group of standards were mentioned by all (Nos. 1 to 3), and another three (Nos. 4 to 6) in at least six of the eight proposals reviewed.

- Freedom of association (ILO Convention 87).
- The right to organize and bargain collectively (Convention 98).
- Minimum age for the employment of children (Conventions 5 and 138).
- Freedom from discrimination in employment and occupation on the grounds of race, sex, religion, political opinion, etc. (Convention 111).
- Freedom from forced labour (Conventions 29 and 105).
- Occupational safety and health (various Conventions).

Canada has not ratified all of the labour conventions set out above. The Annex presents the ILO Conventions ratified by Canada. From the core group (Nos.1 to 3) of standards identified by Van Liemt, Canada has not ratified the right to organize and bargain collectively (Convention 98) and the minimum age for the employment of children (Conventions 5 and 138). The U.S. has not ratified any of the Conventions within the core group. Of the remaining conventions set out above, with the exception of occupational safety and health conventions, the U.S. has only ratified the abolition of forced labour - Convention 105.⁶⁷

The developing countries regard the developed countries as the "demandeurs" on the trade-labour issue. With the prospect of unilateral trade actions, the LDCs may eventually find it in their own interest to enter into multilateral negotiations. The developing countries may wish to seek concessions on labour mobility - the access to developed country markets for low skilled workers from the developing countries. Given the general concerns of the developing countries, particularly of a labour clause potentially adversely affecting or depriving them of one of their key comparative advantages, there is unlikely to be wide support for a broad negotiation on a global set of minimal labour standards. For multilateral negotiations, the developing countries may be more willing to accept a NAALC approach, one emphasising the importance of enforcing each country's labour rights in at least some of the six labour areas set out above. Such an approach would allow for the accommodation of significant differences in the level of development of the participating countries.

Policy Staff Paper 41

⁶⁷ Of the parties to the NAFTA, the U.S. had ratified 9 ILO Conventions, Mexico 66, and Canada 27, as of December 1993.