palestinians should sacrifice this right and suffer the double standard values and practices, which prevail in this current world.

If the Palestinian right of return is compromised, then so should the Israeli law of return for all Jews to Israel. The two states are sharing the same resources and will both suffer from the lack of water, for instance. If we accept the Israeli law of return and deny the Palestinian right of return this means that we accept indirectly the myth which says that this is the land of the Jews, and we are the invaders. If our rights are to be compromised then this should again mean that their “rights” are also to be compromised and there should be no more Jewish immigration to this area. Even in any proposed solution which might bring an independent state to the Palestinians and if the PLO were to be replaced by a government, this government would no longer represent the refugees and the Palestinians outside. They would establish their own liberation organization to continue the struggle. Such a solution will not bring about a definitive end to the struggle.

Even if the Palestinian right of return were honored and respected, the Palestinians should establish together with their friends and supporters a national and international movement for reparation, similar to the reparation for trans-Atlantic slave trade movements and the reparation for Holocaust survivors. They should demand that the Israelis, the Americans and the Europeans, mainly the British, recognize, apologize and meet their political and moral responsibilities for their historical acts of injustice towards the Palestinians [resulting in] their long misery and under-development, and consider what happened to Palestinian refugees a crime against humanity. This matter will defiantly exceed what was stipulated in the UN resolutions and the right of return and compensation and will happen even if it takes 500 years. The future is for the victims and the oppressed.

Rifat Odeh Kassis is the Executive Director of the East Jerusalem YMCA and the President of Defense for Children International—Palestine Section.

Supplemental Reading 4: “On the Palestinian Right of Return”

The main obstacle now standing in the way of a comprehensive settlement between the Israeli and Palestinian teams who pursued secret negotiations in Geneva for more than two years is a disagreement over the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes pursuant to UN General Assembly Resolution 194. The other issues in dispute between the two sides have been settled or are on their way to being settled, including the highly contentious issue of Jerusalem which has for long defied all attempts to resolve it.

Yet the Geneva Accord in its present formulation is the expression of a possible—not a just—peace. It is a settlement the negotiating parties were able to agree on but which is still the subject of sharp discord within the ranks of each. Both Sharon and wide sections of Palestinian public opinion have denounced the accords as an act of treason to their respective causes. The battle is now over which of the conflicting parties is better placed to win over public opinion, especially on the issue of the Palestinian right of return.

Resolution 194 stipulates that the refugees have the right to either return or receive compensation for their lost property. It has been accepted by the Arab parties, who insist it should be implemented as an indivisible whole. The angry reaction of many Palestinians to what they consider an unacceptable concession on the Palestinian right of return is a clear indication that any agreement that does not fully uphold what they perceive as their inalienable right has little chance of success. Justified though it may be, it is a reaction that could end up isolating the Palestinians instead of Sharon and his government of ultra-hawks from international public opinion, which now strongly supports the new peace initiative.

The Geneva documents call for a limit, to be set by Israel, on the number of Palestinian refugees who will be allowed to return is interpreted not only by its Palestinian critics but also by many of its Israeli supporters as simply cancelling the right of return altogether, because the exercise of the right is made conditional on a unilateral Israeli decision. Palestinian critics accuse the document of simply “liquidating the refugee problem,” and dismiss it as a latter-day version of the Balfour Declaration. In the occupied territories it has been rejected by a wide range of trade unions, associations, institutions and town and village councils, which have threatened to take drastic measures against its signatories, while Palestinians in the Diaspora denounce it as an attempt to legitimise the “ethnic cleansing” of 1948 and to condemn the dispossessed refugees to perpetual exile.

Israelis see the Arab insistence on clinging to Resolution 194 and refusal to make any concessions on the Palestinian right of return as proof that the Arabs have not abandoned their aim to eradicate the Jewish state, even if they now hope to bring this about through the shifting demographic balance between Jews and Arabs in Israel, where, thanks to the much higher birth rate among the Arab population, the Arabs are expected to eventually outnumber Jews.

However, the Israeli logic is based on a fallacy, in that it replaces Palestinians who still dream (after more than half a century) of returning to their homes (most of which no longer exist) by a prototype of Palestinian extremists out to wrest control over the Jewish state. Moreover, Israel has been able to absorb more than one million Jews from the Soviet Union. This proves that the issue is not one of numbers but of identity, of whether immigration to Israel is Jewish or Palestinian.

It is wrong to deal with the Palestinian right to return as an abstract notion, totally ignoring the number of refugees and the conditions in which mass departures occurred. The vast majority of Palestinian refugees are expected to come from Lebanon, where the structure of Lebanese society and its extremely sensitive ethnic balance make their continued presence untenable. The number of these refugees—just over a third of a million (that is, one third the number of Russian immigrants to Israel) should not be a problem if it became the final factor on which a breakthrough towards peace would depend. We must also remember... continues
that not all Palestinian refugees want to go back to what is now Israel; many would prefer to wait until the Palestinian state has been established.

In giving Israel the right to determine the number of Palestinians authorised to return to Israel, the Geneva initiative turns what is a right consecrated by a UN resolution into a “gift” that is subject to the sole discretion of those who dispossessed them in the first place. Is it possible to reconcile the two rights, the Palestinian and the Israeli, instead of dealing with them as mutually exclusive? The right derives from property the Palestinians owned in what has now become Israel. Whether this disputed property should go to a Palestinian or an Israeli is a legal question that must be settled, once and for all, by a credible neutral third party under international supervision. Every Palestinian aspiring to restore a right should be given the opportunity to file his claim within a given time-frame, but no restriction should be put on the number of claimants.

As to the issue of compensation, this too should be subject to rigorous rules. Among the most important is that the compensation received by Palestinian refugees who waive their right of return should be equivalent in value to the compensation received by Israeli settlers in consideration of evacuating their settlements. If the Jews are awarded compensation for the persecution they suffered under Nazi rule in the past, Palestinians are entitled to similar compensation for the persecution they suffered under Zionist rule in the more recent past. Unless the same criteria are used to assess the compensation due to both parties, there can be no equitable peace.

Moreover, the value of any specific commodity is a function of its scarcity in the market. The more difficult it is to find, the higher its price. Peace is a rare commodity when it comes to the Arab–Israeli conflict. If the Palestinian right of return is the critical element on which the entire future of the peace process depends, it is worth paying the necessary price for peace before it is too late.

Time is of the essence because we are now at a crossroads between two contradictory logics which could easily degenerate into an all-out collision and widespread destabilisation at any time. One logic asserts that the essence of the Palestinian problem is the Palestinian right of return. According to this logic, the conflict began with the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homes and is now coming to an end with the legitimisation of that expulsion, that is, a complete and final liquidation of the entire Palestinian problem. An opposite logic maintains that the Palestinians must be treated on an equal footing with the Jews and that a sustainable peace is only possible, in the final analysis, if both sides are treated equally. The first logic leads to still more intense violence. The second logic will expose Sharon still more as standing up against the international order as a whole, which will strengthen pressure on him to reconsider his policies.

White House Spokesman Scott McClellan said that Bush did not object to Powell’s meeting with the co-authors of the Geneva document, Yossi Beilin and Yasser Abd Rabbou. McClellan also insisted on the need to keep the roadmap alive, being the only document Sharon has not formally opposed. Powell welcomed the Geneva Accord and described his talks with Beilin and Abd Rabbou as “constructive and positive.” Attempts are now envisaged to combine the roadmap and the Geneva initiative into one integrated whole, which would constitute the basis for an overall and final peace settlement. This should be an opportunity to remove the ambiguities over the Palestinian right of return and avoid exposing the new peace project to the failures suffered by many of the previous ones.

Web Resources on the Israel/Palestinian Peace Process and the “Right of Return”

There are many websites that discuss the Israel-Palestinian conflict in some form or another. Typing “Palestinian right of return” into Google will present a list of hundreds of websites that address the issue, the vast majority of which reveal the high emotions that the issue raises in people who are involved in the conflict. The websites below are free of either bias nor emotion, but are good representatives of the viewpoints that they espouse.

**The Electronic Intifada: The Right of Return**
http://electronicintifada.net/bytopic/194.shtml
As the name might suggest, the articles and documents contained on this site tend to advocate a pro-Palestinian viewpoint. This particular page contains primary documents (briefing papers and fact sheets) as well as several editorial articles on the subject in favor of the right of return.

**Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Guide to the Peace Process**
http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/peace%20process/guide%20to%20the%20peace%20process/
This handy document in a question-and-answer format from the Embassy of Israel in Washington, D.C. lays out the official position of the Israeli government on several key issues involving terrorism, the intifada, relations with the Arab World, and the peace process (including the right of return, currently addressed in question #8).

**The Jerusalem Post**
http://www.jpost.com

**Ha’aretz English Edition**
http://www.haaretz.com
These are the two main English-language newspapers in Israel. *The Jerusalem Post* tends to be more right wing in its editorial stance, generally supporting the views of the Likud Party and noted politicians such as Binyamin Netanyahu and former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. *Ha’aretz* tends to be more left wing, frequently supporting the views of the Labour and Meretz Parties of noted politicians Shimon Peres and the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Both newspapers frequently run editorials that deal with the peace process and related issues, including the right of return.

**Al-Ahram Weekly**
http://weekly.ahram.org.eg

**The Jordan Times**
http://www.jordantimes.com

**The Daily Star**
http://www.dailystar.com.lb
These English-language newspapers offer a glimpse into Israel’s Arab neighbors. *Al-Ahram Weekly*, published in Cairo, Egypt, and the *Jordan Times* are both official publications, reflecting the official stance of their governments; *The Daily Star* is not official, but reflects popular opinion in Lebanon, where it is published. *Al-Ahram Weekly* is published weekly (on Friday); *The Jordan Times* and *The Daily Star* are published every day. Each of these newspapers frequently runs editorials that deal with the peace process and related issues, including the right of return.
Should Nicaraguans have emigrated to other countries during the turbulent years of the Sandinista-Contra upheaval?

In 1979, after over four decades of the brutal dictatorship of Somoza, the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front, or the Sandinistas) toppled his government with wide support from throughout the country. However, the country was in trouble (the economy was in ruins, food was scarce, education was weak, and medical help almost nonexistent) and the Sandinistas were soon fighting a guerrilla war launched by U.S.-backed Contras, or counterrevolutionaries. The new government faced many problems. Many Nicaraguans left their country, seeking peace and stability in other nations. Read the following to argue your position in the Advocate/Decision-Making Activity. Think about the political, economic, and security reasons why people would stay or go.

### Table 1: External Migration out of Nicaragua, by Sex, 1950–2000

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<th>Period</th>
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<td>1960–1965</td>
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<td>82,300</td>
<td>75,500</td>
<td>157,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By July 17, 1979, the Sandinistas had formally taken power. Their new constitution guaranteed human rights that were previously ignored by the Somoza regime. It guaranteed equal justice under law, the right to free expression, and the abolition of torture.

The Sandinista cause was supported by three major beliefs. The first, political democracy, meant that the Sandinistas supported a republican form of government, based on elections with universal suffrage. The second, participatory democracy, meant active citizen participation in government organizations, task forces, etc. Finally the third, economic equality, meant a communistic economy and complete equalization of wealth.

But the Sandinistas seemed to ignore the first and most important of their principles: political democracy. They immediately set up a ruling junta.

The junta did, though, set out to educate their people in a way the Somoza regime had never attempted. The National Literacy Campaign of 1980 affected one in every two Nicaraguans. The literacy rate rose from 45% to 86% in one of the largest literacy campaigns ever, and the Sandinista government drew international acclaim.

Prior to 1979, about 4% of the landowners controlled about 52% of the arable land. The Sandinista junta set out to fix this, trying to make it an equal proportion. They started to confiscate Somoza family land, and other, similar land. The nationalization of Somoza’s property alone affected a total of 168 factories—25% of industrial plants in Nicaragua, valued at $200 million. From 1981–1985, thousands of acres of land were expropriated and turned into new, peasant collectives.

The landlords that had had their land expropriated were also politically and socially persecuted. From the commencement of Sandinista rule, many rightists and right-wing sympathizers fled for the hills. With the discrete help of the US, these so-called counter-revolutionaries, or contras, began a guerilla war on the Sandinistas. Many Nicaraguans were now starting to doubt both Sandinista rule and the expropriation of the bourgeois land that led to this violence, terrorism, and death.


**Table 2: Country of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 1960 to 1990**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>5,425</td>
<td>16,691</td>
<td>29,639</td>
<td>43,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>6,310</td>
<td>15,717</td>
<td>94,447</td>
<td>465,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>5,381</td>
<td>17,356</td>
<td>63,073</td>
<td>225,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>6,503</td>
<td>19,118</td>
<td>39,154</td>
<td>108,923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>9,474</td>
<td>16,124</td>
<td>44,166</td>
<td>168,659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>13,076</td>
<td>20,046</td>
<td>60,740</td>
<td>85,737</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Bourgeois:** the middle class; a member of the property-owning class.

**Expropriate:** to take possession of someone else’s property for your own use without permission or compensation.

**Junta:** a small group of people, usually military officers, who rule a country after taking power in a coup or revolution.
Reading 2: Academic Paper on Immigration to Miami

Miami was a favored destination of Nicaraguan immigrants during the 1980s, and Nicaraguan immigration trends for Miami would have been similar to those in other parts of the United States (albeit with smaller numbers of immigrants).

The first Nicaraguans to arrive in Miami following the Sandinista ouster of Dictator Anastasio Somoza were those political and economic elites most intimately tied to the regime. A second wave of migrants arrived during the early 1980s. This wave was composed of urban professionals who overstayed their tourist visas. A third and much larger wave began arriving in the late 1980s as the US-sponsored Contra war against the Sandinista government devastated the country’s economy. This wave was composed mostly of either rural peasants or urban working class Nicaraguans. Nicaraguan activists in [Miami-Dade] county estimate the current Nicaraguan population at somewhere between 150,000 to 175,000 persons.

During the 1980s the US government attempted to keep Nicaraguans in Central America in order to recruit them into the Contra army. “Federal officials thus did all they could to deter the arrival and settlement of new Nicaraguan refugees.” By originally denying political asylum to thousands and rendering their migratory status “illegal,” the government subjected a large portion of the county’s Nicaraguan population to employment in the region’s low-wage dead-end informal economy. Unable to practice their professions, they experienced downward economic mobility. In fact, a study conducted at the end of the decade found that “70 percent of skilled Nicaraguans were working below their training level.”

Source: Gaston Alonso-Donate, “Nuestra America in Global Miami: Comparative Immigrant Incorporation in the Shadow of the State.” (New York: Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, N.D.) (Reprinted with Permission.)

Reading 3: Testimony, “Life in a War Zone”

Nancy Donovan, a missionary of the Maryknoll Order who worked for twenty-nine years with Nicaragua’s poor, described her encounter with the Contras, whom President Reagan called “freedom fighters.”

It is not easy to live in a war zone. The least of it was my being kidnapped by contras early this year. The hard part is seeing people die and consoling families. And it goes on and on in northern Nicaragua.

I found out that 14 civilians had been killed in two ambushes. Similar atrocities take place all over the country. I have a list of 35 civilians killed in our area between December 9 and January 23. Many others have been wounded or kidnapped. The contras boast of 500 recruits a month—this is one way to get them. Kidnapping with its uncertainty may be worse than killing. Some mothers tell daughters, “If they want to take you, run. That way they will kill you.”

This is life in a war zone and it isn’t pretty. It isn’t good.


Informal Economy: economic activities that are not taxed or monitored by a government or supervisory agency.

Political Asylum: when a country allows a foreign citizen to reside there as a way to avoid persecution or arrest in their home country.
Harry Bergold
Ambassador to Nicaragua
United States Embassy
Managua, Nicaragua

Dear Ambassador Bergold,

We, the members of the first Veterans Peace Action Team, have completed the first phase of our mission in Nicaragua. We want to share with you what we have seen and heard in the war zones, where United States policy has produced a veritable reign of terror, and to inform you of our plan for an unarmed and undefended peace walk between Jinotega and Wiwili through the Pantasma Valley, beginning Monday, March 23.

Over a two-week period we visited asentamientos in the northern war zones of La Dalia, Jinotega, and Pantasma. We also visited medical clinics and hospitals in Matagalpa and Jinotega, as well as the Managua Rehabilitation Hospital and military hospital at Apanas. We spoke to a wide range of Nicaraguans about the effects of the war: hospital patients; the mothers, wives, and compañeros of soldiers; the victims of ambushes; and, most movingly, survivors of the tank mine explosion of October 19, 1986 which destroyed a truck en route from Pantasma to Jinotega, killing 11 civilians and maiming 33 others.

Based upon our firsthand observations and eye-witness and victim accounts, we have arrived at a number of conclusions:

1. The military situation in Nicaragua reveals a clear case of aggression across recognized boundaries against a legitimate government. The war clearly reveals the Contra in the role of aggressor in violation of all principles of self-determination, and the Sandinista Popular Army in the role of self-defense, a right and duty embodied in international law and in the United States and Nicaraguan Constitutions.

2. The Contra war is not a war between armies. The Contra have systematically used the civilian population as targets, as well as health clinics, road-building equipment, telephone and power lines, agricultural cooperatives, schools, and other essentials of life for the civilian population.

3. The maiming and killing of children and civilians is United States policy, not an unintended or accidental consequence of United States policy.

4. The use of tank mines against civilians is the most outrageous and diabolical cruelty we have witnessed. Tank mines are placed on roads where there are no tanks and where it is known for a certainty that there is heavy, daily civilian use. We affirm the Americas Watch report of December 1986 which finds that “civilian deaths are directly foreseeable and avoidable, but the Contras take no precautions to avoid civilian casualties.” Specific criminal responsibility rests upon the United States government for training, directing, and supplying the Contra in the use of tank mines against civilians under the Geneva Convention, the Nuremberg Principles, and the Land Mines Protocol.

5. Attacks upon health workers, doctors, health clinics and ambulances are at the core of an intentional, inhumane United States policy and a separate violation of law. Dr. John Isherwood of our team was present at the treatment for shrapnel wounds of leg, scrotum and ankle of a baby carried by its mother for three-and-a-half hours to a clinic after the Contra attacked her cooperative and threw a grenade on the roof of her home where she was trying to protect her four children. He stated “What we have seen is mutilated babies, maimed children paraplegics, young and old, who have lost feet, arms, and... continues
legs. Health care facilities are over-loaded with frequent, severe mutilation injuries from mortars, grenades and mines; they are understaffed, with so many actively diverted to the direct defense of the civilians and development efforts; and drugs and the most basic essentials are in short supply or unavailable because of the United States embargo. Nonetheless, more doctors and nurses are now in practice than under the dictatorship, health care is free to all, and rural health care is, for the first time, a reality.”

6. The United States boycott is killing civilians every day through denying children and civilians access to medical supplies, clean water, repairs to vehicles, safety and sanitation needs, and in some areas, food and livelihood. The term “economic boycott” does not accurately communicate the intention and the effect of United States policy, which is simply the strangulation and death of people.

7. The war is not a Contra war, but a United States war. The war would end the moment the United States stopped paying, training, directing, directly arming and supplying the Contra. Here the Contra are called the Guardia, a more truthful label for they are the forces of the former Somoza dictatorship.

We ask you, Ambassador Bergold, by what reasoning does a wealthy and powerful nation decide to harm those who are poor and hungry?

Would you not better fulfill the duties of your office by seeking to create friends rather than enemies with the Nicaraguan people? We have found here a people who are remarkably open and longing for peace and friendship. Their courage in over-throwing tyranny must inspire the admiration of every friend of justice and liberty.

On Monday March 23 we will begin a walk of conscience and personal responsibility from Jinotega to Wiwili through an area subject to Contra mortar attacks, ambushes, murders, minings and destruction. The team will walk as a group of U.S. veterans (including five combat veterans of WWII and Vietnam) to accept responsibility as U.S. citizens for the acts of aggression being carried out by intermediaries of the United States.

The Veterans Peace Action Team will attempt to walk to Wiwili to share the fate of the Nicaraguan people who must use this road for their daily welfare.

If any member of our team receives injury or incurs death as a result of our witness of conscience, we wish to be clear that we do not hold the Nicaraguan government or people responsible. We will hold personally responsible you Ambassador Bergold and President Reagan, and every Senator and member of the House of Representatives who continues to support this grotesque intervention.

In peace,

Signed by:
S. Brian Willson and Members of the first Veterans Peace Action Team:
Richard Eugene Schoos
John Schuchardt
Scott V. Rutherford
John D. Isherwood
Joseph C. Ashley

Peter T. Eaves
James R. Bush
Holley Rauen
John Poole
Judith Williams

On why he opposed the Sandinistas:

It was the repression carried out by the Sandinistas which forced me to take the decision to fight, in particular because we saw that Nicaragua’s democracy was under threat. The Sandinistas promised democracy, but what we began to see a few months after their triumph was very different. ...

My father is a peasant; his name is Justo Pastor Sobalvarro. He is a man of few means, hardworking, who serves his community. He used to grow coffee in the province of Jinotega, but his property was confiscated by the Sandinista regime. ...

My father, who was a liberal, said to me: “I think that these people are communists.” That’s what Somoza used to say in his speeches, and my father—though he didn’t support Somoza and was a great liberal—believed it. And being the age I was at the time—I was 19, very young—listening to my father say that every day influenced me, and I started thinking that yes, the Sandinistas were communists. And when they began to give signs that they were, I believed it, and that’s what made me decide to fight against them, even though the idea of joining the military and taking up arms to fight against someone hadn’t crossed my mind.

At the beginning of their government, the Sandinista Front promoted a literacy campaign, and this program included first and foremost the education of adults in the rural areas. And they sent student brigades to the mountains. These brigades included foreigners who were appointed coordinators of the groups. One of these coordinators came to our house, and this person turned out to be a Soviet, and in his speech he said that God didn’t exist, that God was Fidel Castro, and that it was necessary to serve Fidel Castro; that the government of Nicaragua was at the disposal of Fidel Castro, and that it was necessary to serve the government, and all this kind of thing—which we the Nicaraguans weren’t used to, because we’ve been very Catholic, especially my family. And I would say the Nicaraguans in general are very Catholic. And for someone to suddenly turn up and tell us that God doesn’t exist really started putting a lot of doubts in our minds. ...

There was a lot of hatred. Personally speaking, I was first and foremost affected physically by the Sandinista Front, because we were taken out of our homes and our families and threatened with being shot, and at that moment I began to build up a tremendous hatred against the Front’s structures, and I felt the desire to fight against these people because they were doing a lot of damage. Just as they hurt me and my family personally, we also saw how they hurt other people, and we really had the desire and the morale to fight. ...

[We didn’t like the] systems which the Sandinista government implanted in Nicaragua, such as the control of private property, the political persecution of all those who didn’t identify with the Sandinista regime, who didn’t say “I’m a Sandinista.” All this forced many Nicaraguans to fight against the Sandinistas, because, first of all, we weren’t prepared to give up what was ours, our property. The Sandinistas came and confiscated our properties. All those who didn’t agree with the Sandinista policies were subjected to confiscations and imprisonment, and their lives were threatened. Many were murdered just for disagreeing with the Sandinista Front. This sort of thing turned many Nicaraguan peasants against the Sandinistas and made them decide to fight [against them] militarily. ...

... continues
**On joining the Contras:**
I started [fighting] on March 20, 1980, with hunting rifles. My purpose in fighting the Sandinista Front at that time was not to wage war against them but to convey to the Sandinista government the message that the peasants and many other Nicaraguans did not agree with [the introduction of] new things which were alien to the way of life that we knew, and that if what they were trying to do was to implant a totalitarian communist regime, well, we weren’t going to agree to that. And that’s how we began the struggle. Initially we were a group of 15 young men, and then it grew to 30, and I was one of the leaders and main promoters of the group. That’s how the Contras were born: what were known as the MILPAS: *Milicias Populares Anti-Sandinistas* [Anti-Sandinista People’s Militias].

As part of the struggle against the Sandinista regime, we started laying ambushes; and it was during one of these ambushes that we retrieved two Soviet rifles. And it then became necessary to show the world that the Sandinistas really were being supported and supplied by the Soviet Union and Cuba. The best way of showing it was to present the Soviet-made weapons to the public, so after we retrieved these weapons I decided to go to Honduras to ask for support to present the weapons. After some time, we managed to make contact with Commander Enrique Bermudez, known as “Commander 380,” and through him we showed the weapons to the U.S. government authorities who were in Honduras, and they were persuaded that the Sandinistas were indeed being supported and supplied by the Soviet countries. ...

This, of course, was in 1981, almost a year after the struggle began. Initially, we had used pistols and hunting rifles, but by now we had war weapons which we had captured, and their number was gradually increasing.

**On U.S. support for the Contras:**
It was through some contacts with the U.S. government that we started to receive help—first of all through Argentine instructors, who trained us, and then the Americans became directly involved in giving us help. There were difficult moments, times when we were getting help, and then the U.S. Congress cut off the aid, so we had to renew the struggle to seek help. Some of our people who represented the political side of the resistance lobbied the U.S. Congress to try to get help to continue the war against the Sandinistas. However, we were always fighting against the Sandinistas, even without help from the U.S. government. ...

I think that the support we received from the U.S. government wasn’t aimed at us achieving a military victory in Nicaragua. I think we received help to pressure the Sandinista government into making changes. And it was not just the pressure that we exerted as guerrillas, but there were also the interests of the neighboring countries: Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Honduras, who through the Esquipulas II agreement managed to get the Sandinistas to commit themselves to a process of democratization. And after these agreements, we became involved in negotiations with the Sandinistas. I also think that the Sandinistas were forced to negotiate not only because of the pressure exerted by the Central American countries, but because of the military pressure we exerted on them; because we were on top of them, gaining terrain every day, and they were unable to stop the guerrilla movement in Nicaragua through military force. So it was a combination of those two factors, and of course the [Sandinista] Front made mistakes—the Front made many more mistakes than we did as a resistance movement.

**On Nicaragua’s role in the Cold War:**
There was a war going on in Nicaragua, there was a war going on in El Salvador, there was guerrilla warfare in Guatemala, there were small movements in Honduras—so naturally the big powers had a political interest in these events. We, as armed guerrilla groups, were an important factor in these big powers achieving their aims. ...
The interests of the Soviet countries were to spread the guerrilla movements throughout Latin America, and so of course we were protecting, let’s say, the interests of the Americans by preventing these subversive movements from going any further. And I think that we, the Nicaraguans, were a very important factor in preventing the guerrilla movement in El Salvador from consolidating itself and taking power ... mainly because their strength depended on the support they received from the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, and since we were confronting the Sandinistas directly, the Sandinistas didn’t have time to help the Salvadoran guerrillas, as well as other guerrillas in Guatemala and so on. So in this sense we were an important factor, and this was shown by the fact that when the resistance was dismantled, the Salvadoran guerrilla movement had to be dismantled too because they no longer had any base from which to continue fighting ... And I think that at that very moment, the United States also achieved their aim of forestalling the emergence of any more guerrilla movements.

Supplemental Reading 3: “This Revolution Was Made to Create a New Society,”
speech by Tomás Borge

The following reading is an excerpt from a 1982 speech by Tomás Borge, a founder of the FSLN, delivered to a crowd of 100,000 Managuans in a May Day celebration. First jailed by the Somoza government at the age of 16, Borge served as the Sandinista minister of the interior.

What is the difference between yesterday and today? Who are the ones who complain about the Sandinista People’s Army (EPS), the Sandinista Police, the organs of State Security—apart from some justified complaints against isolated cases of abuse which, though less each day, unfortunately are still committed?…

Those who complain are the ones who in the past had an unrestricted instrument for repressing workers and peasants; those who complain are the great landowners and the big industrialists and the tiny groups that still allow themselves to be confused by counterrevolutionary preaching. And the reason is very simple. While yesterday the industrialists and the landowners had an army and a police like the National Guard and an office of security serving their interests, today the workers and the peasants, all the working people, the ordinary people of Nicaragua, have at their wholehearted service the Sandinista People’s Army, the Sandinista Police, and the organs of State Security.

One would really have to be an idiot or a victim of delusion, or both, to ask for the support of the people in order to give back the lands that were taken away from the landowners, or to return the holdings that were confiscated from the somocistas…

With the victory of the revolution, a new phase begins. It is still necessary to unite the widest possible strata of Nicaraguan society to confront the common enemy of all Nicaraguans, which is US imperialism. This means that this new phase, after victory, puts the main emphasis on the defense of the nation, on the struggle to have our national sovereignty respected, on the right of self-determination, and on the need to unite all Nicaraguan patriots to confront a huge and cruel enemy.

But in this new phase, serious internal contradictions begin to come to the surface, when the revolution is forced—by its own dynamic and to remain in harmony with the political, economic, and social principles that were its reason for being—to determine which social sectors shall be given priority within the revolutionary process. Our people already know who the privileged ones were yesterday, and our people already know which classes have priority today, for whom this revolution was made…

This new phase, however, is extraordinarily complex, because on one side we have the interests of the workers and peasants, the backbone of the revolution. And on the other side there are those capitalist sectors that the revolution wants to keep on its side, even giving them economic incentives. But at the same time these sectors are torn apart by the dashing of their political hopes…

Experience tells us that a certain number of elements belonging to these social groups cannot resign themselves to the new reality, and that even within the revolution, there are those who believed that ultimately the dreams of the workers and peasants would end in a nightmare and the dreams of the bosses as a class would end in paradise.

Experience has also shown that there are capitalist sectors who are ready to work with the revolution, and that broad middle strata and the majority of small and medium agricultural producers have incorporated themselves into the revolutionary process…

... continues
This revolution was made, not to reaffirm the old society, but to create a new society…

Therefore, the Sandinista front was the living instrument for the conquest of power by the workers, and the living instrument for the consolidation of the power of the workers.

Just like the human body needs vitamins and protein to nourish itself and develop, the Sandinista front needs to draw its sustenance from the working class. The intellectuals, professionals, and others who want to identify with the Sandinista people’s revolution, must identify with the interests of the workers and peasants.

The Sandinista front is the vanguard of the workers and peasants, and is the vanguard of these social sectors; the Sandinista front is the living instrument of the revolutionary classes, the guide leading toward a new society.

To sum up, all our efforts are directed toward destroying the negative habits that are a part of the somocista inheritance so that those habits enter a crisis simultaneously with the breakdown of the imperialist domination in Central America. This domination started to break down when the Sandinista people’s revolution triumphed…

We reiterate our policy of peace toward the United States and our proposals to Honduras. This policy and these proposals reject the offensive and arrogant language that scarcely deigns to hide its aim of blocking any understanding.

But it is this arrogance I refer to. Nicaragua, they say, has become a threat to peace in Central America. This is a situation, they say, that they don’t want and will not tolerate. What do they mean by that? That they neither want nor will tolerate … What are they going to do to us? More than they have done to us already?…

Of course, we are still in favor of peace, but peace must begin with mutual respect. Although we have told you that apparently that prospect has been defeated, does this mean that imperialism has given up all ideas of direct aggression against Central America and Nicaragua? It does not mean this. They have given up, for the moment, perhaps, on direct aggression. But we would be naïve dreamers, we would be stupid if we believed that imperialism had already given up on wiping out our revolution…

It is trying to develop even further the tactics of destabilization used against our revolution. Internal corrosion within the vanguard is one objective. It wants to sow mistrust and internal violence inside Nicaragua. To give priority to the technical capacity and firepower of the counterrevolutionary bands … They propose to increase sabotage, assassination attempts, and other forms of terrorism. They will try to disorient people, encourage ideological confusion, manipulating the religious feelings of the Nicaraguan people, and exploiting the consequences of our economic difficulties…

I believe that those who have conceived this plan are going to live and die deceived … Here, during the Spanish conquest, they deceived the Indians with little glass marbles and mirrors. Those who dream of overthrowing the revolutionary government and its political leadership have not yet realized that the time of the conquistadors has gone, and that here the only thing we will conquer will be the establishment of a new and higher society.

**Source:** Tomás Borge, “This Revolution Was Made to Create a New Society,” in *Américas: An Anthology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 316–319. (Permission pending.)

**Somocista:** supporter of Somoza (the president ousted by the Sandinistas).

**Sovereignty:** a nation or state’s supreme power within its borders.
Web Resources on Nicaragua and the Sandinista Years

There is no shortage of websites that address the Sandinistas and the Contras. Below are just a few helpful links, but an Internet search using those keywords will bring a wealth of materials, especially regarding the U.S.-funded Contra war and the Iran-Contra scandal.

Library of Congress, Country Study: Nicaragua
http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/nitoc.html
A succinct overview of the geography, society, economy, transportation and telecommunications, politics and government, and national security of Nicaragua. Good background material for a better understanding of Nicaragua’s history.

The Impact of the Sandinistas on Nicaragua
http://www.jorian.com/san.html
A brief overview of both the good and bad points of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

Thinkquest: Sandinista Revolution
http://library.thinkquest.org/17749/lrevolution.html
An overview of the Sandinista years with a few linked photos. This student-created site also contains information on the history, culture, and economy of Nicaragua. Site is available in English, Spanish, and Japanese.

1984: Sandinistas claim election victory
http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/november/5/newsid_2538000/2538379.stm
A news story from the BBC, written during the Sandinista years.

Narcotics Traffickers and the Contras
http://www.webcom.com/pinknoiz/covert/contracoke.html
Selections from the Senate Committee Report on Drugs, Law Enforcement and Foreign Policy, chaired by Senator John F. Kerry, regarding accusations that illegal gun-running and drug trafficking were associated with the Contra war.

Nicaraguan Contras: Photos
http://www.rose-hulman.edu/~delacova/contras.htm
Photos of Contras and links to related articles (in both Spanish and English).
Should Russia continue to allow migration from the post-Soviet “successor states,” regardless of the migrants’ ethnicity?

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is a loose confederation of 12 former Soviet countries or “successor states,” including Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. When the Soviet Union dissolved in 1992, more than 25 million ethnic Russians living in the non-Russian republics suddenly found themselves part of a large diaspora community. Over the following years, both ethnic Russians and non-Russians migrated to Russia, for a variety of reasons, causing various problems in post-Soviet Russia. Read the following documents to defend your position in the Advocate/Decision-Making Activity.

Reading 1: “Migration Dilemmas Haunt Post-Soviet Russia”

Because Russia and the other successor states had been isolated from the international community for so long, and migration had gone from internal to international overnight, no mechanisms or institutions existed to deal with population movements, including those of refugees and internally displaced persons. As a result, for a period after the breakup of the Soviet Union, migration was quite fluid across rather porous borders. When the Soviet Union broke up and the economic transition began in 1992, Russia had almost no legislative base or institutional experience in dealing with refugees, international labor migration, freedom of movement, or permanent migration to or from abroad.

The majority of the migration turnover in Russia has been with the successor states, and has been driven to a large extent by the ethnic composition of those migration streams. Other key factors in this include ethnic violence, which has resulted in steep drops in economic output.

The Soviet Union was, and the Russian Federation remains, a mosaic of nationalities. There were 128 nationalities enumerated in the 1989 census. At the time of the breakup of the Soviet Union, there were 53 ethnic homelands. Of the 15 major nationalities, a total of 43.4 million people lived outside of their homelands in 1989. Thus, it should not be surprising that when the Soviet Union broke up, significant ethnic unmixing followed, with many people believing that their standard of living would be best in their own homeland thanks to preferential access to better jobs, schools, and other resources.

When 25 million Russians found themselves suddenly members of minority groups in successor states that were often hostile to their existence, they had several choices. One was to stay and accommodate themselves as minorities in the newly independent states, which often meant learning local languages. In cases where they were geographically concentrated in regions bordering Russia, such as northern Kazakhstan or eastern Ukraine, some advocated attaching those areas to Russia. A third choice was migration back to the homeland (although many had been born and lived their entire lives outside Russia).

A clear regional grouping emerges. From Armenia, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, half or more of the Russian populations have chosen migration as a strategy of adaptation. It was also from these states that significant shares of the various other nationalities living in diaspora have fled as well, because of deteriorating economic conditions. …Turkmenistan, with its oil and gas wealth, has not seen a great shrinking of its ethnic Russian population.

That Russians and other ethnic groups are choosing to migrate to Russia should come as no surprise, given the economic divergence of these states during the post-Soviet period. Of the 15 successor states, only tiny Estonia has a higher gross national income per capita than that of Russia. Most of the Central Asian and Transcaucasus states, as well as Ukraine and Moldova, have incomes that are half or less than in Russia.

... continues
A major push factor behind the migration of both Russians and non–Russians seems to be ethnic violence, and resulting economic decline. Aside from the war in Chechnya, most has not been aimed at Russians, but they are nevertheless caught in the crossfire. Tajiks, Armenians, Georgians, and Azeris, pushed by episodes of violence during the post-Soviet period in their ethnic homelands, all moved in significant numbers, thereby significantly increasing their population size in Russia.

Large numbers of Russians and other former Soviet citizens entered Russia as “forced migrants,” although many found it difficult to register as such. The concept of “refugees” has been applied only to people not eligible for Russian citizenship, and “forced migrants” has been applied to those persons with Russian citizenship or those who could obtain Russian citizenship by virtue of being former Soviet citizens (the latter including internally displaced persons).

Most forced migrants arrived either from Central Asia or the Caucasus, including about 600,000 persons displaced during the first war in Chechnya between 1994 and 1996. About one-third, mostly Chechens, have since returned. As a result of the second Chechen war, which started in 1999, there are nearly a half million displaced within Russia, most in neighboring regions around Chechnya.

There is a large and growing undocumented population in Russia, pushed there by factors such as underdevelopment in their own countries, the large underground economy in Russia that they can disappear into, higher standards of living, lack of enforcement, Russia’s long porous borders, and its adherence to the UN refugee convention.

Reading 2: Library of Congress Country Study: Russia: “Migration Patterns”

The increased numbers of Russians arriving from other CIS nations create both logistical and political problems. As in the case of non-Russian refugees, statistical estimates of intra-CIS migration vary widely, partly because Russia has not differentiated that category clearly from the refugee category and partly because actual numbers are assumed to be much higher than official registrations indicate. Many newly arrived Russians (like non-Russians) simply settle with friends or relatives without official registration.

During Russia’s problematic economic transition period, the movement of comparatively large numbers of migrants has created substantial social friction, especially over the distribution of scarce urban housing. Nationalist extremist political groups have inflamed local resentment toward refugees of all types. Friction is exacerbated by the state’s meager efforts to support migrant populations. Skilled immigrants show particular resentment against a state that fails to provide opportunities and even enough resources to survive, and these people often have drifted into progressively more serious types of criminal activity. Local populations uniformly resent resources provided to migrants in their midst, and they attribute their own economic difficulties to the “strangers” among them, especially if those people are not of the same nationality.

By 1992 the International Red Cross had estimated that about 150,000 ethnic Russians had migrated from CIS states, and at the end of 1993, 2 million Russians and non-Russians had arrived from the near abroad in the first two post-Soviet years. As many as 300,000 of the 375,000 Russians in Tajikistan left that country in the first years of the civil war that began in 1992, and in 1994 more than half the Russian arrivals came from Chechnya, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Tajikistan. However ... by the end of 1994, almost 60 percent of Russian arrivals came from Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, driven not by armed conflict but by local discrimination ... National groups also have varying long-term intentions. Russians and Tatars tend to remain permanently in their new locations; Chechens mostly plan to return to their homeland once conditions improve; and Armenians and Germans are predominantly transit migrants en route to another country.

Chart: Comparative Ethnic Groups in the Former Soviet Union, 1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Titular Ethnic Group (percent)</th>
<th>Russian (percent)</th>
<th>Minor Ethnic Group (percent)</th>
<th>Other (percent)</th>
<th>Total Population (thousands)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>4,308</td>
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</table>

*The 1989 Soviet census reported two different figures for the total population of each republic. One is based on the number of people in the republic on the day the census was conducted. This map uses the other, which is based on the number of people reporting the republic as their place of permanent residence. Source: US Bureau of the Census.*

Supplemental Reading 1: “Migration and Repatriation Issues in Post-Soviet Countries: the Latvian Case”

Migration and repatriation issues are among the most important political and economic questions facing the post-Soviet countries, and in most cases they play a significant role in international relations among the ex-Soviet states, as well as with many other countries. In addition, most of these issues are directly or indirectly connected with various difficulties which arose or existed during the Soviet era.

As one of the post-Soviet countries, Latvia has similarities with many other of the former republics of the USSR in this respect. At the same time, however, it (as well as all the other ex-Soviet nations) has its own specific issues which influence the process of migration and repatriation, as well as related issues.

Latvia’s demographic situation deteriorated severely after 1940, when the Soviet Union occupied and forcibly annexed the country. Killings, deportations, political emigration and other forms of displacement (military service, assignments to work outside Latvia, etc.) all helped to create this problem, and it is only natural that the country is now interested in having anyone who is an ethnic Latvian return to the country. A good number have already done so, while many others are thinking of following suit in the near or far future. In addition, the emigration of ethnic Latvians to other parts of the ex-Soviet Union has slowed dramatically.

The issue of ethnic Latvians, however, has not drawn as much attention, especially outside Latvia, as has the matter of ethnic Russians and other so-called “Russian speakers” who arrived in Latvia during the Soviet occupation. They pose a very serious issue which may have profound consequences in the future of the country.

Currently Latvia’s migration flow is caused largely by Russians, Belarussians, Ukrainians and people of other nationalities from the Soviet Union who have left or are planning to leave Latvia for their countries of origin or for other countries, most often in the West. As in the majority of post-Soviet countries, a second source of migration flow is Jews and Germans who are emigrating to the West.

A separate migration-related issue which has emerged in the 1990s involves illegal migrants and refugees, usually people from Third World countries who seek to enter Latvia and then to depart for points to the West. Illegal migration has been one of the country’s most unpleasant problems.


Deportation: forcing someone to leave a country.
Repatriation: the act of returning to one’s country of origin.
Supplemental Reading 2: “Moldova Seeks Stability Amid Mass Emigration”

Moldova is a small country facing mass emigration. Confronted with political instability, collapsing incomes, and rapidly rising unemployment, people began emigrating from Moldova on a large scale in the first half of the 1990s. Because hardly any opportunities are available for legal migration from this small state situated between the Ukraine and Romania, most of this emigration has been irregular.

The Moldovan Intelligence and Security Service has estimated that 600,000 to one million Moldovan citizens (almost 25 percent of a population of some 4.4 million) are working abroad, most illegally. Only around 80,000 are estimated to be in their destination country legally. Human trafficking is a prominent feature of this enormous outflow.

This emigration, the dominant feature of the country in the new century, has had serious political, economic, and social consequences. In fact, the future of the country in large part depends on the role Moldova’s migrants play in future development.

Background: The Republic of Moldova

Following the break-up of the Soviet Union (USSR), the former Soviet Republic of Moldova was recognized as an independent state in 1991. From the outset, this small landlocked country, situated between Romania to the west and Ukraine to the east, has been in a deep economic and political crisis. […]

The political problems in the 1990s were mirrored by a sustained economic crisis. The break-up of the USSR resulted in the loss of export markets for intermediary goods that are used only as input for the manufacturing of other goods, i.e., component parts of other items. Also exported are agricultural goods, both processed and unprocessed (especially wine). Salaries collapsed and jobs disappeared. By the year 2000, the average per-capita income had fallen by 60 percent and only in the last few years has moderate growth resumed. In 2002, average annual income per person officially amounted to only €417, just 1.8 percent of the EU average, which makes Moldova easily the poorest country in Europe.

The resulting wave of unemployment has forced many qualified technicians and professionals to go abroad to take up illegal employment far below their qualification levels. The jobless rate, officially at only two percent of the workforce, is now estimated at over 25 percent. Today, monthly salaries in Moldova average €40-45, while farmers rely mainly on subsistence farming. With an average consumer basket costing about €70 per month, some 80 percent of the population is officially under the poverty line. Due to the low level of salaries and the continuing brain drain, there are significant shortages of professionals in some areas — for example, over the last decade, some 45,000 teachers have gone abroad and have been replaced, in part, by education students.

Even though Moldova has experienced moderate growth over the last three years, for the majority of the population, the economic situation has further deteriorated and poverty has increased. There is a lack of delivery on political promises, coupled with the absence of the rule of law or its implementation, crowned by widespread corruption. Especially in the countryside, public utilities such as electricity and water supplies are frequently interrupted or dysfunctional. Many people rely on soup kitchens and ... continues
humanitarian aid. The widespread urge to escape from the dismal economic conditions in Moldova appears to be overwhelming. According to a survey of the younger population in 2001 by the Center of Sociological, Political Science, and Psychological Investigation and Analysis (CIVIS), a local non-governmental organization, 52 percent of teenagers want to go abroad to get a job. Responding to a separate question, fifteen percent of the teenagers surveyed would like to emigrate permanently. One-third would like to go abroad for this purpose for several years. One-fifth of them said they would like to go abroad to work for several months.

Emigration from Moldova
The economic crisis in the first half of the 1990s prompted many Moldovans to seek opportunities abroad. Today, nearly a quarter of all the country’s citizens have jobs in another state. Due to the clandestine nature of these migration flows, however, no official statistics exist. In interviews with state officials, migration experts, and returned migrants, the following countries were mentioned as the main destinations (in decreasing order of importance): Russia, Italy, Ukraine, Romania, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey, and Israel. Geographical distance, possibilities to work, and language similarities (Russian and languages with Latin roots are preferred) all seem to play a role. Some 200,000 Moldovans are thought to be working in Russia, mainly in construction. Another estimate puts the number of Moldovans in Italy at 200,000. Meanwhile, members of the 160,000-strong Gagauz minority (a Christian community in the southern part of the country whose language is related to Turkish and who enjoy substantial autonomy) are drawn predominantly towards Turkey.

Supplemental Reading 3: “Uzbekistan: Migrants Suffer Russian Humiliation”

Uzbek migrant workers are prepared to put up with rough treatment in Russia to escape the economic misery of their homeland.

A powerless and humiliating position, dirty work and harassment from the local population; this is what working migrants from Uzbekistan endure in Russian towns. “We Uzbeks can’t live here,” said a young man from Tashkent now working in Yekaterinburg. But the Uzbeks are still coming. “It’s worse at home and here we can earn some money,” they say.

At the private bus station in the Kazakh town of Saryagash, close to the border with Uzbekistan, two buses pull up to transport men from Uzbekistan to work in Russian towns.

A quick glance reveals there is not enough room in the bus for everyone but the Kazakh drivers don’t let that bother them. With the arrival of spring, the number of people from Uzbekistan wanting to work in Russia has mushroomed, and no one expects a comfortable ride or an easy life when they get there. They are prepared to travel for more than five days in overcrowded buses to earn a crust by doing any kind of work.

The bus station in Saryagash is one of many assembly points for Uzbek citizens crossing into Russia. The fact that migrants have to resort to this mode of transport is another sign of the catastrophic decline in living standards in Uzbekistan. “Seasonal workers from Uzbekistan used to be able to afford plane tickets but now even the train is a luxury,” said a man from Andijan who plans to work in Novosibirsk.

Uzbek workers, like workers from other Central Asian countries of the CIS, are in demand in Russia to do the hardest and most unpopular jobs. The workforce is extremely profitable for Russian employers who can pay them rock-bottom wages and not take any responsibility for work conditions and safety.

Natalya Tagiltsevaya, head of the Ural Foundation for Migrants, says the stream of migrants to Russia increased since spring, when the Russian government said the country needed more workers, partly because of the worsening demographic situation among ethnic Russians.

Tagiltsevaya says there is no precise data on the number of migrants from Central Asia. Unofficial records suggest about 2 million temporary workers came to Russia in 2001.

Most Uzbek migrants come from the Fergana valley and the provinces of Surkhandarya and Kashkadarya. They say growing despair over the Uzbek economy drove them to Russia, along with the hope of getting decently paid.

“I could find work in Andijan planting cotton but I know I would be paid very little,” said Zakirjon, a man in his mid-30s from Andijan. “I don’t want to be a slave. You can’t feed your family that way.”

Once they have agreed to take on the heaviest and dirtiest work in Russia, Central Asian migrants face other problems, police intimidation, employer exploitation and racists who call Uzbeks and Tajiks “blacks.”

Sobirjon, an Uzbek from Namangan selling fruit at a market in Yekaterinburg, said, “In the past Russians respected us but now we’re all ‘blacks’ to them.”

Mukhammad, from Fergana, said most insults come from young men and pensioners. “Young guys like to harass us, while pensioners tell us straight out that we ‘blacks’ should go home and we have no business in Russia.”

... continues
He said that when he needed an injection at a hospital, even the medical staff were hostile, “They told me people should be healthy when they come to Russia, and that there were enough sick people here already.”

Fear of competition in the labour market is one factor behind the hostility of many local residents. Many Russians believe the increase in migrant workers has boosted the unemployment rate. When they come to Russia, migrants must first purchase a temporary permit for 20 US dollars, giving them the right to stay for three months. But Mukhtar, a Tajik migrant, said that if a policeman wanted to bother them and take their money, no document or registration paper would be of any help.

The migrants have special cause for concern when the police launch one of their periodic campaigns to expel foreign nationals without registration papers, as brute force is often used against them.

But those who have worked in Russia before say it is not worth worrying about harassment and that police intimidation is something they must live with. Zakirjon, from Andijan, told IWPR he wanted to go home to his family but needed to earn money first. He said the treatment he could expect in Uzbekistan was no better.

“I am a ‘black’ here but who am I in Uzbekistan?” he asked. “I can’t even travel from Andijan to the capital because the police will want to check my documents and take all my money. In Russia at least they leave you some of it.”

For many migrants, the fact that it is impossible to earn decent wages in Uzbekistan is far scarier than Russian racism. The number of people wanting to leave for Russia seems certain to grow rather than decrease.

Malik Mansur is the pseudonym of an Uzbek journalist.

Web Resources on Russian Migration

Johnson’s Russia List
http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/5602-5.cfm
A daily e-mail newsletter with information and analysis on contemporary Russia from a wide range of sources.

“Migration” on RussiansAbroad.com
http://www.russiansabroad.com/russian_history_110.html
This website contains a concise article explaining migration from the former Soviet republics to present-day Russia. Many links available for both migration and other cultural resources.

New Migration Law Stings Foreigners in Russia
An analysis of the 2007 Russian immigration law, which affects guest workers.

Pravda
http://english.pravda.ru/
English-language version of a major Russian newspaper. Site contains numerous links and searches for topics related to all things Russian and/or current events.

Russia: Immigration Likely To Increase, Mitigating Population Deficit
http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2005/11/8957c86a-eecd-4754-87a1-fe9c19eba8d8.html
An article from Radio Free Europe discussing Russia’s population deficit and migration into Russia from Central Asia.

Russia Beckons, But Diaspora Wary
http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=56
An article from Migration Information Source with statistics on Russian emigration.
Appendix: Glossary of Terms
Appendix

Vocabulary Related to Migration

**Adaptation:** changing one’s behavior so as to fit in better with local customs.

**Agrarian:** related to farmers, farming, or agriculture.

**Ameliorate:** relieve or reduce pressure.

**Ancestor:** someone from whom you and one of your parents are descended.

**Arable:** land that can be used for agriculture.

**Assimilation:** to take local attitudes, customs and norms and make them your own.

**Bourgeois:** the middle class; a member of the property-owning class.

**Brain Drain:** the phenomenon in which developing countries send their best students abroad for a higher education and those students choose to stay abroad rather than return home.

**Clandestine:** something kept or done in secret.

**Confederation:** a group of different bodies (states or countries) that work together for a common goal.

**Demography:** the study of the characteristics of a particular population.

**Deportation:** forcing someone to leave a country.

**Diaspora:** a group whose members live scattered outside of their traditional homeland.

**Divergence:** separation, taking separate paths in opposite directions.

**Embargo:** an official order forbidding something, usually trade with another country.

**Emigration:** to leave a place with the intention of settling elsewhere.

**Ethnic, ethnicity:** common characteristics such as race, language, culture, and/or religion that make people feel they are part of a common group.

**Expatriate:** someone who resides in a foreign country.

**Expropriate:** to take possession of someone else’s property for your own use without permission or compensation.

**Gerrymander:** to divide territory—such as when creating a voting district—in a way that deliberately gives one party an advantage over another.

**Illiterate:** unable to read or write.

**Immigration:** to come to a place with the intention of settling there.

**Indigenous:** originating in or native to a particular place or country: Native Americans are indigenous to North America.

**Informal Economy:** economic activities that are not taxed or monitored by a government or supervisory agency.

**Junta:** a small group of people, usually military officers, who rule a country after taking power in a coup or revolution.

**Literacy:** the ability to read and write; a literacy campaign is a program to help people learn how to read and write.

**Marginality, marginalization:** kept on the outside; made insignificant.

**Megalopolis:** a very large urban area, usually consisting of several cities that have grown so that there is no visible border between them. Also called a megacity or a primate city.

**Monoculture:** the use of land for growing only one type of crop.

**Nepotism:** the practice of showing favoritism to family members.

**Per Capita Income:** how much each person would make if a country’s total income were divided evenly among all of the people who live there.

**Persecution:** treating someone badly because their ethnicity, religion, race, language, etc. is different from others.
Political Asylum: when a country allows a foreign citizen to reside there as a way to avoid persecution or arrest in their home country.

Pundit: a learned person or authoritative voice.

Refugee: a person who seeks shelter from war, disaster, or persecution by leaving their home.

Remittance: income sent home by migrant workers from abroad; remittances are generally not taxed by the home country.

Remuneration: salary or payment for a job or services rendered.

Repatriation: the act of returning to one’s country of origin.

Revenue: money made by the government.

Sabbatical: an extended period of leave from one’s job, often to engage in a short-term project, training, etc.

Shantytown: a poor area of a city where people live in shacks and huts.

Sharecropping: a system in which farmers rent land in exchange for a share of the crops grown instead of paying rent.

Skilled Labor: work that requires some form of specialized training: plumbing, electrical wiring, and manufacturing are examples of skilled labor.

Sovereignty: a nation or state’s supreme power within its borders.

Unskilled Labor: work that requires little or no specialized training.

Urbanization: the process by which cities grow.

Welfare: assistance provided by the government to the poor to help them with living expenses.
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