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THE ONGOING TRAGEDY OF INTERNATIONAL SLAVERY AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING: AN OVERVIEW

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WELLNESS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

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THE ONGOING TRAGEDY OF INTERNATIONAL SLAVERY AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING: AN OVERVIEW

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 2003

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WELLNESS,
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:04 p.m., in room 2154, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Dan Burton (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Burton, Watson, Shays, and Smith.

Staff present: Mark Walker, chief of staff; Mindi Walker and Brian Fauls, professional staff members; Nick Mutton, press secretary; Danielle Perraut, clerk; Richard Butcher, minority professional staff member; Earley Green, minority chief clerk; and Cecelia Morton, minority office manager.

Mr. BURTON. Good afternoon. A quorum being present, and we will have other Members coming in periodically, the Subcommittee on Human Rights and Wellness will come to order.

I ask unanimous consent that all Members' and witnesses' opening statements be included in the record and without objection, so ordered. I ask unanimous consent that all articles and extraneous or tabular material referred to be included in the record and without objection, so ordered.

I ask unanimous consent that Congressmen Smith, Wolf, and Pitts, as well as any other Member wishing to serve as a member of the subcommittee for today's hearing, be permitted to sit on the dais with us and without objection, so ordered.

The subcommittee is convening today to examine the atrocious practices of human trafficking and slavery around the world. It is hard to believe in the 21st century that we are even talking about this.

Although many people believe that slavery and human trafficking are no longer a major problem, it is estimated that more than 27 million cases of human trafficking occur every year—27 million. This figure represents the highest concentration of slaves in the entire history of mankind. You would not believe that in the 21st century, would you?

Human slavery and trafficking is a worldwide crisis that affects 116 countries, including many industrialized and developed nations like the United Kingdom and Australia. No country is immune from these illegal practices. However, every nation needs to put

into place strong measures to deter and prevent these crimes against humanity.

Sadly, human slavery and trafficking are booming businesses in the 21st century. According to figures released by the U.S. Department of State, it is estimated that human slaves contribute over $13 billion every year to the global economy, $7 billion of which is a direct result of the illicit sex trade alone.

You know, we ought to have cameras and the media and everybody in here listening to this, because it is not a widely known fact that this is going on. Yet, they are probably listening to all kinds of other things that sound important, which really do not amount of a hill of beans, and here we have 27 million people that are slaves every year.

Because of this crime's enormous profitability, slaveholders will stop at nothing to traffic as many slaves as possible. Slaveholders try and victimize innocent people into lifetimes of servitude by preying on the most economically disadvantaged members of society.

These crimes lure hard-working men and woman attempting to make a better life for themselves and their loved ones. As soon as victims are deprived of the opportunity to return to their homes, they are forced into domestic servitude, sweatshop labor, prostitution and other types of compulsory labor.

In addition to the millions of people who are coerced into slavery, there are many who spend most of their lives working to repay paltry debts at extreme rates of interest. According to a National Geographic article from the September 2003 issue entitled "21st Century Slaves," two-thirds of the world's captive laborers, 15 to 20 million people, are debt slaves in places such as India, Bangladesh, and Nepal.

These indentured servants can spend their whole lifetimes repaying debts that amount to as little as $36, because of outrageous rates of interest placed on loans; $36 and you are a slave for life.

Sometimes, if the debt is large enough, it could take two or three generations of indentured family members to repay the loan; and the ever-increasing number of these economically disadvantaged individuals has created an even greater surplus of potential victims for slaveholders to exploit.

While the average cost of a slave centuries ago would equate to today about $40,000, in today's dollars that same slave would sell for around $150. Think about that; it used to be $40,000 if you carried that figure and extrapolated it into our dollars today, and now it is $150.

Because laborers are relatively cheap and easy to exploit, regard for the slaves' lives has greatly diminished. Slaves are being held in the most inhumane of conditions. They are not given proper shelter, medical care, or nutrition, in addition to being continuously subject to savage beatings.

In the eyes of modern-day slaveholders, slaves can literally be worked to death, because the profits that they produce far outweigh the cost of just keeping them alive.

Currently, the United States has measures in place to help combat trafficking in persons. On October 28, 2000, the President signed into law the "Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000

(Public Law 106–386)," sponsored by my dear friend and colleague, Representative Chris Smith of New Jersey, who will be here in a little bit.

His legislation has been very effective in combating human trafficking, and I believe that it is necessary for the House and Senate to reauthorize this most important bill as soon as possible to keep strong measures in place against human trafficking.

While the United States has enacted comprehensive laws to deal with the existing human trafficking situation, many countries have laws that are not germane to address the current problems associated with these illicit activities.

More than 154 countries have laws in place that minimally target trafficking by prohibiting the procurement of women and children for purposes of prostitution and forced labor. Unfortunately, most of these laws do not address modern-day trafficking concerns, and are not thoroughly enforced due to the lack of proper funding and up-to-date training of law enforcement officials.

In an effort to assist in combating human trafficking on an international scale, the United States has provided financial and training assistance to less-developed countries that do not currently have the means to deter human trafficking violations.

During fiscal year 2001 and 2002, the United States appropriated over $100 million for global anti-trafficking initiatives in over 50 countries to assist in the prevention and protection of trafficking victims, and to support and train international law enforcement officials.

My former colleague, the Honorable John Miller, who represented the First District of Washington from 1985 to 1993 and is currently the Director of the State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, is here to talk with us today about his recent travels to observe firsthand the trafficking crisis going on in the world today.

He will be joined by the Honorable Kent Hill, an Assistant Administrator at the U.S. Agency for International Development, who will also testify on the human slavery in the 21st century and the U.S. Government's efforts to put an end to human slavery and trafficking practices around the globe.

In addition to our Government witnesses, the subcommittee will also hear today from several experts in various form of trafficking and slavery. They are here to assist us in gaining a better understanding into the current human trafficking crisis, and how best to counteract these crimes on a global level. I look forward to hearing their testimony.

Let me just say once again that I just left the International Relations Committee down the hall. We were talking about Pakistan and the terrorist threat, and what Pakistan and other countries are doing to fight it.

That is very important, because terrorism is a horrible thing. We saw 3,000 people killed in one terrorist incident here in the United States, the worst attack on American citizens in the history of our country, and that is terrible. It is really terrible.

But 27 million people a year around the world are becoming slaves, and not one camera is in this room. It is amazing to me. Well, it is just human beings? What the heck? Twenty-seven mil-

lion—we ought to all be outraged. We ought to be raising holy hell with those countries that are allowing this to go on, and who are not doing anything about it.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Dan Burton follows:]

Opening Statement
Chairman Dan Burton
Government Reform Committee
Subcommittee on Human Rights & Wellness

"The Ongoing Tragedy of International Slavery and Human Trafficking: An Overview"

October 29, 2003

The Subcommittee is convening today to examine the atrocious practices of human trafficking and slavery around the world, and to discuss how the United States is attempting to combat these illicit practices on an international scale.

Although many people believe that slavery and human trafficking are no longer a major problem in modern times, it is estimated that more than 27 million cases of human trafficking occur every year. This figure represents the highest concentration of slaves in the entirety of human history, and the problem continues to grow.

Human slavery and trafficking is a worldwide crisis that affects 116 countries, including many industrialized and developed Nations like the United Kingdom and Australia. No country is immune from these illegal practices; however, every Nation needs to put into place strong measures to deter and prevent these crimes against humanity.

Sadly, human slavery and trafficking are booming businesses in the 21st Century. According to figures released by the United States Department of State, it is estimated that human slaves contribute over $(U.S.) 13 Billion every year to the global economy, $(U.S.) 7 Billion of which is a direct result of the illicit sex trade alone.

Because of this crime's enormous profitability, slaveholders will stop at nothing to traffic as many slaves as possible. Slaveholders trick and victimize innocent people into lifetimes of servitude by preying on the most economically disadvantaged members of society. These crimes lure hard-working men and women attempting to make a better

life for themselves and their loved ones. As soon as victims are deprived of the opportunity to return to their homes, they are forced into domestic servitude, sweatshop labor, prostitution, and other types of compulsory labor.

In addition to the millions of people who are coerced into slavery, there are many who spend most of their lives working to repay paltry debts at extreme rates of interest. According to a *National Geographic* article from the September 2003 issue, entitled, "*21st Century Slaves*," two-thirds of the world's captive laborers, 15 – 20 million people, are debt slaves in places such as India, Bangladesh, and Nepal. These indentured servants can spend whole lifetimes repaying debts as little as $(U.S.) 36 because of outrageous rates of interest placed on loans. Sometimes, if the debt is large enough, it could take two or three generations of indentured family members to repay the loan. And the ever-increasing number of these economically disadvantaged individuals has created an even greater surplus of potential victims for slaveholders to exploit.

While the average cost of a slave centuries ago would equate to roughly $(U.S.) 40,000 in today's dollars, that same slave would sell for around $(U.S.) 150. Because laborers are relatively cheap and easy to exploit, regard for the slaves' lives has greatly diminished. Slaves are being held in the most inhumane of conditions. They are not given proper shelter, medical care, or nutrition, in addition to being continuously subject to savage beatings. In the eyes of modern-day slaveholders, slaves can literally be worked to death because the profits that they produce far outweigh the cost of keeping them alive.

Currently, the United States has measures in place to help combat trafficking in persons. On October 28, 2000, the President signed into law the "*Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000* (Public Law 106-386)," sponsored by my dear friend and colleague Representative Chris Smith of New Jersey, who will be joining us here today. His legislation has been very effective in combating human trafficking, and I believe that it is necessary for the House and Senate to reauthorize this most important bill as soon as possible to keep strong measures in place against human trafficking.

While the United States has enacted comprehensive laws to deal with the existing human trafficking situation, many countries have laws that are not germane to address the current problems associated with these illicit activities. More than 154 countries have laws in place that minimally target trafficking by prohibiting the procurement of women and children for purposes of prostitution and forced labor. Unfortunately, most of these laws do not address modern-day trafficking concerns, and are not thoroughly enforced due to the lack of proper funding and up-to-date training of law enforcement officials.

In an effort to assist in combating human trafficking on an international scale, the United States has provided financial and training assistance to less-developed countries that do not currently have the means to deter human trafficking violations. During Fiscal Year (FY) 2001 and 2002, the United States appropriated over $100 Million for global anti-trafficking initiatives in over 50 countries to assist in the prevention and protection of trafficking victims, and to support and train international law enforcement officials.

The Honorable John Miller, a former colleague of mine who represented the 1st District of Washington from 1985-1993 and is currently the Director of the State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, is here with us to talk about his recent travels to observe firsthand the trafficking crisis going on in the world today. Congressman Miller will be joined by the Honorable Kent Hill, Assistant Administrator at the United States Agency for International Development, who will also testify on human slavery in the 21st Century and the United States government's efforts to put an end to human slavery and trafficking practices around the globe.

In addition to our government witnesses, the Subcommittee will also hear today from several experts in various forms of trafficking and slavery. They are here to assist us in gaining a better understanding into the current human trafficking crisis, and how best to counteract these crimes on a global level. I look forward to hearing their testimony.

Mr. BURTON. With that, let me just say, it is nice to see my colleague Chris here with us today. Do you have an opening statement you would like to make?

Mr. SHAYS. I do not have a written statement, Mr. Chairman. I just want to thank our witnesses, and I want to thank you for holding this hearing.

I was a little concerned that there may not be many people at this hearing, because somehow, for some reason, it really has not caught the imagination of the American people. When the President talked about this issue in the United Nations, it was viewed as almost a distraction, and it struck me as an astounding thing to say.

So this hearing kind of reminds me of the hearings I had on my National Security Subcommittee before September 11th. We did not have a lot of people focused on them and we had 22 hearings. There was hardly anyone from the press.

But it is an issue that ultimately, I think, the President will help others to understand; and the people helping him like John and others and Kent will help the American people and the world understand. This is a huge issue, and the United States is going to play a role in it, whether or not the French give us permission.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you very much; I really appreciate it, Mr. Shays.

Ms. Watson has joined us. Would you like to make an opening statement, Ms. Watson?

Ms. WATSON. I certainly would. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

According to the latest U.S. Government estimates, over 800,000 to 900,000 people worldwide are trafficked across borders each year for forced labor or sexual exploitation. Although men are also victimized, the overwhelming majority of those trafficked are women and children.

Disturbingly enough, trafficking in people for prostitution, domestic servitude and forced labor is an increasing area of international criminal activity. The reasons for the increase in trafficking are many. In general, the criminal business feeds on poverty, despair, war, crisis, and ignorance.

Trafficking is considered one of the largest sources of profits for organized crime, generating $7 billion to $10 billion annually, according to the United Nations' estimates. The largest number of victims are annually trafficked from Asia and the Pacific Region according to our U.S. Department of State.

The growth of sex tourism in this region is one of the main contributing factors. Large-scale child prostitution occurs in many countries. Thailand, Cambodia, and the Philippines are popular travel destinations for sex tourists, including pedophiles from Europe, North America, Japan, and Australia.

The former Soviet Union may be the largest new source of trafficking for prostitution and the sex industry. Other main source regions include Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa. Trafficking in children for labor is a serious African problem in Togo and Benin, as well as in Botswana, Zaire, Somalia, Ethiopia, Zambia, Nigeria, and Algeria. Victims are taken to Nigeria, Gabon, Ghana, and South Africa.

Africans, especially women from Nigeria, are trafficked to Western Europe and the Middle East, and the victims usually end up in large cities, vacation and tourist areas, or near military bases, where the demand is the highest.

Mr. Chairman, as you know, Congress passed the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, which strengthens many provisions of law dealing with trafficking in persons for sexual and other exploitation. The International Relations Committee has amended the act this year again; however, the main emphasis of the act is to report on and eliminate trafficking in foreign countries.

As we move forward with today's hearing, Mr. Chairman, on modern day slavery, I want to ensure that we discuss the prevalence of slavery and the trafficking problem occurring through various regions of the world. I hope we also include in this discussion the trafficking and forced labor that is occurring today, right here in these United States.

One example of these violations of human rights and U.S. law has been occurring in my own State, California. Border patrol agents in California have an overwhelming task in identifying illegal aliens and stemming their migration. Organized criminals are challenging law enforcement officials to meet the demand of poor Latinos and those who would exploit them.

There are many human rights abuses occurring after being successfully smuggled across the border. Criminals know that an illegal alien is in a tenuous predicament that can be taken advantage of.

An example of violations has been occurring in the agricultural fields; not only in my own State of California, but in Florida. On a positive note, a Florida organization called the Coalition of Immokalee Workers has been heralded for their world to address modern-day slavery. Together, they have helped liberate over 1,000 workers held against their will by employers using violence, in terms of beatings and pistol whippings, shootings, and the threat of violence.

Their efforts, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Justice, has successfully helped prosecute and put trafficking organizations and employers who use these tactics to suppress immigrant farm workers behind bars.

So, Mr. Chairman, I look forward to today's testimony; and I am very concerned about where we are today, in terms of this trafficking and human rights violations.

I support the efforts of this subcommittee to probe into this issue. I want to commend you for staying on it. You have been characterized by your persistence and your commitment. Again, this is another demonstration of that, and I yield back my time to you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you very much; I would like to clarify one thing. Ms. Watson is absolutely correct. It is 800,000 to 900,000 new slaves per year, but the total is 27 million; and 27 million is just unconscionable.

Mr. Smith has just joined us. Mr. Smith, do you have an opening statement you would like to make?

Mr. SMITH. First of all, I want to thank the chairman for having this very important hearing. I would ask that my full statement be made a part of the record.

Mr. BURTON. Without objection.

Mr. SMITH. You know, I would say to Mr. Burton and he knows this, we sit next to each other on the International Relations Committee and work side-by-side on so many human rights issues, and this is one of them. This one certainly is at the top.

I want to thank John Miller, who is doing an absolutely splendid job as head of the TIP Office. He has brought a sense of mission, a sense of that "fire in the belly" that this egregious practice, this modern-day slavery, has to stop, and we can take the lead in doing that. I want to thank John for his work. He works at it 24/7 and is doing a great job.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, our bill, the next increment, the next updating and reforming, hopefully will be on the floor before we go out of session for this particular session on the 108th Congress; that is to say, within the next 2 weeks or so.

We have been given an assurance by the leadership, and that is a comprehensive updating, fixing some of the glitches, some of that which we missed the first time around. Hopefully, it will give more tools and more appropriate and expanded tools to the TIP Office, to the State Department, and to all aspects.

Let me also just briefly say, President Bush, I think, deserved high credit. Not only did he try to rally the member states at the United Nations so effectively during his speech there several weeks ago; he has done so much that has never gotten any kind of coverage the way it ought to.

I was called by a reporter from the New York Times and a Post reporter. It was like, why is he doing this? I said, well, frankly, he has been doing it for some time. It has been largely ignored or not noticed the way it ought to be.

His zero tolerance policy, the work that we have done as a country in South Korea, trying to mitigate the complicity, wittingly or unwittingly, of our military with those who have been coerced into prostitution in South Korea; part two of that, which is now going on the Balkans, to ensure that peace-keepers and deployments of police are absolutely on the side of protection, not on the side of complicity with trafficking; that is all coming out of the White House, the State Department and, of course, John Miller's fine office. So I think he really ought to get high marks for the work he has done.

When we first proposed this bill, and it was a bipartisan bill, as you know, Mr. Burton, you were part of it; Sam Gejdenson from Connecticut, and many of us who pushed that so hard—we were met with disbelief, almost derision, even by some who should have been our allies.

It took 2 years to get that bill passed. It finally was signed into law, and now it is being implemented, I think, effectively; but, of course, we can do more.

So, again, I want to thank you for this opportunity to join you at this very important hearing.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Christopher H. Smith follows:]

Statement of Hon. Christopher H. Smith
House Government Reform Subcommittee on Human Rights and Wellness
"The Ongoing Tragedy of International Slavery and Human Trafficking: An Overview"
Wednesday, October 29, 2003

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to report that extraordinarily important strides have been made in our efforts to fight the human slavery of our era. I am pleased that the issue of trafficking in persons has received growing attention both nationally and internationally, though this is only the beginning of the struggle. Much still remains to be done.

I strongly commend our President and his leadership at the United Nation's General Assembly. A substantial portion of his speech on September 23 was dedicated to raising international awareness of what he described as "a special evil in the abuse and exploitation of the most innocent and vulnerable." In recent weeks we have also seen more attention to the issue by National Geographic Magazine, *The New York Times*, and other major media outlets. Such exposure and conviction to fight back is critical to in giving a voice to those victims suffering under slavery.

This summer I was joined by my good friends Cong. Tom Lantos, Cong. Joseph Pitts and Cong. Louise Slaughter in introducing H.R. 2620, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act, which will strengthen and clarify the United States' efforts in combating the scourge of human trafficking. With three years of experience using the landmark anti-trafficking law of 2000, we are nearing Floor consideration of this perfecting and reauthorizing legislation, hopefully in the coming weeks.

The DOD Inspector General has released Phase I of the global assessment of human trafficking issues as they relate to the Department of Defense activities. The first report presented the action taken by the leadership of U.S. Forces, and we eagerly await the second phase examining how military installations in the Balkans are addressing human trafficking issues. Of course, some of the real concerns there were associated with the complicity by individual contractors. DOD personnel and contractors must operate consistent with the NSPD-22 which clearly states the U.S. zero tolerance policy "regarding US Government employees and contractor personnel representing the United States abroad who engage in trafficking in persons."

The Department of Defense and the Department of State have been requested to vigorously pursue a zero tolerance policy for personnel participating in operations under NATO, and our former Ambassador to Moldova, Pamela Hyde Smith made a similar, passionate appeal in Brussels at the July, urging the NATO Euro-Alliance Partnership Council to engage in anti-trafficking efforts and join in the international fight against this slavery. One week ago, Ambassador Nick Burns and Norwegian Ambassador Kai Eide jointly appealed that "nations take steps – including reviewing national pre-deployment training – to ensure that their peacekeepers in NATO-led operations do not contribute to the problem of trafficked women."

When it was made clear that the United States was serious about the threat of sanctions and governments had identified benchmarks which would demonstrate the political will to make necessary reforms, we did see some impressive steps by governments which now desire to join in this movement which has encircled the globe. Bosnia stepped up its prosecution efforts, focusing on anti-corruption efforts and investigating police misconduct. Kazakhstan increased its efforts to work with the NGO community on victim protection and established nation-wide hotlines for trafficking victims. Turkey expanded its cooperation with source countries and opened official lines of communication specifically on trafficking.

Our work has only just begun. The numbers alone are horrific. According to a recently released U.S. Government estimate, 800,000 to 900,000 women, children and men fall victim to international trafficking each year and end up prisoners of slavery-like practices in the commercial sex industry, domestic servitude, sweatshops, and agricultural farms, among other destinations.

The Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) would authorize funding to continue our government's efforts against trafficking, and would refine U.S. laws and practices to better fulfill the intent of the law we passed in 2000. I want to highlight a few of the TVPRA provisions which would:

- Require that U.S. Government contracts relating to international affairs contain clauses authorizing termination by the United States if the contractor engages in human trafficking or

procures commercial sexual services while the contract is in force;

- Alert airline passengers that sex tourism is illegal, will be prosecuted and is dangerous to those involved.

- Allow trafficking victims to sue their traffickers in U.S. courts;

- Allow benefits and services available to victims of trafficking to be available for their family members legally entitled to join them in United States; and

- Encourage the use of International Law Enforcement Academies to train foreign law enforcement authorities, prosecutors and members of the judiciary regarding human trafficking.

- Encourage critical research initiatives;

- Designate that the Director of the State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking shall have the rank of Ambassador-at-Large; and

- Prohibit the use of funds to promote, support, or advocate the legalization or practice of prostitution.

The TVPRA would reauthorize appropriations a total of $105.5 million for each of FY 2004 and 2005:

- $5 million to the Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking;
- $15 million to the Department of Health and Human Services;
- To the Secretary of State, $10 million for assistance for victims in other countries; $10 million for programs to improve law enforcement and prosecution; and $10 million for trafficking prevention initiatives;
- $15 million to the Department of Justice for assistance to victims in the United States and

$250,000 for anti-trafficking training activities at the International Law Enforcement Academies (ILEAs);

- $15 million to the President for foreign victim assistance (prevention activities); $15 million for assistance to foreign countries to meet the minimum standards to combat trafficking; and $300,000 for research; and
- $10 million to the Department of Labor.

Mr. Chairman, we are making progress in our battle against human trafficking, but clearly there is still much work to be done by government authorities, by civil society, by our faith communities, and by all men and women of good will. I urge everyone here to continue to work towards the total eradication of this slavery.

Mr. BURTON. Well, we appreciate your holding hearings on this, also, in your Human Rights Subcommittee on International Relations.

Mr. Miller, Mr. Kent, would you please rise, so we can swear you in. That is a common practice we have here.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Mr. BURTON. John, you do that so well. It is like you have done that before.

We will recognize you, Mr. Miller.

STATEMENTS OF JOHN MILLER, DIRECTOR-OFFICE TO MONITOR AND COMBAT TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE; AND KENT HILL, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. MILLER. Chairman Burton, Congresswoman Watson, Congressman Shays, Congressman Smith, thank you for your kind words. But Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for holding this hearing and spotlighting what is the emerging human rights issue of the 21st century.

When I served with you 10 or 12 years ago, there were many human rights issues; but I would have to say, this was not at the top of the agenda then. But we are recognizing that it belongs just there.

You have a fine panel of witnesses: Kevin Bales, Mohamed Mattar, Janice Raymond, Andrew Johnson, Sharon Cole, my colleague, Kent Hill. They are all leaders in this struggle.

Now I was going to talk about the statistics, the laws, the reports we put out, and I will talk a little about that at the end. But I want most of my testimony to focus on the victims.

I did come back from a tour around the world, and I want to just give you three stories of victims. Because the statistics are important, but we are fighting for individual bodies and souls.

Let me start off with the story of Sasha, whom I met in the Netherlands. Sasha is around 30 now. She is from the Czech Republic. She had a terrible marriage 10 years ago in the Czech Republic. Her husband beat her. She had a 2-year-old daughter.

A so-called friend of the family said, oh, you can leave, go to the Netherlands, make money waiting on restaurants, get enough money to bring your daughter there. He brought her to a Czech trafficker.

The Czech trafficker drove her and three other Czech woman to the Netherlands and met a Dutch trafficker. They took them to the Amsterdam red light district to a brothel and said, this is where you are going to go to work.

Sasha said, no, this is not what I was told. I will not do this. They said, yes, you will, if you want your 2-year-old daughter back in the Czech Republic to live, and she did for many, many months to pay off her alleged debts, and then to get money to bring her daughter.

Finally, she brought her daughter. Instead of servicing 10 or 11 men a day, it was 13 or 14 men a day. Then she gets her daughter there, and she goes to "work" in the night, and in the day, she comes back and she gets her daughter ready for school. She sleeps,

brings her daughter back, and Sasha is in despair. She is thinking of killing her daughter and committing suicide.

A miracle happened. She happened to be in a taxi 1 day. The taxi driver was nice and friendly. She blurted it all out. The taxi driver said, I am going to help.

He did not go to the police. He organized a gang of young toughs. They went and confronted the two traffickers. They said, hand her over. The traffickers said, we will for $20,000 Euros.

They said, no, or you will feel the pain. They handed her over on condition she not identify her traffickers. Here she is, years later. She is still in a daze when she tells me this story. She is now working a hospital, studying social work.

This shows that even in a so-called advanced country like the Netherlands, there can be extensive and pernicious slavery.

Second story, Thailand, in a shelter, I meet a teenage girl, Lured. She was taken from a Laotian village, promised a job, a better life; taken to Bangkok, put in an embroidery factory, sold, forced to work 12 to 14 hours a day. It was terrible conditions, no wages at all.

She rebels. She is beaten as an example to the other girls. She rebels some more. They put her in a small room. The owner's son fires a BB gun into her cheek. They dump industrial chemicals on her.

She, like Sasha, is one of the lucky ones. With the cooperation of NGO's, there is a raid, an escape. Sasha still has the blotches, the scars on her. She is getting counseling, plastic surgery. There was a well-publicized prosecution brought against the factory owner.

She is learning skills now. I hope she will recover. Again, not from nearby; she came from another country, all the way to Bangkok.

The last victim's story is Sema, who I met at St. Catherine's shelter, outside Bombay, India. Sema was brought from a rural village in India by her stepmother and her uncle to the Bombay red light district, to a brothel.

While they negotiated downstairs with the brothel owner, and she could hear them, Sema was taken upstairs and raped. By the way, the price, ultimately, was $300, and of course, she was raped and raped and raped and raped.

Sema, again, was one of the "lucky ones." There is a raid. She ends up at this wonderful shelter, run by this NGO, St. Catherine's. The NGO's have taken the lead on this. There are so many wonderful shelters, particularly run by faith-based groups. Sister Busha is caring for her, nurturing her, and finally gets Sema to the point where sema goes with some honest police, back to the village, fingers the stepmother and the uncle and they are in jail.

Again, Sema is not from another country. But notice, the slave is rarely from the location where the slavery has taken place; from a foreign country like Sasha, or in Sema's case, from a distant province. That is the pattern. That is what is happening.

Slavery extends into every country in the world. Maybe there is some island paradise that I am not aware of that does not have it. But as far as I know, it goes into every country in the world.

Now I do not want to leave you completely on a negative note. I want to tell you briefly some good things that have happened, and they have happened, in part, because of the legislation that you in Congress passed several years ago.

You asked the State Department to evaluate other countries. You asked for an evaluation of the United States. It was done by the Justice Department. This year, you provided the threat, the possibility of sanctions.

In the couple of months before our report came out in June, this report where we evaluated 120 countries—we still have not gotten them all—but the good news is, because of that law that you passed, and because of the engagement of our embassies, and because of the threat of sanctions, and because of the programs, in the 2 or 3 months before that report came out, countries around the world did more on this than I believe they had done in several years before.

From the Philippines to Haiti to Burkina Faso, anti-trafficking laws were passed. There were massive arrests of traffickers from Serbia to Cambodia.

Then after the report came out, and we had several countries listed at the bottom in Tier 3, they were worried that President Bush would impose sanctions. They had 3 months to shape up. We prepared plans, steps that you must do, if you want to get off the terrible Tier 3.

Some of these countries were our friends and allies, like Greece and Turkey. But the interesting thing is, that in 3 months, some of these countries ran public service announcements, had their Foreign Ministers go on TV and address the nation. They set up law enforcement training courses to sensitize their law enforcement. They set up screening and referral procedures for victims, started distributing money to NGO's for shelters. They moved to have more arrests.

So we were able to say, well, at least for now, you are making some significant effort, but this has to continue. We have to keep the pressure on. Congress has to keep the pressure on. The NGO's have to keep the pressure on, if we are going to make progress toward the ultimate goal, which must be the abolition of slavery in the world.

Thank you for your time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Miller follows:]

Remarks Before
The Committee on Government Reform
Subcommittee on Wellness and Human Rights
On the Ongoing Tragedy of International Slavery
and Human Trafficking

John R. Miller, Director
Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons
U.S. Department of State
Wednesday, October 29, 2003

Mr. Chairman and other Members of the Committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to personally discuss with you the efforts of the Department of State in combating trafficking in persons. All of us are keenly aware of the horrific experiences of the 800,000 to 900,000 women, children and men who are trafficked across international borders every year. These numbers do not include victims who are trafficked within their own countries. We now estimate that this modern-day slavery also includes 18,000 to 20,000 victims who enter the United States annually. This problem of modern-day slavery is of such importance to the Administration that President Bush brought it to the attention of the world's leaders in his speech at a meeting of the United Nations General Assembly on September 23, 2003.

My office was specifically created by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 to monitor and lead the United States' effort to combat transnational trafficking in persons. We are charged with the responsibility of assisting the Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in its efforts to coordinate the Federal government's domestic and overseas anti-trafficking efforts and of assessing other governments' efforts to combat trafficking. The Secretary of State's annual Trafficking in Persons report shows steady progress in the fight against trafficking, which is a tribute not only to the efforts of the world's governments, but to the legislation that Congress passed, providing for the possibility of sanctions and loss of some U.S. aid for countries that do not make significant anti-trafficking efforts.

In June 2003, Secretary Powell released the third annual Trafficking in Persons Report. It was a particularly significant report because for the first time, governments that were not making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with the Act's minimum standards could face consequences that include the loss of non-humanitarian, non-trade related assistance. I want to assure the Committee that the Department views the imposition of penalties on other countries as a very serious matter and that my staff conducted extensive research into the anti-trafficking activities of other governments. Our embassies submitted serious and detailed reports, and international and non-governmental organizations continued to share with us their experiences and understanding of trafficking developments around the world. I am pleased that our third annual report was what I consider to be the most comprehensive report on the effort of

governments worldwide to combat what the Act defines as "severe forms of trafficking in persons."

I want to spend a little time discussing the report because its consequences can have an enormous impact on our bilateral relationships. Every year, our report has become more and more comprehensive. Our initial report in 2001 included fewer than 70 countries. As the Department expanded its research and reporting on this issue, we expanded to 89 countries in the 2002 report. A total of 116 countries are in the latest annual report. The June 2003 report found that governments of 26 countries fully complied with the Act's minimum standards and were placed on tier 1. We determined that 75 countries had governments that did not fully comply with the Act's minimum standards but were making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance. These countries were placed on tier 2. There were 15 countries in the June report whose governments did not fully comply with the minimum standards and were not making significant efforts to do so. These 15 countries fell into tier 3. Ten of these countries were subsequently moved into Tier 2 for reasons I will describe below.

There were many actions governments took to fight trafficking and, as noted in our report, they did not have to be expensive or elaborate. For instance, the Royal Government of Nepal employs former victims to work alongside border guards to identify traffickers and victims. In Andhra Pradesh, India, a law enforcement officer's performance rating is linked to his or her effort to investigate and apprehend human traffickers. The burden is on the governments to demonstrate that they are making significant efforts to fight trafficking in spite of their economic or other possible limitations.

As I stated earlier, governments in tier 3 are potentially subject to certain consequences including the withholding of non-humanitarian, non-trade related assistance. Tier 3 governments not receiving such assistance may be subject to the withholding of funding for participation of their officials in cultural or educational exchange programs. The United States may also be directed to oppose assistance for Tier 3 countries through the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and other multilateral development banks.

The President can waive the assistance-related consequences, totally or in part, based on a determination that the provision of the assistance would promote the purposes of the Act or is otherwise in the national interest of the United States. This waiver authority must be exercised when necessary to avoid significant adverse effects on vulnerable populations, including women and children. The sanctions would also not apply if the Department found that before October 1, 2003, a government took steps that effectively moved it out of tier 3, that is, it came into compliance with the minimum standards or is making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance.

Between June and September, my staff worked actively with several of our embassies to outline the steps that we believed a country could and should take. Our goal was to aggressively utilize this period of heightened attention and threat of sanctions to galvanize real action to fight trafficking that translates into lives saved and victims

rescued. These steps would also demonstrate that a country was making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance with minimum standards and not subject them to the consequences. In the end, it was not the imposition of sanctions that we sought but the recognition by governments that they must address the problem of trafficking in persons seriously, that they must develop strategies and programs to fight it effectively, and they must rescue the victims. Our goal was not the imposition of sanctions, but a recognition by governments that they must address the problem of trafficking in persons seriously, that they must develop strategies and programs to fight it effectively, that they must rescue the victims, and, most importantly, that they must take action.

Our efforts to bring more countries into compliance with the requirements of the Act were largely successful. On September 10, 2003 the President notified Congress that ten governments had taken significant steps to fight trafficking in persons. In recognition of these efforts, these countries were moved to Tier 2 and thus avoided possible sanctions under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000. These governments -- Belize, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Dominican Republic, Georgia, Greece, Haiti, Kazakhstan, Suriname, Turkey, and Uzbekistan -- deserve recognition for their quick action to address problems that were noted in the Department's June 2003 Trafficking in Persons Report.

Steps taken by these ten governments demonstrate that the Administration's intervention on this issue is spurring the international community to action and, most importantly, is yielding results. In many key areas these governments made significant progress in drafting or passing new anti-trafficking legislation and procedures; conducting high-profile public awareness campaigns on national press and television; developing new anti-trafficking training programs for police, immigration and judicial officials; creating national task forces and action plans; establishing confidential hotlines to fight corruption and trafficking in persons; and building referral systems for victims. These important actions will punish the perpetrators and help the victims of this heinous crime around the world.

The steps taken by these countries stand in contrast to the continuing failure of Burma, Cuba, North Korea, Liberia and Sudan to make significant efforts to comply with the Act's minimum standards. As a result, the President decided to impose sanctions on these countries in accordance with the Act. While Liberia and Sudan have also failed to meet the standards of the Act, and are thus subject to sanctions, the President has determined that certain multilateral assistance for these two countries would promote the purposes of the Act or is otherwise in the national interest of the United States. For Sudan, the assistance will be limited to that which may be necessary to implement a peace accord.

I would like to emphasize that the Administration's efforts to fight trafficking in persons are not confined to this annual report. In February, we convened 400 people from the United States and abroad who were active participants in the fight against sex trafficking. Congressmen Frank Wolf and Chris Smith addressed the delegates who came from all strata of society and represented an enormous range of anti-trafficking experiences. The conference brought together many groups and individuals who had no knowledge of each other but who now seek to work together to combat trafficking. Conference

recommendations have been posted on the Internet in English, Chinese, Hindi, Russian, French, Spanish and Arabic.

The Administration also provides funds to support overseas programs designed to fight trafficking. In fiscal years 2001 and 2002, the United States federal agencies spent approximately $100 million on programs to improve the protection of victims, prosecution of traffickers and prevention of future trafficking activities. At another level, I convene quarterly meetings of a multi-agency group that assists the Interagency Task Force coordinate the anti-trafficking strategies and efficiently fund programs involved in this fight against traffickers. The Secretary, senior officials in the State Department and our ambassadors throughout the world are keeping this issue on our bilateral agendas, raising awareness, and calling for action. Senior officials from the regional bureaus also raise this issue in their bilateral meetings here in Washington and in their travels abroad. Through our outreach efforts here and abroad, we are raising awareness about this issue so that everyone who learns of the problem can be part of the solution. My staff has traveled to scores of countries to meet with foreign government officials, non-governmental representatives and others who are joining the fight. We have participated in multi-lateral meetings in Europe and Asia. I recently traveled to Russia, The Netherlands, Sweden, Greece, Thailand and India to meet with victims, NGOs, international organizations, government officials and embassy staff to experience first-hand the complexities of this issue and the hardships of the victims we work to rescue.

There is much being done to fight trafficking and clearly much more needs to be done. This Administration is committed to abolishing trafficking in persons. In addition to the State Department efforts and those of other agencies, the President, during his speech to the General Assembly in September, announced an additional $50 million to rehabilitate women and children who are victims of sex trafficking.

I am pleased to report that this fight truly engages the Department's energy and imagination and we appreciate the unswerving support we have received from the Congress. I will close my remarks at this point and will be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you. That was one of the most vivid bits of testimony that I have heard before our committee in a long time. I just wish everybody in the whole country could hear that.

Congressman Smith, in this bill which we supported and I thought was very important, I had no idea that there were the number of people that were in slavery in the world, that we found out just recently. So you are to be commended for your hard work, and we appreciate your being here to talk to us today.

Mr. SMITH. Well, when I went around the world, I do not know how many times NGO representatives, Mr. Chairman, came up to me, even Government officials—the Government officials may have denounced the report in public. But they would come up and say, thank goodness you are doing this. If you did not take the lead, who would?

Mr. BURTON. Well, if we can get just a few of these people out of slavery, it is worth the effort. But hopefully, we will get them all, eventually.

Dr. Hill.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, Congressman Smith, it is good to be with you again.

It is ironic, but it was in the 1980's and early 1990's that John Miller and I and Congressman Smith were engaged in a very different campaign. It had to do with religious freedom and human rights in the Soviet Union, and there has been remarkable change since that time.

Who would have ever thought these years later, we would be back together, often dealing with that same part of the world? Because there is no part of the world where the percentage of the population that is being trafficked is greater. It is a different kind of human rights abuse than we ever thought would exist, but it is what we face at the present time.

I am honored to be here and have the opportunity to followup on the very vivid and wonderful stories that John Miller has told that put a human face on this, because without the human face it really does not make much sense.

But this really is an extraordinary tale of the sale and exploitation of human beings, and it is global in character. It is not just women or men or children. All of them are trafficked for forced labor, but a substantial part, as has been noted, are the children and are the women.

In any circumstance, the traffickers breed on the poverty and the powerlessness of the victims, and the greed and the immorality of the perpetrators. This sale and this exploitation of human beings is often dominated by criminal networks. Human trafficking is highly profitable and a relatively low risk activity for the criminals involved.

Like other criminal activities, it thrives within and contributes to conditions of official corruption and weak law enforcement. But here is the part that we have often forgotten. Trafficking is both a supply and a demand-driven industry. The persistent demand for cheap labor and increasingly created demand for services of prostitutes and child pornography through the Internet feed the trafficking industry.

At USAID, we believe that both the conditions that lead to a supply of individuals who are vulnerable to traffickers and the attitudes of those waiting to exploit those victims sexually or economically must be addressed.

We see prostitution as inherently degrading to those who are sexually exploited, and as a factor in fueling the trade in humans. Thus, we completely oppose the legalization or normalization of prostitution as a legitimate activity. To take any other position provides traffickers with an open door to trade and exploit the most vulnerable members of the human family.

USAID began to mount anti-trafficking efforts in a few countries in the late 1990's. The agency now has a worldwide effort with activities in about 40 countries. USAID has made steady progress increasing the volume and the geographic coverage of its anti-trafficking assistance.

Obligations in 2001 reached $6.7 million. By 2002, they had risen to $10.7 million; and this year, we expect to obligate over $15 million.

The broad range of USAID development assistance programs reinforces the agency's direct anti-trafficking efforts by helping to reduce vulnerability to trafficking through activities that reduce poverty, strengthen governance and rule of law, decreasing conflict, increasing economic opportunities for woman and men, and increasing girls' access to quality education.

Let me say something about the USAID policies with respect to how we do this work. In February 2003, USAID released its anti-trafficking program statement and a strategy for response, and I think you have a copy of this.

I want to underline some of the principles that are in this document. First, anti-trafficking activities are focused on prevention of trafficking, protection of victims, and prosecution of those who are involved; the so-called three "Ps."

Development efforts that support and reinforce direct anti-trafficking activities, girls' education, reduction of violence against women, the promotion of their rights, poverty reduction, administration of justice, and refugee assistance all have to be a part of that strategy.

Partnerships with organizations, whether they are domestic NGO's, international NGO's, or other countries must be a part of what we are doing to fight these victims of prostitution and trafficking.

The strategy specifies how USAID will implement its activities through partnerships. In keeping with the administration's position that prostitution is degrading to women, USAID's strategy states, "Organizations advocating prostitution as an employment choice, or which advocate or support the legalization of prostitution are not appropriate partners for USAID anti-trafficking grants or contracts. Missions will avoid contracting or assistance agreement with such organizations that are primary or sub-grantees or contractors."

Recognizing that USAID staff or contractors may come in contact from to time to time with individuals who have been trafficked whom they cannot and should not ignore, the strategy goes on to state, "In the course of their development work, especially with dis-

eases and HIV/AIDS and programs like that, USAID staff and primary grantees, sub-grantees, contractors, and sub-contractors may become aware of such individuals who have been trafficked for sexual exploitation. When this occurs, USAID staff or grantees or contractors should report this information to the United States embassy officer who handles trafficking."

Now let me just give you a few quick, selected activities, examples of the work we do to try to deal with the kinds of people that John Miller talked about. I would refer you to the written testimony, which contains considerably more detail; but let me just give you a couple of examples.

In Ukraine, we have a trafficking prevention project, which addresses two key factors: the vulnerability of Ukrainian women to trafficking, and thus, it deals with economic opportunities and it deals with violence against women. There are seven regional centers throughout Ukraine that deal with this.

We also, when I first got here, helped put together a film with movie stars that were recognized in Ukraine, which dramatized the stories of Sasha and others, and that communicates sometimes better than can any kind of brochure with statistics on it.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, rebel forces and militia will sometimes traffic young children and make them into soldiers and combatants. A lot of our work in some of these countries, Uganda, Congo, etc., has to do with rescuing these young people, and once we find them, trying to help rehabilitate them.

In Sudan, this is a problem, where there are abductions, and we try to document and collect information on the trafficking routes and on the abductions, and try to have public awareness campaigns to try to put a stop to this.

You know, one of the largest source countries for trafficking victims in the Western Hemisphere is the Dominican Republic. The USAID mission in the Dominican Republic is supporting implementation of new anti-trafficking legislation by training Justice Sector personnel and other government officials on how to deal with this problem.

Brazil is another serious problem, and we work there with all these same strategies, and I could go on through the other countries, as well.

But let me just say this in conclusion. USAID's commitment to fight all forms of trafficking in persons is deep and long-term. Yet, I would be less than honest if I did not tell you that the challenges ahead are very great, indeed.

As I have said, this is not only a very lucrative task for criminals to be involved in, but it is still one that they do not feel much pressure to stop.

We must be just as agile in shifting our strategies for continually cutting the ground out from underneath these criminals, as they are in shifting strategies to continue to deal in human misery.

As President George W. Bush put it on September 23rd before the United Nations General Assembly, "The trade in human beings for any purpose must not be allowed to thrive in our time."

USAID is committed to playing its part in effectively combating the evil of trafficking in persons. Our success ultimately will be measured by the assistance in healing that we provide to the vic-

tims; but maybe more importantly and ultimately to the hundreds of thousands we hope to prevent from ever suffering the horrible degradation that accompanies this modern-day slavery, which is trafficking. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hill follows:]

Statement by Kent R. Hill, Assistant Administrator
Bureau for Europe and Eurasia
United States Agency for International Development

United States House of Representatives
Committee on Government Reform
Subcommittee on Wellness and Human Rights

October 29, 2003

Introduction

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee. I am very pleased to have the opportunity to be here today to participate in your consideration of the nature and scope of human trafficking. This is a serious and heart-rending abuse of human rights, and it is a 21st-century form of slavery which diminishes us all, not just its victims.

As Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for Europe and Eurasia at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), I have seen the impact of the trade in human beings firsthand in many countries in that region. And as the USAID representative to the United States Government Senior Policy Operating Group which deals with trafficking, I have become even more aware of the global nature of this terrible scourge and of the collective United States Government (USG) efforts to address this problem.

Trafficking in human beings has different faces in different parts of the world, but it has in common its total disregard for human freedom and dignity and the shameful immorality of those who live off the slavery of others. I am happy to have this chance to share with you how USAID has joined this fight against trafficking in persons, what we are doing now, and what we intend to do to meet this great challenge in the future.

What the trafficking problem is world wide

International slavery and human trafficking are not new. Slavery and slavery-like practices are documented in some of the earliest historical records. Tragically, the sale and exploitation of human beings is a global phenomenon. The U.S. State Department's 2003 Trafficking in Persons Report estimates that at least 800,000 to 900,000 are trafficked annually. This is in addition to large numbers of people who are trafficked within their own countries.

Not only are women, men, and children trafficked for forced labor, but a substantial part of this trade involves the trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation. In any circumstance, trafficking feeds on the poverty and powerlessness of its victims and the greed and immorality of its perpetrators. It also inflicts human suffering on individual victims whose rights and freedoms are violated by traffickers. The sale and exploitation of human beings is often dominated by criminal networks that work both locally and across international borders in source, transit, and destination countries. Human trafficking is highly profitable and relatively

low risk for the perpetrators. Like other criminal activities, it thrives within and contributes to conditions of official corruption and weak law enforcement.

The increasing globalization of the world's economies has given rise to complex migration patterns, as workers have lost traditional sources of income or have been drawn to new job markets. As people move both internally and across borders in search of economic opportunity and what they perceive as a better life, what starts as voluntary migration, either legal or illegal, often leads to victimization by traffickers.

Conflict, like social and economic upheaval, also gives rise to conditions leading to trafficking. As populations are displaced and community and legal structures break down in the turmoil, women and children become more vulnerable. The presence of displaced male civilian populations among this chaos and violence, as well as combatants and sadly even international peacekeepers, increases and concentrates demand for women in prostitution. Women and children – both girls and boys – are swept up by fighting forces as they are abducted or coerced to serve either as direct combatants, "child soldiers", "war wives" or porters, and cooks.

Trafficking is both a supply- and a demand-driven industry. People from impoverished countries most often are trafficked to areas that are relatively more wealthy or developed and the supply of trafficked victims is fueled by political, economic, social, ethnic and/or religious upheaval. Violence against women and children, and women's weaker economic position relative to men further contribute to their vulnerability to the deceptions and power of traffickers. The persistent demand for cheap labor and the increasingly created demand for services of prostitutes and child pornography through the internet feed the trafficking industry. At USAID we believe that both the conditions that lead to a supply of individuals who are vulnerable to traffickers and the attitudes of those waiting to exploit these victims sexually or economically must be addressed. We see prostitution as inherently degrading to those who are sexually exploited and as a factor in fueling the trade in humans, and thus we completely oppose the legalization or normalization of prostitution as a legitimate activity. To take any other position provides traffickers an open door to trade and exploit the most vulnerable of the human family.

USAID's Anti-Trafficking Activities

USAID began to mount anti-trafficking efforts in a few countries in the late 1990s. The Agency now has a worldwide effort with activities in around 40 countries. Field missions, regional bureaus, and central offices are all involved. USAID's Office of Women in Development coordinates the Agency's efforts and chairs USAID's Anti-trafficking Working Group, an internal group with representatives from all USAID bureaus. USAID has made steady progress in increasing the volume and geographic coverage of its anti-trafficking assistance. USAID obligations which specifically target anti-trafficking activities reached $6.7 million in fiscal year 2001; in fiscal year 2002 the Agency increased its anti-trafficking assistance to $10.7 million; and in FY 2003 USAID obligated just over $15 million. Geographic diversity has also increased in USAID's anti-trafficking programs. The Europe and Eurasia region has the largest level of funding in the world for anti-trafficking activities. This is in part because this region of the world has more victims as a percentage of the population than any other region in the world. USAID has significant activities in South and Southeast Asia and some robust programs in

Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean. Of the 15 countries on Tier 3 of the Trafficking in Persons List published in June 2003, USAID has development activities in nine and direct anti-trafficking projects in eight of these nine. These are: Belize, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Kazakhstan, Liberia, Sudan, and Uzbekistan. And we have now begun work in Georgia as well – the ninth country we provide assistance to which was on Tier 3 in June. By September, ten countries had demonstrated sufficient progress in the opinion of the State Department that they were moved from Tier 3 to Tier 2. The five which remained on Tier 3 were: Burma, Cuba, Liberia, North Korea, and Sudan. According to a White House Press Release of September 10, "While Liberia and Sudan have also failed to meet the standards of the Act, and are thus subject to sanctions, the President has determined that certain multilateral assistance for these two countries would promote the purposes of the Act or is otherwise in the national interest of the United States. For Sudan, the assistance will be limited to that which may be necessary to implement a peace accord."

The evidence is very encouraging. The strong pressure, particularly since 2000, exerted by the U.S. Congress and the Administration is having a positive impact around the world to heighten international efforts to counter trafficking in persons.

Trafficking in persons is a very complex issue which manifests itself in a variety of ways in different regions and countries. USAID's responses reflect this complexity through a wide range of country-specific as well as regional programs. Targeted anti-trafficking programs take advantage of USAID's field presence and expertise, addressing the underlying causes of trafficking through prevention efforts, working to provide care and assistance to victims through protection and strengthening aspects of national legislation and international prosecution. The broad range of USAID development assistance programs reinforces the Agency's direct anti-trafficking efforts by helping to reduce vulnerability to trafficking through activities that reduce poverty, strengthening governance and rule of law, decreasing conflict, increasing economic opportunities for women and men, and increasing girls' access to quality education. USAID's anti-trafficking efforts are conducted in partnership with international, regional, and local organizations, including NGOs, private voluntary organizations (both faith-based and secular), and multilateral institutions.

USAID's Anti-Trafficking Policies

In February 2003, USAID released its anti-trafficking program statement, "Trafficking in Persons: The USAID Strategy for Response." The strategy reflects and complements the U.S. Government's integrated approach to combating trafficking in persons, both internationally and domestically. Principles underlying the strategy include:

- Emphasis on a targeted set of countries and/or regions
- Anti-trafficking activities focused on prevention of trafficking, protection of victims, reform, and implementation of anti-trafficking legislation
- Development efforts that support and reinforce direct anti-trafficking activities, e.g., girls' education, reduction of violence against women and promotion of their rights, poverty reduction, administration of justice, and refugee assistance

- Partnerships with organizations such as NGOs and faith-based institutions that are fighting trafficking and assisting victims of prostitution, child labor, and other forms of slavery
- Coordination with other parts of the U.S. Government and with local, regional, and international institutions

The Strategy specifies how USAID will implement its activities through partnerships. In keeping with the Administration's position that prostitution is degrading to women, the USAID strategy states:

> "Organizations advocating prostitution as an employment choice or which advocate or support the legalization of prostitution are not appropriate partners for USAID anti-trafficking grants or contracts. Missions will avoid contracting or assistance agreements with such organizations as primary or sub-grantees, or contractors."

Recognizing that USAID staff or contractors may come in contact with individuals who have been trafficked whom they cannot and should not ignore, the strategy states:

> "In the course of their development work, especially in STD and HIV/AIDS programs, USAID staff and primary grantees, subgrantees, contractors, and subcontractors may become aware of individuals who may have been trafficked for sexual exploitation. When this occurs, USAID staff or grantees and contractors should report this information to the U.S. Embassy officer who handles trafficking."

Selected examples of USAID anti-trafficking activities

In Ukraine, USAID's "Trafficking Prevention Project" addresses two key factors that contribute to the vulnerability of Ukrainian women to trafficking: lack of economic opportunity and violence against women. This project began in 1998 and will continue through April 2004. In it, USAID and its partner, Winrock International, pioneered the strategy of increasing women's income-earning options as a way to prevent trafficking. Project activities are grounded on the assumption that in order to improve trafficking prevention efforts in Ukraine: 1) women in the at-risk group need to be trained in recognizing and creating viable economic opportunities for themselves; and 2) improved crisis prevention services for at-risk women and returned trafficking victims need to be enhanced. Through nine trafficking prevention centers run by Ukrainian non-governmental organizations, this activity offers both job skills training and resources for women including support groups, free legal consultations, and referrals to physicians and psychologists.

Children from marginalized populations in Albania, particularly ethnic minorities, are unusually vulnerable to being sold by their relatives, manipulated by traffickers, and ignored by law enforcement. Albania's proximity to developed countries in the European Union (notably Greece and Italy), combined with porous borders, has made it a prime illegal market for trade in human beings, especially children. A new USAID-sponsored activity, "Transnational Action

Against Child Trafficking," links Albanian non-governmental organizations and public officials with their counterparts in Greece and Italy to identify trafficking routes, cooperate on voluntary and legal repatriation of trafficked children, and to improve care for trafficking victims both before and after repatriation. The activity includes prevention efforts such as information dissemination and assistance for at-risk children and their families. Terre des Hommes, an international non-governmental organization, is leading implementation of this activity, and other contributors joining USAID in supporting it include the Swedish International Development Agency, UNICEF, the Oak Foundation, and the National Albanian American Council.

Just this past week we received some very welcome and very tangible evidence regarding the effectiveness of our USAID anti-trafficking efforts in South Central Europe. On October 25, the USAID-funded International Organization for Migration (IOM) public information campaign against trafficking was selected by a jury of 11 experts as "the best comprehensive campaign in 2003" in Croatia.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, rebel forces and militias continue to abduct and forcibly recruit Congolese men, women, and children to serve as forced laborers, porters, combatants, and sex slaves in areas of the country under their control. USAID/DRC is providing survivors with legal advice and medical assistance and is building the capacity of local groups which provide counseling. USAID is using media to develop messages to inform the population about trafficking, connect victims with assistance, and encourage reintegration of survivors.

The Sudan Program in the Regional Economic Development Support Office (REDSO) is working to prevent and reduce abductions through the documentation, collection, and compilation of information on trafficking routes and abductions and is conducting awareness-raising campaigns on the negative impact of raiding and abduction practices on relations and exchanges with neighboring communities. USAID is also supporting the provision of appropriate interim care and longer-term planning for identified victims through transit centers and reintegration support as well as reuniting of families, where possible.

One of the largest source countries for trafficking victims in the Western Hemisphere is the Dominican Republic. It is a source, transit, and destination country for trafficking for sexual exploitation and forced labor. The Government there is taking steps to combat trafficking. In May 2003, the Attorney General of the Dominican Republic announced the creation of a new unit to fight the exploitation and trafficking of children, and in July 2003 the nation's Congress passed anti-trafficking legislation. The USAID Mission in the Dominican Republic is supporting implementation of the new legislation by training judicial personnel and other government officials as well as victim protection agencies.

In Brazil, women and children are trafficked into prostitution and there is a significant problem with internal trafficking of men and children into forced labor in agriculture, mines, and charcoal production. USAID signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Brazilian Ministry of Social Assistance and the National Secretariat of Human Rights to improve social and psychological services to trafficking victims, assist the government of Brazil to develop national laws to prevent domestic trafficking in persons, and support a national trafficking

awareness campaign targeting tourists and truck drivers. USAID is training government workers in the trafficking victim assistance network in a child/youth victim assistance methodology. Diagnostic studies carried out by USAID show that capacity building for NGOs providing shelter and psychosocial assistance to trafficking victims requires significant training in a number of areas including strategic planning, fund raising, activity design, and monitoring and evaluation. The USAID Mission in Brazil is designing and delivering a comprehensive training program for NGOs in several municipalities.

Haitian children are sometimes trafficked internally by poor parents who place their children as servants in households of better-off families. Not all of these children are victimized or kept in slave-like conditions, but significant numbers are sexually exploited and otherwise abused. In order to change attitudes in Haiti toward child domesticity and help prevent its recurrence, a network of community radio stations will disseminate information about trafficking patterns, living and working conditions of child domestics, Haitian legislation and international agreements condemning the practice, respect for the basic rights of children, and affects of trafficking on society.

USAID has established the South Asia "Regional Initiative on Women's and Children's Equity" to support South Asian efforts to protect rights and enhance opportunities for women and children in the region. This initiative includes programs for Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka that cover child labor and violence against women as well as trafficking. The initiative promotes political and community support to combat trafficking, use of reliable research findings and data to support advocacy, and effective protection and prevention programs. This regional initiative is helping increase the capacities of and cooperation among Asian regional and national organizations to initiate and sustain more effective programs.

The anti-trafficking approach of the USAID Mission in Bangladesh includes targeted research, strengthening Bangladesh's anti-trafficking networks, supporting NGO capacity building, prosecution of traffickers, protection of victims, and targeted prevention efforts. The Mission provides support and funding to the "Action Against Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Children" (ATSEC), a regional anti-trafficking network of NGOs. ATSEC builds anti-trafficking alliances, disseminates information, and promotes awareness-raising activities, particularly among vulnerable populations such as rural populations and border region communities. USAID also supports the "Bangladesh National Women Lawyers' Association" (BNWLA) in its efforts to combat trafficking. BNWLA focuses on the protection of trafficking victims and the prosecution of trafficking perpetrators. The BNWLA provides legal aid, rehabilitation, and repatriation support services to trafficking survivors, and manages Proshanti, a shelter home for trafficking victims and abused women and children. BNWLA has provided shelter and services to nearly 1,000 women and children over several years. It also works in co-operation with the Government of Bangladesh to promote the prosecution of traffickers.

At USAID, we are supporting mapping of trafficking routes and examining closely the geographic relationship between conflict; social, political, and economic disruption; and increases in human trafficking in those areas. We will link our anti-trafficking efforts with our involvement in post-conflict situations. We are committed to preventing the trafficking of more young women and children by providing economic opportunity, education, and effective public

information. We are equally committed to protecting and helping those who have been trafficked to return to their own communities to find hope and a better life. Shelters run by NGOs are an important part of this effort. This year we are supporting the International Justice Mission's work in Cambodia to rescue trafficking victims from sexual exploitation and to prosecute the traffickers. We are designing a program for victims of trafficking in Liberia, where young women and girls were pressed into the conflicts as sex slaves or even fighters, and boys were forced to serve as child soldiers.

Because we recognize that there are two sides to the equation, supply and demand, we are working with cross-border programs involving both source and destination in countries such as Albania, Greece, Italy, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. Finally, we will use the media, courts, and civil society to combat the demand for cheap sex and labor that drives the criminals who make profit from this demand at the expense of our fellow human beings.

Conclusion

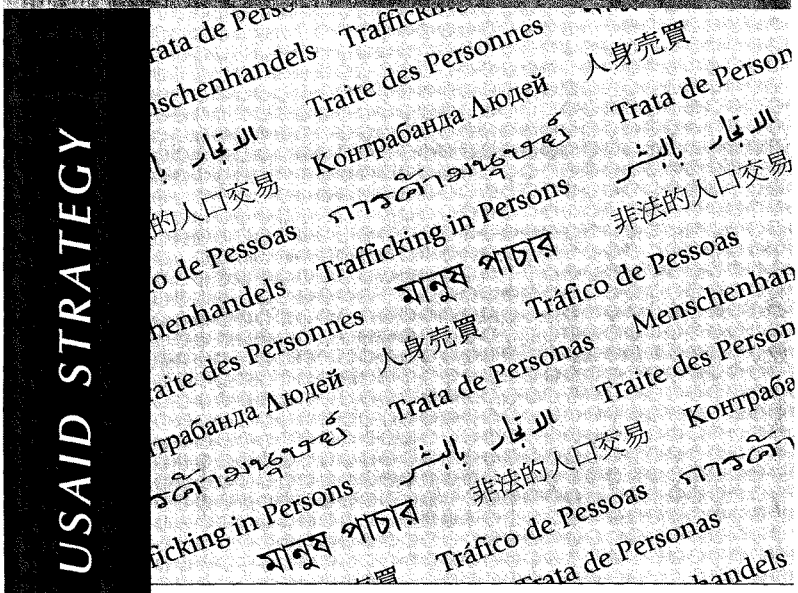
The development assistance that USAID provides around the world is directly linked to the causes and effects of human trafficking. Our commitment to fight all forms of trafficking in persons is deep and long term. The challenges ahead are great. Traffickers are criminals who change their patterns of operation as they are discovered. We must be just as agile in shifting strategies to continually cut the ground out from under the criminals who feed over human misery.

As President George W. Bush put it on September 23, 2003, before the United Nations General Assembly, "the trade in human beings for any purpose must not be allowed to thrive in our time." USAID is committed to playing its part in effectively combating the evil of trafficking in persons. Our success will be measured by the assistance and healing we provide to trafficking victims, and ultimately by the hundreds of thousands we hope to prevent from ever suffering the horrible degradation that accompanies the modern-day slavery which is trafficking.

Trafficking in Persons

The USAID Strategy for Response

USAID STRATEGY



U.S. Agency for International Development
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USAID is committed to the prevention of trafficking and the protection of its victims by reducing the vulnerability of women, children, and men to traffickers and by promoting the political will and legal and institutional capacity needed to eliminate trafficking.

Executive Summary

Development problems, including poverty, economic deterioration, conflict, and population displacement, conspire to provide a source of poor and vulnerable individuals—mostly women and children—upon whom traffickers prey. Annually, between 700,000 and 4 million people are bought and sold as prostitutes, domestic workers, sex slaves, child laborers, and child soldiers.

Pursuant to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, President George W. Bush established the President's Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. The State Department established an Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons in October 2001. This office prepares the annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report required by the legislation. The report includes three-tiered lists of countries that experience significant levels of trafficking. USAID's strategy responds to the law and the U.S. Government's overall approach.

Internationally and domestically, the U.S. Government's approach to combating trafficking in persons is an integrated one, based on prevention, protection and assistance for victims, and prosecution of traffickers. USAID plays an integral part in this effort. The Agency's comparative advantage is due to its field missions and their experience with related activities, including campaigns to combat violence against women, increase income-earning opportunities for the poor and vulnerable, expand girls' education, and promote anticorruption efforts and legislative reform. Successful antitrafficking initiatives are reinforced by programs that support economic development, good governance, education, health, and human rights, and flow from country-based collaborative frameworks that have the committed participation of civil society, government, and law enforcement.

Principles underlying the strategy include

- Emphasis on a targeted set of countries and/or regions
- Antitrafficking activities focused on prevention of trafficking, protection of victims, and reform and implementation of antitrafficking legislation
- A platform of development efforts that support and reinforce direct antitrafficking activities, e.g., girls' education, reduction of violence against women and promotion of their rights, poverty reduction, administration of justice, and refugee assistance
- Partnerships with organizations such as NGOs and faith-based institutions that are fighting trafficking and assisting victims of prostitution, child labor, and other forms of slavery
- Coordination with other parts of the U.S. Government and with local, regional, and international institutions

In countries where trafficking is a serious problem, new direct antitrafficking activities designed by missions should be integrated into mission and other operating unit strategic plans. Missions should also redirect some current activities to populations or geographic areas that are particularly vulnerable to trafficking, or should modify development activities to directly address trafficking.

Modules on trafficking should be introduced into existing training efforts for judges and prosecutors, community workers, youth, and informal and formal educators. Trafficking should be raised in the course of strategy development, assessments, and program planning. Activities with potential as model interventions should be given priority. USAID missions and U.S. embassies should conduct policy dialogue on trafficking with governments in source, transit, and destination countries. Priority will be given to model interventions and to increasing the scale and effectiveness of successful initiatives.

An effective antitrafficking strategy depends upon partnerships. Organizations advocating prostitution as an employment choice or which advocate or support the legalization of prostitution are not appropriate partners for USAID antitrafficking grants or contracts. Where there is government commitment and political will, USAID should work with national, regional, and/or local government agencies. In addition to donor and host country governments and intergovernmental bodies, important implementing partners are civil society, educational and faith-based institutions, and women's organizations. Partnerships between source and destination countries are an important means of linking the supply and demand elements of the trafficking process and helping to establish an international alliance against trafficking.

Trafficking in persons is not only an abuse of the human rights of its victims, but also an affront to all our humanity.

The Problem

The trafficking of persons for sexual or economic exploitation is an abuse of human rights on a global scale. Although the nature of the crime makes accurate figures difficult to verify, estimates of the number of women, children, and men trafficked each year range from 700,000 to 4 million. The purposes of trafficking include not only prostitution, debt bondage, and domestic labor. Children are trafficked as slave laborers, soldiers, camel jockeys, and sex slaves. The United States is believed to be the destination for about 50,000 victims of trafficking annually.

Economic crises, war, population movements, and natural disasters may contribute to upsurges in the number of people trafficked.

Trafficking Defined

The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, which supplements the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, was adopted by the UN General Assembly and has been signed by 105 nations, including the United States. The definition of trafficking in persons used in this internationally accepted protocol is

> ...the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.[1]

The trafficking process involves source, transit, and destination countries: some countries combine all three of these characteristics simultaneously.

The Trafficking and Development Link

Development problems—including poverty, economic deterioration, conflict, population displacement, postconflict political transition, lack of female educational and economic opportunity, discrimination, and the low value placed on women and children—conspire to provide a source of poor and vulnerable individuals upon whom traffickers prey. As an economic survival strategy, poor families may wittingly or unwittingly sell their children to traffickers. In some countries and regions, certain communities and minority ethnic or tribal groups are particularly vulnerable to traffickers. Economic crises, war, population movements, and natural disasters may contribute to upsurges in the number of people trafficked.

The trade in persons is pulled by the demand for prostitution and cheap labor in developed and developing countries and for child soldiers in some places. Local and global criminal networks have seized the trade for its high profitability and low risk. They are aided by porous borders, absence of the rule of law, failure to prosecute traffickers,

[1] This definition in Article 3 subparagraph (a) of the Protocol is further elaborated in the following subparagraphs of Article 3: "(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used; (c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered 'trafficking in persons' even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article; (d) 'Child' shall mean any person under eighteen years of age." The U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 includes a definition of severe forms of trafficking. This definition is included in the appendix, which summarizes key parts of the legislation.

complicity of corrupt officials, and modern communications technology.

The nature of trafficking varies by region although everywhere the majority of its victims are women and children. In many parts of the world, girls 12 to 15 years old constitute the highest risk group for victimization by traffickers. Epidemics of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), including HIV/AIDS, have increased the demand for child prostitutes, who are believed to be less likely to be infected. Trafficking in Asia has long been documented and focuses primarily on the sex trade and domestic labor. Sex trafficking is a growing concern in central and southeastern Europe, Russia, Ukraine, Central Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Trafficking in children is a serious problem in Africa, where girls and boys have been abducted into internal and external conflicts, forced labor, and sexual servitude. Women and children are trafficked into the Middle East for prostitution, domestic servitude, and, in the case of boys, camel jockeying.

The U.S. Government's Position on Trafficking

Pursuant to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, President George W. Bush established the President's Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. This Task Force is chaired by the Secretary of State, and includes the Attorney General, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Director of Central Intelligence, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and the Administrator of USAID. The State Department established an Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons in October 2001. This office prepares the annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report required by the legislation.

Internationally and domestically, the U.S. Government's approach to combating trafficking is an integrated one, based on prevention, protection and assistance for victims, and prosecution of traffickers. USAID plays an integral part in this effort to eliminate trafficking in persons.

USAID Strategy for Response

Goal

USAID is committed to the prevention of trafficking and the protection of its victims by reducing the vulnerability of women, children, and men to traffickers and by promoting the political will and legal and institutional capacity needed to eliminate trafficking.

USAID's Role

USAID is positioned to play an important role within the U.S. Government's antitrafficking effort. A significant part of USAID's development assistance helps create conditions that lessen the vulnerability of women and children to traffickers, such as poverty reduction, girls' education, and promotion of the rule of law as well as equal rights and economic and political opportunities for women. By themselves, these development programs are not sufficient to eliminate trafficking, but they provide important support and reinforcement for specific antitrafficking activities targeted at the prevention of trafficking, and assistance and protection for victims.[2]

In the course of their development work, especially in STD and HIV/AIDS programs, USAID staff and primary grantees, subgrantees, contractors, and subcontractors may become aware of individuals who may have been trafficked into the sex trade. When this occurs USAID staff or grantees and contractors should report this information to the U.S. Embassy officer who handles trafficking.

[2] USAID's mandate and expertise lie primarily in prevention of trafficking and assistance to and protection of victims. USAID can also address enforcement and prosecution issues through administration of justice and anticorruption programs. The Department of State and other U.S. Government agencies have authority and experience in law enforcement and direct prosecution, internationally and domestically. Addressing the demand for cheap sex and labor in destination countries and policy dialogue with governments in more developed transit and destination countries are also important aspects of an overall U.S. Government strategy.

Principles Underlying USAID's Antitrafficking Strategy

- Emphasis on a targeted set of countries and/or regions
- Antitrafficking activities focused on prevention of trafficking, protection of victims, and reform and implementation of antitrafficking legislation
- A platform of development efforts that support and reinforce direct antitrafficking activities, e.g., girls' education, reduction of violence against women and promotion of their rights, poverty reduction, administration of justice, and refugee assistance

The U.S. Government's approach to combating trafficking is an integrated one, based on prevention, protection and assistance for victims, and prosecution of traffickers.

- Partnerships with organizations such as NGOs and faith-based institutions that are fighting trafficking and assisting victims of prostitution, child labor, and other forms of slavery
- Coordination with other parts of the U.S. Government and with local, regional, and international institutions[3]

Characteristics of Antitrafficking Emphasis Countries[4]

- Significant levels of severe forms of trafficking in persons in countries that do not meet minimum standards for eliminating trafficking (tiers 2 and 3 of the TIP lists)[5]
- Regional or subregional trafficking patterns[6]
- Presence of conflicts or natural disasters
- Host government political will to combat trafficking, as evidenced by legislative reform and enforcement, prosecutions of traffickers, and cooperation with NGOs fighting trafficking and with other governments
- Strong and committed NGO partners and faith-based institutions working to combat trafficking and assist victims of prostitution, child labor, and other forms of slavery
- Opportunities to collaborate with the State Department and/or other relevant U.S. Government agencies
- High or growing STD prevalence, especially HIV/AIDS

USAID Antitrafficking Programming

The complexity and global scope of trafficking require a multifaceted and coordinated response tailored to regional and national differences. USAID's comparative advantage to address trafficking lies in its field missions and their experience with related activities, including income-earning opportunities for the poor and vulnerable, girls' education, anticorruption efforts, legislative reform, and campaigns to combat violence against women.

USAID funding for direct antitrafficking activities worldwide is programmed by USAID field missions

[3] As mandated by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, U.S. Government agencies involved in antitrafficking include State, USAID, Justice, Labor, Health and Human Services, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Office of Management and Budget.

[4] All of these criteria need not apply to all emphasis countries; they provide guidance for consideration.

[5] The 2002 Department of State TIP lists include 89 countries in which there are significant levels of severe forms of trafficking. Seventy-one of these countries did not meet minimum standards to eliminate trafficking and were placed on tiers 2 and 3 of the TIP lists.

[6] A significant amount of trafficking in persons takes place across national borders, making both regional and bilateral antitrafficking efforts an important part of the strategy.

in conjunction with USAID Washington. The Office of Women in Development coordinates the Agency's antitrafficking efforts and plays an active role in the U.S. Government interagency processes.

USAID's antitrafficking strategy is based on direct antitrafficking activities that are reinforced by a platform of programs that support economic development, good governance, education, health, and human rights. Antitrafficking activities supported by USAID thus should not be isolated or ad hoc add-ons to programs, but an integral part of the Agency's development programming.

In countries where trafficking is a serious problem, new direct antitrafficking activities designed by missions should be integrated into mission and other operating unit strategic plans. Missions should also redirect some current activities to populations or geographic areas that are particularly vulnerable to trafficking, or should modify development activities to directly address trafficking.

Modules on trafficking should be introduced into existing training efforts for judges and prosecutors, community workers, youth, and informal and formal educators. Trafficking should be raised in the course of strategy development, assessments, and program planning. Activities with potential as model interventions should be given priority. Finally, USAID missions and U.S. embassies should conduct policy dialogue on trafficking with governments in source, transit, and destination countries.

Illustrative Examples of Antitrafficking Activities for USAID Support[7]

Improved Information on Trafficking

- Collect and analyze data to map trafficking levels and routes and establish benchmarks for measuring trafficking
- Analyze supply and demand factors to gain insight into economic forces that make trafficking attractive
- Document the extent of trafficking and sexual exploitation in refugee and conflict situations

Awareness of Trafficking and Its Dangers

- Disseminate public antitrafficking information and undertake education campaigns in source, transit, and destination countries
- Conduct community education about the risks and dangers of trafficking
- Educate the private sector about trafficking for child labor
- Provide public education in destination countries about the prevalence of trafficking, its criminality, and its abuse of human rights
- Offer education and outreach to ethnic communities that are particularly vulnerable to traffickers
- Support local and regional NGO networks and faith-based institutions that are fighting trafficking

Addressing the Root Causes

- Increase economic and educational opportunities for children and young women within targeted regions or communities where trafficking is prevalent
- Promote or increase access to economic and vocational opportunities for potential or actual trafficking victims and their families (including but not limited to job skills training and microenterprise).
- Promote or increase access to education, especially for vulnerable girls

[7] This list of activities is illustrative; it does not preclude other direct antitrafficking activities that may be appropriate in particular countries or regions.

- Increase respect for girls and women through media, formal education, and youth-focused activities
- Support efforts by NGOs, faith-based institutions, and governments to prosecute traffickers and brothel owners using existing national laws on rape, kidnapping and abduction

Assistance for Victims of Trafficking

- Reports should be made to the U.S. Embassy officer who handles trafficking by USAID staff, primary and subcontractors, and primary and subgrantees who become aware of individuals who may have been trafficked into the sex trade
- Support shelters and access to psychological, legal, and medical assistance
- Establish or support victim hotlines
- Increase access to the justice system
- Support programs for victims of conflict-related trafficking, including refugees and internally displaced persons
- Support repatriation, counseling, social integration, education, and income generation for trafficking victims

Legislative and Policy Reform

- Promote development and implementation of antitrafficking legislation and policies in source, transit, and destination countries through civil society; legislatures; national, regional and local governments; and judicial systems
- Engage in policy dialogue with governments, particularly those on tiers 2 and 3 of the TIP lists
- Incorporate antitrafficking into human rights activities
- Incorporate antitrafficking into anticorruption efforts
- Educate prosecutors, judges, law enforcement, and social service agencies about trafficking laws and victims' rights and treatment

Partnerships Against Trafficking

An effective antitrafficking strategy depends upon partnerships. Organizations advocating prostitution as an employment choice or which advocate or support the legalization of prostitution are not appropriate partners for USAID antitrafficking grants or contracts. Missions will avoid contracting or assistance agreements with such organizations as primary or subgrantees, or contractors.

Advocacy organizations and NGOs can help raise awareness of the problem at local, regional, or national levels through legislative reform, public awareness, and support for trafficked victims.

Where there is government commitment and political will, USAID should work with national, regional, and/or local government agencies. In addition to donor and host country governments and intergovernmental bodies, important implementing partners are civil society, educational and faith-based institutions, and women's organizations. Advocacy organizations and NGOs can help raise awareness of the problem at local, regional, or national levels through legislative reform, public awareness, and support for trafficked victims. Meetings and consultations at the international, regional, or sub-regional level among NGOs, governments, international organizations, academics, development practitioners, diplomats, and law enforcement personnel are an important means of sharing experience on what works and what does not, pushing forward understanding of the problem, refining approaches to its elimination, and strengthening collaborative relationships.

Attention must be given to destination as well as source countries. Partnerships between source and destination countries are an important means of linking the supply and demand elements of the trafficking process and helping to establish an international alliance against trafficking. In source and destination countries, such partnerships may include not only governments but also civil society groups, journalists, legislators, faith-based organizations, business, and youth.

It is important to find ways to take successful activities to scale and to enhance the sophistication of their design.

Going to Scale

Most antitrafficking activities are relatively small and reflect only parts of the solution. It is important to find ways to take successful activities to scale and to enhance the sophistication of their design. Development of strong linkages among a variety of programs to address different elements of trafficking can help expand the impact of individual activities. Eliminating trafficking is a complex, labor-intensive, and lengthy process that involves many actors and extends from pretrafficking to the social integration of its victims. There are some actions that USAID missions can take to increase the scale and effectiveness of antitrafficking efforts:

- build the capacity of NGOs and faith-based institutions to combat trafficking
- link small NGOs fighting trafficking into networks
- forge strong linkages with and among programs that address different aspects of the trafficking process
- help to create enabling policy and legal environments that will facilitate efforts to eliminate trafficking
- promote local and national public awareness of the problem

Monitoring Progress

Trafficking is a new issue compared to other areas of development for which measurement indicators have been developed over a period of years. Monitoring progress toward eliminating trafficking is important in order to increase accountability, improve intervention models, move programs forward, and develop best practices. Developing an appropriate evaluation methodology and set of indicators is not simple, but it is an important step that should be addressed as part of the planning stage of antitrafficking programs.

Conclusion

The U.S. Government is committed at the highest levels to implementation of the Trafficking Victims' Protection Act. In USAID-recipient countries where trafficking is a serious problem, USAID missions and operating units should give priority attention to mounting antitrafficking activities and should consider trafficking in their strategy development, assessments, and program planning. By themselves, USAID activities will not end this pernicious abuse of human rights, but within country-based collaborative frameworks that have the committed participation of civil society, government, faith-based organizations, and law enforcement, these actions can produce powerful results.

Appendix

Countries with Significant Trafficking

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 states "The United States and the international community agree that trafficking in persons involves grave violations of human rights and is a matter of pressing international concern."[8]

The Act requires the Secretary of State to submit to Congress on June 1 of each year a list that identifies countries of origin, transit, or destination for a significant number of victims of severe forms of trafficking. These are the countries to which the minimum standards established by the law apply. The term "severe forms of trafficking in persons" means

(A) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or

(B) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.[9]

The Act defines the minimum standards for governmental efforts to combat trafficking in persons.

(1) The government of the country should prohibit severe forms of trafficking in persons and punish acts of such trafficking.

(2) For the knowing commission of any act of sex trafficking involving force, fraud, coercion, or in which the victim of sex trafficking is a child incapable of giving meaningful consent or of trafficking which includes rape or kidnapping or which causes a death, the government of the country should prescribe punishment commensurate with that for grave crimes, such as forcible sexual assault.

(3) For the knowing commission of any act of a severe form of trafficking in persons, the government of the country should prescribe punishment that is sufficiently stringent to deter and that adequately reflects the heinous nature of the offense.

(4) The government of the country should make serious and sustained efforts to eliminate severe forms of trafficking in persons.

The TIP lists are divided into three tiers. The governments of countries placed in tier 1 meet the minimum standards for combating trafficking in persons. Those in tier 2 do not meet minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance. Tier 3 is reserved for governments that do not meet minimum standards and are not making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance. According to the Act, beginning with the 2003 report, countries in tier 3 will be subject to certain sanctions, principally termination of nonhumanitarian, nontrade-related assistance.

[8] P.L. 106-386, Division A, Section 102 (b) (23).

[9] Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, Section 103 (8)

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Dr. Hill. I just have a couple of questions. You know, one of the things that we have been doing to try to get Osama Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein is, we have offered substantial rewards for them. I understand that if you are talking about a worldwide slave problem, you are not going to be able to have huge rewards offered.

But has our Government offered any kind of reward for turning in people who are in involved in major slave trading; and is that something that we might consider? Because, you know, the almighty dollar, or whatever the currency happens to be, does carry a pretty good amount of weight. If people who know of slave trading knew they could make a little bit of money out of it, they might turn some of these people in, which might put more onerous on the people who are involved in this. So has that ever been considered?

Mr. HILL. I do not know that it has been considered. I do not know that it should not be considered. But I think we are also of the opinion that if we did a better job of pricking the conscience and raising the awareness of the population in general, we also might get much more involvement. But I certainly would not rule out considering that as a strategy. It does sometimes work.

Mr. BURTON. Well, I would like to think that the conscience of humanity would want people to turn in slave traders. But I think being realistic, there are people who would do it for money, that would not do it because their conscience did not dictate that they should get that involved. "Money talks and baloney walks" is a statement around many parts of Government, and I think that is one of the things that we ought to consider.

Chris, when we are talking about legislative proposals, I think that is one of the things that we ought to do, to talk about our Government. When we appropriate money for this, and I think there was $100 million that has been appropriated, maybe we should suggest that part of that $100 million be used for rewards for people who turn in these people.

Once you do that, once you start that procedure moving in the right direction, it probably would scare some of these people that are involved in slave trading.

Ms. WATSON. Would you yield, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. BURTON. Sure.

Ms. WATSON. I think I have a recommendation that if we expanded, might be effective. Would we want, in exchange for our aid, for them to sign that they will come up with law enforcement, in terms of the traffickers, to receive these moneys that you give?

Mr. BURTON. Well, I think that is another good idea.

Ms. WATSON. Yes, I just wanted to mention that.

Mr. BURTON. Chris is here. He is the person who has been one of the keystones of this. Maybe we should condition our foreign aid on governments doing what they can to deal with this.

Mr. SMITH. Well, if the gentleman would yield, your comment about—right now, if somebody turns in a terrorist, obviously, there is a rewards program. This is something we really should take a good look at, because I think it has some real merit.

Right now, we use more of a stick. Although we have carrots in there, as well, the stick is that non-humanitarian aid, after this 3-

year phase in, and this was the year that the sanctions regime kicked in.

I think as Mr. Miller pointed out, never have we seen such a focus of mind by these foreign capitals than as the deadline for making a determination approaches. Sanctions work. You know, the best sanction, like the best military, is the one that you do not have to use, because it deterred criminal or egregious behavior.

But it seems to me that we need to get this message out, not just in the trafficking area, but in all human rights law, and I see David Abramowitz is here, who was worked so closely with us on the Democratic side and Sam Gejdenson, who was the prime cosponsor of this bill.

You know, we ran into a flurry of negatives from people at the State Department and elsewhere, who did not want to name names, which the report does, and did want to have the sanctions regime. We are talking about sanctioning, which probably is the wrong word to use, withholding non-humanitarian aid to those that engage in Tier 3 type of behavior.

Mr. BURTON. Well, let me just say that I think that is good. I think rewards might be another tool that might be used.

The last thing I would like to mention before I yield to my colleague, Ms. Watson, is the Internet. You know, a lot of the child pornography in a lot of these countries where they provide trips to places like the Philippines, where men go over there and they are involved with kids in sexual activities, it seems to me that our Government could be involved in some way in monitoring, and I know the Internet is a huge thing to deal with, but we could do it on a routine basis.

If we could monitor those sites, I think it would put the fear of God into some of these people, if they knew we were going to catch them, and that we were going to insist that their governments take them to task for being involved in this slave trading.

So I do not know if you are already doing that. You may be. But that is just another suggestion that comes to mind: rewards and then dealing with the Internet.

Mr. MILLER. They are both suggestions to be considered. It is interesting, Mr. Chairman, that you mentioned the Internet and the tourism. You are getting at the sex tourism.

Mr. BURTON. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. What really moved the President, in making his proposal at the U.N. General Assembly and pledging an additional $50 million is, he has been horrified by the sex tourism that is going on in this world that is a primary force driving child prostitution.

So he wants, yes, to work on where it is happening. But he is aware that there is a demand factor, which is what you are getting, where the people are coming from through the Internet or whatever. In this coming several months, I hope that our office will try to come up with a program to address the demand side.

I visited a village in Thailand where this sex tourism was going on. I talked to some of the children, and let me tell you, the so-called customers were not Thais. They were wealthy people coming from Holland, England, the United States, and Japan.

Mr. BURTON. Right, well, anyhow, those are just a few suggestions. You probably are way ahead of us on this issue.

Mr. MILLER. They are good.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Shays, the vice chairman of the committee?

Mr. SHAYS. I just would love it if you would just yield to me 1 second.

Mr. BURTON. Yes.

Mr. SHAYS. I never say when I am leaving, my apologies. I have an appointment, and I am going to come back here hopefully for the second witnesses.

But I feel a little guilty leaving before they have spoken, because I know they have very important things to say and on something so sensitive. I cannot change this appointment. I will be back as soon as it is over.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Shays, we appreciate that.

Ms. Watson.

Ms. WATSON. I know that President Bush has put together a Cabinet level inter-agency task force to monitor and to combat trafficking. How can the Department of State and Congress ensure that these policies are implemented? I will just throw that out to whoever can respond.

Mr. MILLER. Well, Congresswoman Watson, there is an interagency task force. It was set up in your legislation. It was also set up in the President's Executive order implementing that legislation of last December.

That task force is tentatively scheduled to meet December 8th. It has the high level representation. My office serves that task force; and one of the purposes of that task force, and another group that you set up in legislation last March, the Senior Policy Operating Group which I chair, is to bring people from all these agencies together to make sure that we are not duplicating; that we are coordinating; that we are speaking with one voice; that we are carrying out policies that the Congress and the President have set.

So that is the task ahead of us. If we fail to do this in any way or you find where we are not, I hope you will personally call me and let me know.

Ms. WATSON. If I might respond, it seems that we are going to have to have a committed buy-in from governments of various nations.

Now the Netherlands has legalized prostitution, and they are the Tier 1, and I am sure there are other countries. But a lot of the developing countries that have not need to probably come at this from a philosophical and conceptual standpoint. You know, what do you want for your children in the future, for your women, and I am sure there are young boys, as well? So would it be possible to go to the U.N. and have a specifically structured conference in one of their subcommittees on this whole idea of sex trafficking and tourism?

Mr. MILLER. I think it would. I like the idea of focusing on the sex tourism. Because I will tell you that we have had a lot of conferences in the general area of trafficking, and they are good. They have spotlighted the issue, but now we are at a point were we have to act.

So I would want to make sure that if there was a conference, it was not just to have everybody get together and denounce sex tourism; but to make sure there is a concrete agenda and concrete steps that are going to be taken by governments to combat this.

Ms. WATSON. Yes, I suspect that there are many nations that consider the sex trafficking as part of their economic base and really do not want us being proactive or being effective in this area.

So that is why I said we will have to come at it. We have to change the way they think about their economic development; and we have to help them to change the way they think about the treatment of their women and their children.

Mr. MILLER. You are so right, because this starts with public awareness.

Ms. WATSON. Right.

Mr. MILLER. I think in this country, if you raise this issue, there are probably people that would say, slavery, I thought it ended with the American Civil War.

So, yes, we have to raise public awareness. We have to work with governments. You were right; once this gets to the point where it is extensive, where it is either legalized, or even if it is illegal but tolerated, and it becomes a sector of the economy and organized crime is involved, and there is huge money involved, that just increases the difficulty of the task.

Ms. WATSON. I think everybody in this room is in accord. We just have to be creative with how we go about finding solutions. Because it is a problem that has plagued the world for as long as man and woman have been in existence.

In some way, I guess we have to model what we stand for. We have pornography all over the Internet now. You just have to turn on your TV and see that there are people from every walk of life who are practicing in this, and we are talking about going global.

But we really need to start taking some very definite steps. I would think that not making foreign aid a condition of you signing off, but having people sign off that they will do all they can to curtail this practice, I think, is the way to go; not holding back humanitarian aid. Because it gets in then to something else, and we do not want to deprive people of what they really need.

But I do think that part of awareness could be that they do sign a statement that they will come up with a policy over a period of time within their country to address this problem.

Mr. MILLER. I think that is another suggestion worth considering. The sanctions legislation does not lead to prohibiting humanitarian aid. That is excepted.

Ms. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. But you are turning it around and putting a positive pledge spin on it, and I think that is definitely something to be considered.

Ms. WATSON. Thank you very much.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Ms. Watson.

Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to recognize a good friend and former colleague, Dick Zimmer, who is with us today, and thank you for joining us and for your work on this, as well.

I would also like to say to Dr. Ken Hill that I remember fondly those many years we spend fighting religious bigotry and prejudice and discrimination, and his book, "The Puzzle of the Soviet Church" was a book I read and from which I learned a great deal about what was going on in what is now Russia. It was then the full Soviet Union. So thank you for your outstanding work, as well.

I do have a couple of questions. Mr. Miller, you might want to respond to this. When the President took some 10 countries from Tier 2 to Tier 3, you noted and, as a matter of fact, you chronicled some of the very significant changes that were made.

As you pointed out, all of a sudden there was a focus; all of a sudden, there was a flurry of activity; good, positive, new laws were enacted; crackdowns on brothels and formerly trafficked women became liberated women and the traffickers held to account.

My question is—and I would ask that Mr. Miller's statement, if you have not done this already, be made a part of the record—explaining those 10 countries and why they went from Tier 2 to Tier 3, because it is encouraging, but it is only the beginning, as we all know.

My concern is that this be a sustainable pressure. You know, we have seen this with many human rights issues and even hunger issues. I will never forget, after the first famine in Ethiopia, when the second famine rolled around and hundreds of thousands of people were dying, it was almost as if, well, did we not handle that issue before? People's compassion for that fatigue had been spent and they moved on to other things.

I hope that we do not have that same crescendo of concern that is then dissipated through whatever. It seems to me that you have some tools at your disposal; one of them being that you can issue interim reports, as the need arises, when there is a back-sliding in the country.

I hope our Ambassadors have been encouraged or even admonished to say, the pressure is not off. You know, these sanctions in Tier 3, a naming or branding can happen at any time; and certainly, if there is not sustainable and serious progress, it will happen when the next round comes around next year.

We have to convey that, as much as we can, and this hearing, I think, helps to do that; that this is not going away. We are increasing, rather than decreasing. This is a winnable war, just like ending the slave trade and the famous William Wilberforce and the others who fought and ended that slave trade, because they never gave up. I think we have to have that same tenacity. So if you could touch on that, please.

Second, I would ask Dr. Hill this. We have authorized levels in our new bill, and I hope it will be up next week. It provides increases in every area, including money that goes to aid for shelters and the like.

Two years ago, I offered an amendment to the appropriations bill, to just meet the authorized levels of $30 million that was in the Foreign Operations bill with part of that going to shelters and overseas efforts to really help the women right where they are.

It passed. It came out of conference down about $8 million; and the excuse that was given to me by Flickner, the staff director for the Foreign Operations, was that they cannot absorb it all. It was

conveyed to them from AID that they cannot absorb this additional money.

I said, you know, even if these funds are not obligated immediately, they can remain unobligated; and certainly we can find sufficient numbers of shelters and programs out there to absorb not just $30 million, but much, much more than that.

Mr. BURTON. If the gentleman would yield.

Mr. SMITH. Sure.

Mr. BURTON. You know, we talked about rewards a while ago. If they said they could not absorb the extra $8 million, why not put that into a fund saying, there is $8 million, and we will be giving $10,000 or $15,000 or whatever the amount would be, that would induce people to turn in these traffickers?

It seems to me, that would not require an awful lot of effort to figure out a way to spend that. Once people find out that there is a fund set up to nail the bad guys, we will get some of the bad guys.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate the comment; the point obviously being that when Charlie Flickner and others are telling me that is what they can get out of conference because there was insufficient absorption capability, I find that extremely troubling. I find it to be questionable as to its validity, as well. Maybe you want to touch on that.

You know, we need to be creative. We created this law to think outside the box. We did not want to just ascribe money already spent to trafficking. We wanted to see some new money flowing in to mitigate this problem.

Third, if I could, I will just take a moment and then yield, on the demand side—perhaps, Mr. Miller, you might want to touch on the outstanding work that our administration is doing to try to reign-in on military deployments, starting with South Korea and Bosnia, and efforts that are underway.

We recently contacted Secretary Armitage to ask that NATO adopt such a zero tolerance policy, so that all of the peace-keepers in the U.N. ought to be doing it, as well. Finally, Mr. Miller, on Russia, Ms. Ileana, who has introduced the pending legislation—that legislation, to the best of my knowledge, still has not passed.

I met up with her at a parliamentary assembly in Rome just 3 weeks ago along with Dorothy Taft, our chief of staff, and I had a long talk with her. She is running into opposition.

One of the reasons why I thought Russia went from Tier 3 to Tier 2 was the pending matter of that legislation becoming law, which would have put them, at least on paper, almost identical in terms of where we are, in terms of our law. What are you hearing from Russia, if you could touch on that; and maybe Dr. Hill can answer that.

Mr. MILLER. OK, I think there were three questions, and two for you.

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. MILLER. First, on the pressure on the 10 countries. To sustain pressure in a lot of countries, you are absolutely right. Of course, you have been a bulldog, Congressman Smith, in making sure our Government does sustain pressure.

I put in front of you, or my staff did, and maybe it did not get on your seat—but we put a copy of a letter, and if you do not have it we will get it to you—that was sent to the Hill. Congressman Pitts was going to distribute it as a "Dear Colleague."

He asked for specific steps that were taken by each of these countries that we required. So for every country, we have listed the specific steps that they took, that justified their rising to Tier 2.

But the question is, are they going to continue? One country, and I hate to single one country out, but Greece came with a rush at the last minute, the last week. So we provided that we are going to do a re-evaluation in 2 months, to make sure that all these things you did at the last minute continue. We have to do that. There is no question about.

Yes, go ahead.

Mr. BURTON. I was going to say, would the gentleman yield on your time?

One of the things that just came to mind, and this goes along with what Chris was talking about, the IMF and the World Bank, have they done anything or used their power in any way to deal with the slavery issue?

Mr. MILLER. I am not aware of any action, are you, Kent, of the IMF?

Mr. HILL. IMF and the World Bank, you know, we contribute an awful lot to those two funds; and it seems to me that when they are granting loans to Third World countries who need the money so desperately, one of the conditions ought to be, and our members of the IMF and the World Bank should say, that one of the conditions for the loans should be that you make a concerted effort to deal with the slave trade.

Mr. MILLER. That is a very intriguing idea. I will take that idea back with me. I may find that they are doing more than I think. But I am not aware of their taking specific action.

Mr. HILL. Where we are exerting pressure is through the EU requirement that for accession to the EU, these countries are supposed to be doing things in this. This is also supplementing the pressure from the U.S. Congress, which we are trying to get the maximum pressure out of that.

So we have a little more pressure that we can apply in Eastern Europe than we do in Euro-Asia right now in the former Soviet Union. But I think any direction we can get the pressure from, we ought to activate it.

Mr. BURTON. If the gentleman would yield further, I think that kind of pressure is very important. But I am one of those guys that believes that money has a tremendous amount of influence on people. I could be wrong. [Laughter.]

I think that if the World Bank and the IMF and our people on the boards of those institutions would say that has to be a condition for loans, it would carry a lot of weight, as well as the reward situation that we talked about.

Mr. MILLER. The challenge would be, of course, in drafting the condition.

Mr. BURTON. That should not be a problem. You know, we give money to those institutions to loan out to the rest of the world; and it seems to me it should not be any real difficulty for the Board

to sit down and say, here is the requirement and then vote on it and put it into force. That is not a big issue.

Mr. MILLER. I will carry your idea back to the Treasury Department that deals with those organizations. Congressman Smith, I think you left us with a couple other questions.

You mentioned the military, and that is an issue where you have been involved. It is regrettable, but true, that military peacekeepers, aid workers, for that matter, in post-conflict situations frequently, through participating in prostitution, contribute to the phenomenon of trafficking.

Your work helped lead to an IG investigation by the Defense Department of what was going on in Korea. I think that department has undertaken a number of steps in South Korea, including putting clubs off limits, improving communications with South Korean authorities, etc.

The President called for a zero tolerance policy on all Government personnel, including our contractors, and this is something that we have to enforce throughout the world. Certainly the U.S. military or any other military that we are working with should not be exempt.

Mr. Hill is going to comment on Russia and maybe I will add something to that after you finish, Kent.

Mr. HILL. Two points, on absorptive capacity, Charlie and I need to have a conversation about whether we could do something more with money to spend there. I think we definitely can. I think there is no question that the need is great.

We were thrilled when the President made the additional commitment. We have been putting our heads together, thinking about the ways we can make a difference, so I am very committed.

Let me just give you an example of the sorts of things that we could do with more money. We have shelters in different parts of the world, but a lot of times they are very short-term shelters. So a lot of times, it is not uncommon for a woman to be in a shelter and somehow, because she has no way to really escape her plight, she ends up back in the same boat again. If there was a longer term, more serious exposure to help, it would make a big difference.

This could include, for example, as we are doing in Romania, for example, combining micro-enterprise work with the shelter. We can do that. The only reason we do not do it is because of lack of funds.

There is a lot more that can be done on the public awareness side that I think would make a difference. There is a whole series of things that I am convinced we could successfully spend much more money on and have a bigger impact than we do at present.

The Russia issue is a very interesting one. We have been following this now for about 3 or 4 years, since the first version of an anti-trafficking law surfaced. That was a very strong law. Then somehow, a weaker law got into the mix, and then a stronger law was back in.

Recently, within the last few weeks, there was real concern that there was pressure building in Russia for some major weakening of the anti-trafficking law that was being considered this fall and this winter.

The Ambassador, Ambassador Birchbow, was sufficiently fearful about this, that he wrote a very strong piece that was published in a Russian newspaper, in which he warned the Russian Government about the dangers of backing away from a very strong law. So we were kind of waiting to see what the next action would be.

Well, the news is quite encouraging, and I have in front of me, in fact, the speech that Vladimir Putin gave in the Kremlin 2 days ago, in which he took a very strong stand. In fact, on that day, on Monday, he introduced new amendments to the law, which actually strengthen it in very significant ways.

Now it is true, there was another agenda here. The agenda is, he is trying to explain to the world his actions right now against one of the wealthiest men in Russia, Horakowski, and he is trying to suggest that the rule of law is now coming into play in Russia in a much bigger and newer way. An example of that was his strong stance on anti-trafficking.

Now some are suspicious that there is more going on than rule of law, when dealing with some of his opponents who support other political parties. But I do not know anybody, or very few, who do not applaud what he has done here with respect to this law.

The cable that I read just this morning from Moscow suggests that there is reason to believe that by the end of this year, within just a few weeks, this new tougher law will go into effect with the President's support, and that is the word I am getting, not only from the Embassy, but from our anti-trafficking friends from the International NGO community.

Mr. MILLER. I am going to add one thing to that. We have been waiting for this law. This law was offered as the promised action that should keep Russia from being on Tier 3, last June. Drafts of this have been circulating now for almost a year.

It was supposed to pass last June. It did not. I am delighted that President Putin, 2 days ago, made this speech; and I am delighted that he is behind it. But I think it behooves all of us to let people in Russia know how important this is to get it passed. Because the excuse that is always offered for inaction in Russia on this issue is, there is no law.

President Bush took this up with President Putin at his recent meeting. When I was in Moscow, 3 weeks ago, every meeting I had, I pushed this issue. I hope they pass the law this year; and even more important, I hope they then enforce the law and throw some of these traffickers in jail and rescue some of the victims.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that very much, and thank you for that update as well as the very strong statement. If I could, Mr. Chairman, I have other questions but I will submit them.

Just in answer to your earlier question, the original law does give the ability to the President to direct our Executive Directors at the IMF and other multi-lateral lending institutions to vote against and to speak out against loans to countries that are on Tier 3.

But I think you asked the larger question that, as a condition or a pre-condition to getting those loans themselves, the IMF and the others ought to have a criteria that includes trafficking. I think that is very, very important. That would really send a message. Right now, we are one vote and voice, among a board that would

decide a loan, and if we raised this, we could be out-voted. But you are suggesting a larger message, and I think it is a very good idea.

Mr. BURTON. Well, I would suggest to my colleague, if he would yield to me real quickly, that maybe we draft a letter to the IMF and the World Bank, and I am sure we could get a lot of Members of Congress to sign it and send it to them, urging them to include this in the criteria that must be used to give a loan to a Third World country from the IMF head of the World Bank.

Do you have any other questions, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. No.

Mr. BURTON. Well, I want to thank you, John.

Oh, do you have another question? Excuse me, I am sorry, Ms. Watson, go ahead.

Ms. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, thank you; this is a very personal and directed question. I had gotten a call from a constituent, but Radio-Free Europe just this week reported on Gulnora Karimova, and you might be familiar with that name. I am going to give you this memo.

She is the daughter of the President of Uzbekistan, and I understand she is making a lot of money trafficking in prostitutes. Her travel agency has been awarded a monopoly on travel from Uzbekistan to Dubai. It was reported that most of the people who use this service are young Uzbeki women, who are being transported to the United Arab Emirates for purposes of prostitution.

When President Bush spoke at the United Nations last month, he had strongly condemned sex trade. The priority Congress has given to the issue makes it a primary issue that we need to go after. So I would want to know what the State Department is doing about this situation in Uzbekistan, and I will give you this memo. You can respond and I will share it with my colleagues.

Mr. MILLER. I would appreciate that and we will get back to you.

Ms. WATSON. All right.

[The information referred to follows:]

WMI eMONITORS Uzbekistan Report
World Monitors Inc. Business & Human Rights Consulting
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TALES OF MONEY, POWER AND SEX: FORMER ADVISER TO UZBEK PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER OUTLINES WEB OF CORRUPTION AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY TALK

On October 27, Columbia University's International Affairs Building was the site of an extraordinary tale of financial and political corruption in Uzbekistan by Farhod Inogambayev, former advisor to Gulnora Karimova, the daughter of Uzbek President Islam Karimov. Described by the Financial Times as "prodigiously rich, tall with striking looks, a black belt in martial arts and a degree from Harvard Business School," Gulnora Karimova is considered the second most powerful person in Uzbekistan. In a two-hour talk, Inogambayev publicly documented fraud, money laundering and corruption within the Karimov circle, focusing primarily on the financial affairs of Karimova. World Monitors Inc. staff member Melisa Moehlman was among those present, and made the following report:

Inogambayev detailed alleged incidents of financial fraud, money laundering and corruption carried out by Gulnora Karimova from September 2001 - April 2003, while he was one of her financial advisors. Although the Karimov family was known to keep most of their assets in secret accounts at Credit Suisse in Switzerland, according to Inogambayev maintaining the secrecy of these accounts became difficult after September 11, 2001, when banking regulators became particularly suspicious of accounts from Central Asia or the Middle East holding substantial assets. As a consequence of this new scrutiny, Inogambayev said that Karimova directed him to establish several personal accounts and business holding companies for her and her family in the United Arab Emirates free trade zone.

Inogambayev said he initially created for Karimova a holding company called Revi Holdings in the Sharjah free trade zone of the UAE. Revi Holdings opened bank accounts into which large unaccounted for sums of cash were transferred. When banks required explanations for the sources of the funds, Inogambayev said Karimova refused to provide any information.

According to Inogambayev, the money in the Revi Holdings accounts came primarily from Karimova's corrupt business dealings. He said Karimova acquired 51.6% of Uzbekistan's largest telecom company, Uzdunrobita, by means of unlawful seizure and extortion. Before her acquisition, 51% of the company was state-owned, and 49% was controlled by an American company, ICG Communications, Inc., based in Georgia. She seized 31% of Uzdunrobita from the state agency that owned it, and convinced ICG to hand over 20% of its holdings by threatening to revoke its license to operate in Uzbekistan. Uzdunrobita, valued at close to US$100 million,

revoke its license to operate in Uzbekistan. Uzdunrobita, valued at close to US$100 million, recently awarded a contract to the Chinese company Huawei Technologies to develop a GSM network. According to Inogambayev, ICG was also forced to give Karimova a US$1.2 million kick-back for the contract.

Inogambayev asserted that because Karimova's corrupt dealings with Uzdunrobita were well-known, and Revi Holdings was under increasing international scrutiny, she ordered him to set up another holding company, called United International Group, which she used to seize Uzbekistan's largest cement company. She also took control of Coca-Cola's Uzbekistan operations, formerly owned and operated by her ex-husband, Mansur Maqsudi. Maqsudi is a US citizen living in New Jersey with whom Karimova is engaged in a bitter custody battle over their two children. The children are currently in her care, but the Supreme Court of New Jersey has ordered that they be returned to their father. According to an August 18 report in the Financial Times, a warrant for her arrest has been issued should she enter the US or any other country with which the US has an extradition treaty. In addition to Coca-Cola Uzbekistan, Karimova seized other assets belonging to her ex-husband and his family, and put them all into United International Group.

The United Arab Emirates has minimal restrictions on cash movements -- reportedly it allows an individual to enter or leave the country with very large sums of money in a suitcase without questions. Depositing money in a bank is a bit trickier. Inogambayev said Karimova's transactions were often justified by characterizing them as advertising, consultancy or management fees. He asserted she also launders cash through the Uzbek company OA Stores. Although OA Stores' charter says its purpose is to import pediatric medical supplies into Uzbekistan, it actually imports scarce consumer items such as sugar, Levi's blue jeans, and Benetton clothing, and consequently serves as the perfect laundering mechanism. By putting the money through OA Stores, Karimova is able to convert the Uzbek currency from her many business holdings into US dollars, and then move it to her holding account in the UAE.

Inogamvaye said the Uzbek government recently awarded a contract to exploit a gold field outside Samarkand with known reserves of 60-70 metric tons to "a great and capable United Arab Emirates company," United International Group, Karimova's holding company. According to Inogambayev, the company is little more than a name and a post office box, having absolutely no capacity to carry out operations of any kind. He believes Karimova will outsource the mining operations to another company, and then take a substantial share of the royalties and fees.

In addition to her other Uzbek business ventures, Karimova also runs the only travel agency in Uzbekistan responsible for tourist travel to the United Arab Emirates. Inogamvaye said that most Uzbek "tourists" travelling to the UAE are in fact women forced by the country's dreadful economy to work abroad as prostitutes to earn money for themselves and send back to their families. He said these women are often well-educated, formerly working as doctors, lawyers and other professionals. Inogambayev estimated that 70-80% of the "tourists" traveling from Uzbekistan to the United Arab Emirates are Uzbek women going as prostitutes.

Inogambayev asserted that Karimova is aware of this situation, and that her "travel" agency

Inogambayev asserted that Karimova is aware of this situation, and that her "travel" agency profits from it. He said she rejects suggestions that it looks bad for the President's daughter to be profiting from women fleeing the country to prostitute themselves abroad, responding that someone else would do it and profit if she did not.

Inogambayev described Karimova as a spiteful, emotionally unstable woman, obsessed with power and money and possessing frightening power and control in Uzbekistan. He believes her actions are supported and encouraged by her family, and that a strong possibility exists that she could succeed her father as President. Were that to happen, he believes the country would only experience further regression of the economy, human rights, and any other progress made in the social, economic or political spheres.

Inogambayev said he escaped with his family to the US with the help of Human Rights Watch, Transparency International, the Open Society Institute and other organizations. He said he brought with him documentation of the charges he has made.

Inogambayev said he is working to organize an NGO to be called the Uzbekistan Transparency Association, and plans to collaborate with Transparency International, Global Witness, Human Rights Watch and the Open Society Institute.

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Mr. BURTON. Well, thank you, Ms. Watson and John, my former colleague. It is nice to see you. We appreciate your enthusiasm for the position you now occupy.

Dr. Hill, thank you very much for your statements, as well, and your hard work. We will look forward to working with you in the future, and we will send you a copy of our letter that we send to the IMF and the World Bank.

Regarding that $8 million that they cut out because you could not use it, you let us know when that comes up again and we will see if we cannot put that in the reward fund, OK; thanks an awful lot.

Our next panel is Mr. Kevin Bales. He is president of the Free the Slaves organization; Ms. Sharon Cohn, director of Anti-Trafficking, International Justice Mission; Dr. Mohamed Mattar, co-director of the Protection Project, Johns Hopkins University of Advanced International Studies; Mr. Andrew Johnson, office director, Save the Children Federation; and Dr. Janice Raymond, co-executive director of the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women.

Would you gentlemen and ladies come forward and we will swear you in. Mr. Bales is on a plane right now and he will be here for the conclusion of the hearing. Could you stand up and I will swear you in. It is a common procedure we have here.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Mr. BURTON. Do we have you in the right order: Dr. Mattar, Ms. Cohn, Mr. Johnson, and Dr. Raymond? OK, I think we probably normally start with ladies first. Is that what you prefer today? Let us start with Dr. Raymond and we will just go this way. You are recognized for 5 minutes, Doctor.

STATEMENTS OF JANICE RAYMOND, CO-EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, COALITION AGAINST TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN; ANDREW JOHNSON, SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION; SHARON COHN, DIRECTOR, ANTI-TRAFFICKING, INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE MISSION; MOHAMED MATTAR, CO-DIRECTOR OF THE PROTECTION PROJECT, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES; AND KEVIN BALES, PRESIDENT, FREE THE SLAVES

Ms. RAYMOND. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity of presenting testimony before this committee. To put my remarks in context, I should tell you that my organization, the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, has been working for 15 years to promote women's and children's right to be free of sexual exploitation.

We have organizations in most of the major world regions, and we conducted the first U.S.-based study, funded by the National Institute of Justice, beginning in 1998, that interviewed numbers of trafficking victims.

I will not go over the numbers, since many of the speakers have already addressed that, as well as you, Mr. Chairman. But I would like to say some things on the policy level.

The first thing that I would like to say is that sex trafficking depends upon globalization of the sex industry. As many of us already know, globalization of the sex industry means that countries

are under an illusion if they think they can address trafficking without addressing prostitution.

I am going to use a term here which we use called state-sponsored prostitution. We believe that state-sponsored prostitution is a root cause of trafficking. We call legalized or regulated prostitution, state-sponsored prostitution, and many of these systems vary somewhat. But the common element, of course, is that the state becomes tolerant and accepts the system of prostitution and, in most cases, benefits from it.

We have found that there is a fundamental connection between the legal recognition of prostitution industries and the increase in victims of trafficking. No where do we see this relationship more clearly than in countries advocating prostitution as an employment choice; or who foster outright legalization; or who support the decriminalization of the sex industry.

The Netherlands is a case in point here. Director Miller and others have mentioned the Netherlands. One argument for legalizing prostitution in the Netherlands is that it would help end the use and abuse of desperate immigrant women who were trafficked there.

But several reports have been done on the Netherlands, and it is widely now agreed that 80 percent of the women in the brothels in the Netherlands are trafficked from other countries.

The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women commends the efforts of Director Miller of the Trafficking in Persons Office and his staff. He has provided much needed leadership in this position. But both he and we know that much more needs to be done.

Each year, as has already been discussed, the United States has mandated under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act to provide a report on countries' efforts to combat trafficking in persons.

Unfortunately, there are countries, as Congresswoman Watson has already mentioned, such as the Netherlands, and Germany is another one, that are ranked in Tier 1, the top-most category. These two countries have legalized or de-criminalized the prostitution industries.

We and other NGO's have recommended that no country legalizing prostitution should be in Tier 1 because these countries have legalized brothels and pimping that contribute, in the words of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, to significant numbers of women being trafficked for sexual exploitation.

So we think that needs work. We know that this is a very sensitive issue, but we are seeing this all over Europe, in particular. We are seeing this also in other countries, as well. But we are really facing a public policy crisis in terms of the trend toward legalization in other parts of the world.

One other thing, Mr. Chairman, specifically that I would like to mention is the National Security Presidential Directive, which others have already mentioned, as well, stating that prostitution and related activities are inherently harmful, dehumanizing, and identifying these activities as contributing to trafficking.

That policy, as we know, directs all agencies to review matters, including their grantmaking actions. We applaud this policy, but we caution that any policy is only as good as its implementation.

One problem is that US NGO's supporting prostitution as work and decriminalization of the sex industry are still being funded.

We understand that this takes a while. We certainly hope that we will see different action on this; but meanwhile groups and NGO's that we work with, who have submitted proposals, have not yet been funded.

I did receive some good news today from Director Miller that one of those groups is being funded, and we are very grateful for that, but we think we have a ways to go in terms of the funding of groups, feminist groups, faith-based groups, who do support the Presidential directive. This, I might say, is an issue that really crosses a lot of political boundaries.

So I think we have reached a point in our anti-trafficking work where in order to realize our goals of combating trafficking, we must do a lot more than issue a policy and, as the old saying goes, Government must be willing to place its money where its mouth is. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Raymond follows:]

HEARINGS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WELLNESS OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS

OCTOBER 29, 2003 – THE ONGOING TRAGEDY OF INTERNATIONAL SLAVERY AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING: AN OVERVIEW

Testimony of Janice G. Raymond, Ph.D.

Professor Emerita of Women's Studies and Medical Ethics
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
And Co-Executive Director
Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW)

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity of presenting testimony before this committee. Today, I will focus my remarks on sex trafficking. To put my remarks in context, I should tell you that my organization, the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW), has been working for fifteen years to promote women's right to be free of sexual exploitation. We have organizations in most of the major world regions of Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and North America. And we conducted the first U.S.- based study, funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), that interviewed numbers of victims of sex trafficking. Our organization, in various parts of the world, has also interviewed 146 victims of trafficking in 4 other countries; funded and initiated trafficking prevention programs in Venezuela, the Philippines, Mexico and the Republic of Georgia; helped set up shelters for Nigerian and Albanian victims of trafficking in Italy; provided legal assistance to victims of trafficking in the United States, the Philippines, Bangladesh and the Republic of Georgia; and helped draft the *new UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime.*

OVERVIEW

Trafficking in human beings – mostly women and children – has become a global business that affects almost all countries and reaps enormous profits for traffickers and their intermediaries. Human trafficking is not new. What is new is the global sophistication, complexity and control of how women and children are trafficked from/to/in all parts of the globe.

Researchers differ on the numbers of women trafficked. United Nations (UN) reports estimate that 4 million women have been trafficked from one country to another and within countries. U.S. reports cite 700,000 to two million women and children internationally trafficked each year into the sex industry and for labor, with 50,000 into the United States. All estimates, however, are preliminary.

Numbers are always difficult to obtain, but the revenue collected from the trafficking in women and children often reveals what the demography of trafficking cannot tell us with precision – that trafficking in women and children is a big business. The United Nations estimates that trafficking is a 5-7 billion U.S. dollar operation annually. In contrast to penalties for drug and arms trafficking, the penalties for human trafficking are lower in many countries.

WHY THE EMPHASIS ON SEX TRAFFICKING?

The most prevalent forms of sex trafficking are for prostitution, sex tourism, and mail-order bride industries. Unfortunately, you would never know from many anti-trafficking organizations that it is mostly women who are trafficked for exploitation in prostitution. In fact, many anti-trafficking advocates seem to want to make all references to sex trafficking disappear, talking only about trafficking for bonded labor. A number of

NGOs are now insisting that labor trafficking is the real problem and that sex trafficking is comparatively minor, most of it being rather "harmless prostitution."

Clearly, being trafficked into exploitative farm or factory work is incompatible with fundamental human rights and is harmful to those who subjected to this form of trafficking. But as Dorchen Leidholdt, Co-Director of CATW has asked, is that harm really as severe as the harm to women and girls trafficked into prostitution in brothels and repeatedly subjected to intimate violation—to rape? Also ignored is the fact that the trafficking of many women for bonded labor and domestic work concludes with them being sexually exploited by unscrupulous employers and others.

It is a travesty that at a time when governments and international agencies are hiring gender consultants to conduct gender analyses and combat violence against women that these same governments and agencies are deliberately promoting a disconnect between trafficking and prostitution. They advocate the recognition of what they call "voluntary" prostitution as legitimate work, and even the recognition of trafficking as "migration for sex work."

FACTORS PROMOTING SEX TRAFFICKING

What are the factors promoting sex trafficking in different parts of the globe.

- Men's demand for the sex of prostitution;
- Women's increasing poverty driving women and children into situations of sexual exploitation;
- Economic policies of international lending organizations that mandate structural adjustments in developing regions of the world forcing countries to cut back on social services and employment, thus driving more and more women to seek income abroad;
- Predatory recruiters who take advantage of this poverty to recruit women into the sex industry;
- Repressive immigration policies that cast traffickers in the role of major international players who facilitate global migration;
- Military presence which generates sex industries in many parts of the world that are tolerated by governments, including our own, as rest and recreation venues for the troops;
- Racial myths and stereotypes that promote sexual exploitation, for example, in tourism brochures and on the Internet, advertising "exotic women for sexual pleasures" abroad.
- Globalization of the economy which means globalization of the sex industry, as it becomes an industry without borders. Large and small scale trafficking networks operate across borders, actively recruiting girls and women, especially from villages, city streets, and transportation centers. Hotels, airlines, and charter companies, often with direct and indirect government collusion and corruption, are involved in the trafficking of women for, for example, sex tourism.

SEX TRAFFICKING IS PROSTITUTION

Trafficking depends upon *globalization of the sex industry*. Globalization of the sex industry means that countries are under an illusion if they think they can address trafficking without addressing prostitution. Yet, in many forums, we hear governments repeating the message that we must not talk about prostitution -- only trafficking.

All of these structural factors that I have cited above are responsible for the increase in sex trafficking worldwide. *But* what many anti-trafficking advocates don't want to address is the role of *State-sponsored prostitution* and its role in promoting sex trafficking worldwide.

We believe that State-sponsored prostitution is a root cause of sex trafficking. We call legalized or regulated prostitution *State-sponsored prostitution* because although systems vary, the common element is that the system of prostitution itself becomes sanctioned by the State. The term *State-sponsored prostitution* signals that in any of these systems that recognize the sex industry as a legitimate enterprise, the State effectively becomes another pimp, living off the earnings of women in prostitution. *State-sponsored prostitution* is a provocative term, especially in these days when the term is used in the context of state-sponsored terrorism. And it is meant to be provocative. State-sponsored prostitution is a form of state-sponsored *sexual* terrorism posing as sexual and economic freedom for women.

There is a fundamental connection between legal recognition of prostitution industries and the increase in victims of sex trafficking. Nowhere do we see this relationship more clearly than in countries advocating prostitution as an employment choice, or who foster the legalization of prostitution, or who support the decriminalization of the sex industry. Such countries promote sex trafficking by institutionalizing prostitution as lawful work, and by legally transforming pimps and traffickers into sex industry entrepreneurs, brothels into acceptable businesses and entertainment centers, and prostitution customers into legitimate sexual consumers.

One argument for legalizing prostitution in the Netherlands was that legalization would help end the use of desperate immigrant women trafficked for prostitution. A report done for the governmental Budapest Group stated that 80% of the women in the brothels in the Netherlands are trafficked from other countries. As early as 1994, the International Organization of Migration (IOM) stated that in the Netherlands alone, "nearly 70 per cent of trafficked women were from CEEC [Central and Eastern European Countries]".

Another argument for legalizing prostitution in the Netherlands was that it would help end child prostitution. In reality, however, child prostitution in the Netherlands has increased dramatically during the 1990s. The Amsterdam-based ChildRight organization estimates that the number has gone from 4,000 children in 1996 to 15,000 in 2001. The group estimates that at least 5,000 of the children in prostitution are from other countries, with a large segment being Nigerian girls.

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, we do not have legalized prostitution, except in several counties in Nevada. But in many states, prostitution is tolerated as if in fact it were legal. To be more specific, it is the sex industry that is tolerated under the headings of sex tourism agencies, massage parlors, sex clubs, escort agencies and lap dancing venues, all which are effectively locations for prostitution activities. The sex industry has become adept at calling prostitution and brothels anything else than what they are -- centers of sexual exploitation. And it is, of course, in these venues where one finds the highest numbers of women who have been trafficked from abroad.

For example, in our report on sex trafficking in the United States, we found that sex clubs and massage parlors around some military bases in the United States are populated with inordinate numbers of Asian women especially. Although these venues are officially off limits to servicemen, the regulation is not enforced and the prostitution establishments are filled with military men that replicate the sexual R&R areas that proliferate near U.S. military bases, for example, in Korea and Okinawa.

There has been little effort to arrest, charge and prosecute traffickers, pimps and other procurers of women in these venues. And there has been even less effort to arrest, charge and prosecute those men who create the demand that fosters all forms of sexual exploitation that lead to trafficking. Unfortunately, it is the victims who are most often arrested, charged and sometimes prosecuted as if they are the exploiters and the criminals. We must address the demand.

The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women commends the efforts of Director John Miller of the Trafficking in Persons Office at the State Department. He has provided much-needed leadership in this position. But both he and we know that much more needs to be done.

Each year, the United States is mandated under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act to provide a report on countries' efforts to combat trafficking in persons. Unfortunately, there are countries such as the Netherlands and Germany, who are ranked in Tier 1, the topmost category. These two countries have legalized or decriminalized prostitution industries. NGOs have asked that these countries should not be ranked in Tier 1 because their policies on prostitution encourage sex trafficking.

The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women recommends that no country legalizing prostitution should be in Tier 1. Rather, it should be noted that these countries have legalized brothels and pimping that contribute to "significant numbers" of women being trafficked into these countries for sexual exploitation.

At the very least, the TIP report should note that countries that have established legal regimes in which prostitution is allowed to flourish have exorbitantly high numbers of women who have been trafficked. In the language of the Trafficking in Persons Protection Act (TVPA), governments cannot "prohibit trafficking and punish acts of

trafficking," as well as make "serious and sustained efforts to eliminate trafficking," as the TVPA Act requires, by legalizing prostitution.

The National Security Presidential Directove (NSPD) on Combating Trafficking in Persons, signed in December, 2002, states that "prostitution and related activities are inherently harmful and dehumanizing, identifying these activities as contributing to the phenomenon of trafficking, and opposing the regulation of prostitution as a legitimate form of work for any human being." The policy directs all agencies to review matters including training, personnel and grantmaking to accommodate the provisions of this Directive.

We applaud this policy but caution that any policy is only as good as its implementation. One problem is that U.S. NGOs supporting prostitution as work, and decriminalization of the sex industry, are still being funded. For example, the Freedom Network, organized by the International Human Rights Law Group and CAST, has received a DOJ grant which began in April, 2003, to conduct nationwide trainings and mentoring activities over a 3-year period for law enforcement, government agencies and NGOs. There are, of course, some NGOs in this network who do not support prostitution as an employment choice but this is not the issue. The central problem is that this anti-trafficking network is organized and led by well-known, pro-"sex work" advocates. CAST, through the Little Tokyo Service Center, has received almost $2 million in grants from the Office of Victims of Crime and the Office of Refugee Resettlement.

Meanwhile, NGOs that we work with have submitted grant proposals for prevention of trafficking and assistance to trafficking victims, most of which have not yet been funded.

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Today, I could have spent my time giving you more of a general overview of the problem of sex trafficking. We have reached a point, in anti-trafficking work where we are facing a public policy crisis over the legalization of prostitution worldwide. If the United States is to realize its goals of combating trafficking, we must do more than rhetorically address prostitution and its relationship to trafficking. And government must be willing to put its money where its mouth is.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Dr. Raymond.

Mr. Johnson, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON. On behalf of Save the Children, I would like to thank the committee here today for the opportunity to speak about the global situation of children caught up in human trafficking and slavery. In my presentation today, I would like to focus on children trafficking to the sex trade and those children caught up in cycles of slavery throughout the world.

You have heard from Mr. Miller about the stories of Sasha, Lured, and Sema, and I would like to talk to you about a story of my own.

There was a young girl who I met 3 or 4 years ago. Her name was Sumi. She was a girl like any other at the age of 11, who had hopes and desires to be something some day, to be someone some day. But her circumstances were very different.

She was born into a brothel village, and the brothel village was near hundreds of tiny sheds, in which women were kept more or less enslaved by the pimps and the brothel owners who serviced over 15 to 20 clients per day.

Sumi, herself, was actually housed in the same apartment, the same small shed, in which her mother had to service her clients. So life was very difficult for her. So unlike the other stories that you see that the bondage, the slavery is generational; her mother and then Sumi.

What was happening with the children is that while their mothers were being forced to work, they were out drinking, taking drugs, and then unfortunately, when the girls reached the age of 14, they would then take on the roles that their mothers had taken on, and would become enslaved with the same pimps. The people who were exploiting their mothers would then become their own.

We learned of her plight and were able to establish a safe house for Sumi and 30 other children who were in this brothel village. We were able to go to the community, to go to the local schools, to ensure that she actually got the education to which she was denied through stigmatization and discrimination.

Today, and I just checked the other day, she had told me 3 years ago that she wanted to be a journalist. She is top in her class right now, and today she still wants to be a journalist. So there are effective things that both Government and non-Government organizations can do to stop the cycle.

You have already heard about the figures today, so I will not go into those. But to give you some background about the families and the situations that lead children to be trafficked, most trafficked children obviously come from poor families in economically disadvantaged countries of widespread poverty, where combinations of poverty, unemployment, armed violence, ethnic and racial conflicts, environmental degradation, abuse of power and corruption exist.

Though boys are known to be trafficked for sexual purposes, as in general prostitution, adolescent girls represent the most significant numbers of victims. In many countries, girls' vulnerability to trafficking is due to their low status in their community.

Save the Children's research displays a great variety of the ways in which traffickers operate and the conditions under which children are sexually exploited. Children are trafficked through decep-

tion, abduction, through their own choice and, in some cases, as we heard earlier today, through their care-givers selling them off.

One example of our research was in Albania, and a typical form of deception is through the false offer of marriage from a trafficker. Funding from the Save the Children repatriation work with returning trafficking victims in Romania suggests that traffickers particularly target young girls, inexperienced girls, as they are regarded as the most easily manipulated.

We very much welcome the steps taken by the U.S. Government to treat children who have been trafficked victims rather than offenders. Unfortunately, this approach is rare in most parts of the world. Ultimately, if detected by legal authorities, children are frequently treated as offenders rather than victims, and run the risk of arrest and deportation.

I would now like to end quickly with some short recommendations. Certainly, the overall recommendation, as we have heard from the other speakers today is that child sexual slavery and trafficking must be explicitly addressed in poverty eradication efforts and macroeconomic policymaking.

In international development corporations, as well as national budget allocations, a high priority shall be accorded to the prevention of child sexual exploitation; further, to increase the development of and further commitment to the funding of exit and rehabilitation programs for children exploited and trafficked for sexual purposes.

We have heard about the lead that the U.S. Government has taken, and we once again support that to ensure that child victims of trafficking shall be offered support, temporary residential permits, and safe conditions for giving testimony in countries of destination.

We also support the U.S. Government's continued role to ensure that countries enact legislation to ensure that their citizens, as well as temporary permanent residents, are able to be prosecuted for sexual offenses against children under 18.

Second, children have the right to influence and participate in the development of solutions to problems related to sexual exploitation and abuse. Very often, they are one of the greatest sources to find out what the problems are and also what the solutions may be.

Finally, the continual research and investigation on child exploitation and trafficking should be conducted in order to establish data bases which enable specific interventions.

I would just like to end finally on a letter that Sumi had written to the village which she read some 2 years ago. She stated, "I have written an open letter to you. I would like to read this letter to you. I hope that you will listen the letter. We are all children. We all have our rights. We also want to live as good citizens. We want to live with other members of society.

"I have a request to you that we also want your corporation, so that we can live like other children. My mother is a prostitute. I hate prostitution, but I love my mother. I do not want to be a prostitute. I want to grow as a big personality doing my study. Therefore, I appeal to all of you for your sincere cooperation."

On behalf of Sumi and Save the Children, I would like to thank this committee, again, for your interest and commitment to stopping sexual trafficking and slavery.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Johnson follows:]

Testimony before the US House of Representatives
Committee on Government Reform
Subcommittee on Wellness and Human Rights

"The Ongoing Tragedy of International Slavery and Human Trafficking: An Overview"

Testimony of Andrew Johnson, U.N. Office Director
Save the Children

October 29, 2003

On behalf of Save the Children, I would like to thank the House Government Reform Committee, Subcommittee on Wellness and Human Rights for the opportunity to speak to you today about the global situation of children caught up in human trafficking and slavery. In my presentation I will focus on those children trafficked into the sex trade and those children caught up in cycles of sexual slavery throughout the world.

First, I would like to tell you about the story of an inspirational girl I meet some years ago in Bangladesh. Sumi was 11 years old. She is a bright and intelligent and like many young girls her age, she has many hopes and dreams for herself. However, this is where the similarities end. Unlike other children, Sumi was raised in a brothel. She was bonded through poverty and circumstance to a life in the brothels, like all the other children born there. Located on the banks of the Padma River, Sumi resided in the Goulando Brothel with her 5-year-old brother and their mother, a brothel worker. The workers at the Brothel had no mean of escape and were bonded to their pimps.

Life in the brothel was very difficult for Sumi. Many children living in Goulando shared a tiny, congested room with their mothers. Having nowhere to go to play, children could not escape their rooms when their mother was with a customer. These conditions led many children around Sumi to fall prey to alcohol and drug addictions. Sumi felt trapped. Children from the brothels were not allowed to attend the community schools, and Sumi could not envision a positive future for herself.

Save the Children learned of the plight of these children and is now working to give them hope beyond the gates of Goulando village. Save the Children established a Safe Home that now houses 25 daughters of sex workers. The Safe Home assists in breaking the cycle of girl children who grow up in an unhealthy and dangerous environment, that eventually leads them to the trade of their mothers.

Through this initiative, Sumi was rescued and currently lives in the Safe Home, where she regularly attends classes and receives religious education. Most importantly, Sumi still maintains weekly contact with her brother and her mother, who still live in the brothel.

Unfortunately, Sumi is representative of millions of children who suffer from trafficking, sexual salvary and sexual exploitation. In fact Congress has estimated that between 800,000 – 900,000 people are trafficked each year worldwide -- 20,000 of these into the United States. The United Nations estimates that, in the last 30 years, trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation in Asia alone has victimized more than 30 million people.

In international legislation, the term "trafficking" refers to criminal acts by third parties through which persons are transferred from one place to another within or across borders for the purpose of exploiting them. From the legal point of view, it is irrelevant whether a child under 18 has given informed consent to such acts and subsequent exploitation. In

practice, however, trafficking is facilitated by the fact that it does not necessarily require, or only partly requires, means of force and deception.

Most trafficked children come from poor families in economically disadvantaged countries of widespread poverty or where combinations of poverty, unemployment, armed violence, ethnic and racial conflicts, environmental degradation, abuse of power and corruption exist. Though boys are known to be trafficked for sexual purposes, as in general prostitution, adolescent girls represent a more significant group of victims. In many countries, girls' vulnerability to trafficking is also due to their low status in the community. Some children come from families that have become unable to provide care and protection because of divorce, drug abuse, domestic violence and the impoverishment of single parents. In some cases, children have become street children before being trafficked. Children in many of the Central and Eastern European countries have suffered abuse and neglect in under-resourced institutions. Children who have lost, or been separated from their families due to armed conflicts and persecution are similarly at risk of trafficking. Girls may already be engaged in prostitution and/or young single mothers under pressure to support their own children.

Save the Children's research displays a great variety as to the ways in which traffickers operate and the conditions under which children are sexually exploited. Children are trafficked through deception, abduction, through their own choice and in some cases they are knowingly sold by parents, relatives or other carers. For example, as indicated by reports from Nigeria and China, girls and their parents have contracted huge debts to the traffickers or paid them cash in advance to bring the girl to Europe on the understanding that she will make lots of money in non-exploitative occupations. In some countries, e.g. Albania, a typical form of deception is through a false offer of marriage from a trafficker. Findings from Save the Children's repatriation work with returning trafficking victims in Romania suggest that traffickers particularly target young and inexperienced girls since they are regarded as more easily manipulated. Thus children and their caretakers can indeed be ignorant of the future exploitation.

The pressure, insecurity and powerlessness experienced by trafficked children in prostitution is extraordinary, especially by those forced to be prostitutes in other countries than their own. Research undertaken by Save the Children in the brothel districts of Bangladesh shows that those girls who have been sold or traded and forced to enter prostitution are ranked very low and enjoy few rights within the internal hierarchy of that particular community.

In most parts of the world, children are separated from family, country and culture. They are many times ignorant of the language, usually illegally resident in the country of destination, deprived of identity documents and cut off from the surrounding society. Trafficked children are at the mercy of their exploiters. They may have little contact with people outside the world of prostitution, be afraid to ask for help and fear the police. They are subject to violence, rape, injury, sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies with little or no access to healthcare and contraception. Pimps may threaten to hurt or kill them or their relatives should they attempt to escape and return home.

We very much welcome the steps that the Government has taken to treat children who have been trafficked for sexual purposes as victims rather than offenders. Unfortunately this approach is rare in most part of the world. Ultimately, if detected by the legal authorities, children are frequently treated as offenders rather than victims and run the risk of arrest and deportation. For those who became trafficked due to severe abuse in the first place, e.g. children sold by their parents, there may be no social safety nets to return to and they are trapped in an extremely desperate situation.

Trafficked, sexually exploited children who have returned to their country of origin have often faced extreme difficulties. Some have suffered condemnation by their families and the community and discrimination by public institutions. In some cases, headmasters have denied them access to schools and the local police have fined them for migration law offences. Those children who have managed to hide their true experiences from family and friends due to shame and guilt are of course often in a desperate need to talk to a person they can trust. Repatriation support must be a long-term commitment by national and local governments in the country of origin as well as by governments in the countries of transit/destination.

Recommendations:

- **Prevention shall address root causes at all levels**

Child sexual slavery and trafficking must be explicitly addressed in poverty eradication efforts and macroeconomic policy-making. In international development cooperation as well as in national budget allocations, high priority shall be accorded to the prevention of child sexual exploitation. Educational and economic opportunities must be created for groups of particular vulnerability such as women in poverty and ethnic minorities. A focus on child sexual exploitation shall be incorporated into the prevention of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, armed conflict and consequences of ecological and natural disasters. Appropriate means to deal with gender imbalance and issues of male and female sexuality must be developed to

- **Increase the development of and further commitment to the funding of exit and rehabilitation programs for children exploited and trafficked for sexual purposes**

- **Call upon and assit other govenments to ensure that child victims of trafficking shall be offered support, temporary residential permits and safe conditions for giving testimony in the country of destination.**

Children who have been trafficked and sexually exploited are in an extremely vulnerable position, especially when illegally residing without documentation in other countries than their own. They may have been abused and/or neglected prior to being trafficked and lack social safety nets to return to. These children should receive psychosocial, medical, legal and economic support and be given an opportunity to testify against traffickers and exploiters under safe conditions in order to enable prosecution. The situation they are

likely to face if sent back to their home country and facilities for repatriation must be thoroughly investigated before their future residency is settled. Due consideration should be given to the best interest of the child in this regard.

- **All offences of sexual exploitation committed abroad should be capable of prosecution**

The United States government should take the lead internationally to ensure that countries enact legislation to ensure that their citizens as well as temporary and permanent residents are capable of prosecution for sexual offences against children under 18 committed in other countries without restrictions that render such legislation and law enforcement inefficient in practice.

- **Children have the right to influence and participate in the development of solutions to problems related to sexual exploitation and abuse**

  Children should systematically be listened to in matters that concern them. Law enforcement and judicial practice must be adapted to children's particular needs and conditions. Children of vulnerable groups and experiential children and youth should be given the opportunity to play a central role in the creation, design, development and delivery of programs to stop trafficking.

- **Continuous research and investigation on child sexual exploitation shall be conducted in order to establish data bases which enable efficient interventions**

In order to elaborate efficient action plans, systematic and coherent collection of data on victims and offenders of sexual exploitation shall be undertaken at both national and regional levels. It is equally important to develop a thorough analysis of root causes and interrelations between child sexual exploitation and other problems with regard to both demand and supply aspects on which to base appropriate interventions.

In a letter that Sumi read to her village, she asked the following:

.....I have written an open letter to you. I like to read out this letter to you. I hope that you will listen to my letter with patience and attention.

We are all children. We have our rights. We also want to live as good citizens, we also want to live with other members of the society. I have a request to you that we also want your co-operation so that we can live like other children of the society. My mother is a prostitute. I hate prostitution. But I love my mother. I don't want to be a prostitute. I want to grow as a big personality by doing my study.

.....Save the Children do not have full capacity to provide all of us with full fledged accommodation and life. Therefore I appeal to you all for your sincere co-operation

On behalf of Sumi, I thank this committee, again for your interest and commitment to stopping child trafficking and slavery.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you very much, Mr. Johnson.

Ms. Cohn.

Ms. COHN. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, Mr. Smith, we are so grateful for your participation in your holding this hearing on the ongoing tragedy of international slavery and human trafficking.

My name is Sharon Cohn, and I serve as senior counsel and the director of the Anti-Trafficking Operations for International Justice Mission. We believe that modern-day slavery is fatally vulnerable to the vigilant efforts of the U.S. Government and the international community to crush this trade.

As Congressman Smith just said, this is a winnable war. I am grateful to the committee for the opportunity to share a little of what IJM has learned through its field experience around the world.

IJM deploys criminal investigators around the world to infiltrate brothels and to use surveillance technology to document where the victims are being held, identify secure police contacts who will conduct raids with us to release the victims and arrest the perpetrators. We then coordinate the referral of these victims to appropriate after-care and support and monitor the prosecutions.

IJM investigators also infiltrate industries that bond children into slavery and work with local authorities throughout Asia to break those bonds and prosecute the offenders.

We have spend literally thousands of hours infiltrating the sex trafficking industry and working with Government authorities around the world to bring effective rescue to the victims and accountability to the perpetrators. Through this, I think we have gained some valuable insight into the nature of the crime, and also into its weaknesses. Due to the time constraints, I will limit my comments to sex trafficking.

Mr. Chairman, you have stated the statistics that testify to the magnitude of this tragedy. The research has shown that trafficking is the third largest source of profits for organized crime after guns and drugs.

How does it thrive so unhindered? Well, our experience has shown us that sex trafficking thrives because it is permitted, encouraged, tolerated, and profited by local law enforcement in countries around the world.

In cities around the world, millions of women and girls are trafficked and offered to customers in the brothels. Every day, millions of customers are able to find these girls.

It does no good at all for the brothel keepers to keep these girls hidden. In fact, to make money on their investment, they must hold these girls open to the public every day, continuously, over a long period of time. Obviously, therefore, the customers can find these victims whenever they want, and so can the police.

How, therefore, do you possibly get away with running a sex trafficking enterprise? You do this only if it is permitted by local law enforcement. Generally, this is facilitated by bringing the police into the business, sharing the profits with them in exchange for protection, and violating the laws that are present in those countries every day.

The truth is most tragically demonstrated through the lives of the victims that we have come to know and have had the privilege to assist in rescuing.

I wanted to take a few minutes to tell you about a friend of mine, Simla, who was trafficked in Southeast Asia when she was 11½ years old. But since you have heard so many stories about the tragedies that befall these victims, let me say just this point.

After being subjected to beatings and sexual assaults for 2½ years, I want to tell you about the worst beating that she ever received.

The worst beating that she ever received, the one that made it difficult for her to walk, was a beating she received after a police officer complained that she did not smile after she was forced to have sex with him, and thus offended his ego, and the brothel keeper beat her within an inch of her life.

This police officer would come to the brothel regularly to receive his payment in kind; and Simla and her friends in the brothel confirmed to us that other officers regularly visited the brothel and abused the girls.

When we went to raid this particular brothel, there was a tip-off by local law enforcement and the girls were loaded into the back of a flat-bed truck and driven away. Ultimately, we were able to find the girls and Simla is now in good after-care, being provided for.

Just 2 weeks ago, Mr. Chairman, I interviewed a victim who escaped from a brothel several weeks ago. She told me the story that before she escaped, two other girls had escaped from the brothel, where there were 100 girls and 30 minors.

Two girls had escaped from the brothel, and the brothel keeper picked up the phone and called the police. He called the police and said that he wanted his property returned. Two hours later, those two victims were returned to the brothel, bound by rope, and beaten by the police in uniform.

They pulled up in a police car and were brought to the brothel, where the brothel keeper put the other girls inside another room and shot those two victims dead. This is the complicity of local law enforcement that IJM has found in its work.

Stories like this are repeated throughout the world where local law enforcement do the bidding of traffickers and brothel keepers. The fact is, without police protection, the brothel keeper simply cannot succeed; and with it, he cannot fail.

Once the police switch sides, the brothel keeper is fatally vulnerable and effective law enforcement can provide rescue and secure arrests. Until they do, it is the girls that are fatally vulnerable.

But in the end, it is this vulnerability of the brothel keepers that is exceptionally good news; because it means that sex trafficking is a disaster that can be prevented and that can be stopped.

We saw just a glimpse of this when we were in Cambodia over the last several years. We did a 3-year investigation that ultimately found that there were at least 45 girls under the age of 14 that were being trafficked and sold every day to pedophiles, including American pedophiles, that would travel to Cambodia.

Mr. Chairman, it was because of the courageous leadership of Ambassador Charles Ray in Cambodia, and his insistence that the

Cambodian Government work with IJM, that we were able to rescue 37 young girls and arrest some of the perpetrators.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to say that on October 15th, thanks to the work of the U.S. Embassy and good law enforcement, we were able to see the conviction of six traffickers and brothel keepers in Cambodia who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment from 5 to 15 years.

I should say that in the courtroom, Mr. Chairman, there was half the brothel community that showed up for the trial to see whether, in fact, anybody ever gets in trouble for selling small children, the youngest of whom was 5.

I can say that the conviction resulted in the brothel community looking upon their colleagues and seeing that they were sentenced to terms of imprisonment and that, in fact, the English, French, and continental newspapers published on the first page the next day that, in fact, people do go to jail for trafficking small children in Cambodia.

So I want to thank this subcommittee for holding this hearing, but also commend the State Department's Trafficking In Persons department, under the leadership of Congressman Miller, that has just done a fantastic job in communicating to our embassies overseas that it is the policy of this Government, this Congress, and this administration, that it will not tolerate sex trafficking among any of the allies that we work with; and that, in fact, there are consequences for failure to act.

I would encourage this subcommittee to continue to provide not only encouragement to the State Department and to the countries that it meets with; but also to provide the necessary resources to provide effective capacity building for those governments in law enforcement that are willing to, in fact, effectively combat trafficking.

Thank you for your time, and I am available for questions.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Cohn follows:]

Oral Remarks

of

Sharon B. Cohn
Director of Anti-Trafficking Operations, International Justice Mission

Before

The Subcommittee on Wellness and Human Rights
Committee on Government Reform
United States House of Representatives

October 29, 2003

Oral Remarks of Sharon B. Cohn
Director of Anti-Trafficking Operations, International Justice Mission
Before
The Subcommittee on Wellness and Human Rights
Committee on Government Reform
United States House of Representatives
October 29, 2003

Thank you, Mr. Chairman for convening this important hearing on the Ongoing Tragedy of International Slavery and Human Trafficking. My name is Sharon Cohn and I serve as Senior Counsel and Director of Anti-Trafficking Operations for International Justice Mission. We believe that modern day slavery is fatally vulnerable to the vigilant efforts of the U.S. Government and the international community to crush this trade.

I am grateful to the Committee for the opportunity to share a little of what IJM has learned through its field experience around the world. IJM deploys criminal investigators around the world to infiltrate the brothels, use surveillance technology to document where the victims are being held, and then identify secure police contacts who will conduct raids with us to release the victims and arrest the perpetrators. We then coordinate the referral of these victims to appropriate aftercare, and support and monitor the prosecutions. IJM investigators also infiltrate industries that bond children into slavery to work with local authorities in Asia to break those bonds and prosecute the offenders.

IJM investigators have spent literally thousands of hours infiltrating the sex trafficking industry and working with government authorities around the world to bring effective rescue to the victims and accountability to the perpetrators. Through this, I think we have gained some valuable insight as to the nature of the crime and its weakness. Due to time constraints I will limit my remarks to sex trafficking.

You have the heard the statistics that testify to the magnitude of the tragedy. Research has shown that trafficking is the third largest source of profits for organized crime after guns and drugs, generating billions of dollars annually. How does it thrive so unhindered? Our experience has taught us this: sex trafficking thrives because it is tolerated by local law enforcement in countries around the world. In cities throughout the world, millions of women and girls are trafficked and offered to customers in brothels. Every day millions of customers are able to find these girls. It does no good at all for the brothel keepers and pimps to hide their victims. In fact, to make money on their investment, the pimps and brothel keepers must make their victims openly available to the customer public – and not just once, but continuously, and over a long period of time. Obviously, therefore, if the customers can find the victims of sex trafficking whenever they want, so can the police. How, therefore, do you possibly get away with running a sex trafficking enterprise? You do so only if permitted by local law enforcement. Generally, this is facilitated by bringing the police into the business and sharing the profits with them in exchange for protection against the enforcement of the laws that are openly and continuously violated every single day the business is in operation.

This truth is most tragically demonstrated through the lives of the little ones we are privileged to assist in rescuing. A friend of mine, Simla, was raised in a village off a main road to a small city in Asia. When she was 14, a woman in her village sold her to a trafficker. Simla was told she would be working in a noodle shop. When the trafficker brought her to the city, she was sold to a brothel and told that she would have to have sex with customers in order to pay off her debt – a debt that she acquired against her will when the brothel keeper paid the trafficker.

For two and a half years, Simla was subjected to sexual assaults, multiple times a day. She was beaten when she cried, beaten when she was sleepy, beaten when she said she wanted to go home. But the

worst beating Simla received, the one that made it difficult for her to walk, was the beating she received the day after a police officer complained that Simla didn't smile after he finished raping her. He would come to the brothel regularly to receive his payment for providing protection for the brothel and sometimes he would rape the girls instead of receiving a cash payment. Simla's friends in the brothel, also children, confirmed that other officers regularly visited the brothel and abused the girls.

IJM investigators identified Simla and others in the brothel as minors and brought our evidence to the attention of the local police. On the night of the raid, a member of the police called the brothel to warn her. The brothel was empty of children by the time it was raided. As the children told us later, they were loaded onto the back of a flat bed truck, covered with a blanket and taken across town. Ultimately, senior police officials communicated down the chain of command that the children must be found and released. Simla and her friends were rescued by the authorities several days later.

And just two weeks ago, I interviewed a victim who escaped a brothel where 100 girls, including 30 minors where held captive by their brothel keepers. She told me that a couple of months ago two girls escaped. The brothel keeper phoned the police and two hours later the two girls were returned in a police car by two uniformed officers, bound by rope and beaten. They were subsequently shot and killed by the brothel keeper as a warning to the girls who remained in slavery.

Stories like Simla's are repeated throughout the world where local law enforcement does the bidding of the traffickers and brothel keepers. Without police protection, the brothel keeper could not succeed, and with it, he cannot fail. Once the police switch sides, the brothel is fatally vulnerable and effective law enforcement can provide rescue and secure arrests. Until they do, it is the girls that are fatally vulnerable.

In the end, traffickers only care about two government actions: Is the government seriously threatening to actually send me to jail for doing this? And is the government seriously threatening to remove the police protection that I have paid for?

And this vulnerability is exceptionally good news. Because, it means that sex trafficking is a disaster that can be prevented and that can be stopped. We saw just a glimpse of that in Cambodia where over the last three years we have heard about and investigated the sale of tiny children to sexual exploitation by pedophiles. Our investigation confirmed the open sale of minors as young as five years old. A man need only to walk into the brothel community for within five minutes in the middle of the day a pimp would offer him "small small" and take him into a brothel where a dozen pre-pubescent children would be auctioned for sale. Web sites touted this place as a haven for sex tourists. With the leadership of the U.S. Embassy under Ambassador Charles Ray in Cambodia, we were able to work with Cambodian authorities to rescue 37 victims, about 10 of whom were under 10 and secure the arrest of several of the individuals who trafficked and profited from the torture of these children.

IJM had the privilege of providing testimony and videotaped evidence at the trial. (I would be happy to show the subcommittee the video evidence but was unable to show it publicly to protect the privacy of the victims.) Half the brothel community came to the trial to see whether someone was really going to get in trouble for selling the little ones. And on October 15, a Cambodian judge sentenced 6 defendants to sentences of imprisonment ranging from 5 to 15 years for violations of Cambodia's law against trafficking. The brothel community watched their colleagues get sentenced and the English, French and Khmer newspaper displayed on the their front pages that there was in fact accountability for the sexual exploitation of children. And this means, most importantly, that not only were the 37 rescued, but that others who would have fallen prey to these traffickers or to others of like-mind will be

spared the torture because word will spread through Cambodia that you go to jail for buying and selling children.

The State Department's TIP office plays a vital role in conveying the seriousness with which the U.S. Government views human trafficking and the expectation that foreign governments will relentlessly combat this trade. This is transmitted under Cong Miller's courageous leadership not only through objective assessing countries' anti-trafficking activities in the TIP Report but in providing the necessary resources to government and non-government agencies to combat this trade.

We believe that it is vital that U.S. embassies be on the front lines of communicating the priorities of the U.S. Government to generate political will and to provide the resources necessary to effectively crush the trade. The rescue of the children in Cambodia and the subsequent prosecution and conviction of the traffickers would not have been possible without the encouragement, participation and monitoring of the U.S. Embassy through Ambassador Ray. Such active participation by U.S. embassies around the globe would save literally thousands of children from victimization.

Thank you again for calling this hearing and inviting us to participate.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Ms. Cohn. We will have some questions for you in just a minute.

Dr. Mattar.

Mr. MATTAR. Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the subcommittee, I am really privileged to speak to you today on the role of Government in combating the problem of trafficking in persons.

First of all, let me point out that the basic duty of all states is to ensure the fundamental human rights of all citizens. The universal declaration of human rights states that no one shall be held in slavery or servitude, and that slavery and slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

However, our presence at this hearing today indicates that trafficking in persons is indeed an ongoing tragedy, and that the work has not yet done enough to protect the human rights of victims of trafficking.

There have been some efforts made by governments to shift the focus from treating the traffic person as a criminal to recognizing such person as a victim. Unfortunately, many countries today still do not respect the human rights of victims of trafficking, charging them with immigration violations; detaining them in prisons; and deporting them.

Governments have the responsibility to identify victims of trafficking and assist them to come forward without fear of punishment. I think the real challenge for us here in the United States, and for many other countries, is to reach victims of trafficking.

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act, for instance, provides for 5,000 visas for victims of trafficking. Unfortunately, very few victims have applied for these visas. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services has put in place successful programs of assistance to victims of trafficking, but I believe that we need a specific program identifying victims of trafficking around the country.

Governments have also the responsibility to address the contributing factors to the trafficking infrastructure. Governments must enact economic reforms, addressing the special vulnerability of women and children. Here, I would like to urge the USAID to expand its program to address the specific problem of vulnerability, especially of women and children to trafficking.

Furthermore, governments have the responsibility to enact legislation to recognize all forms of sexual exploitation as a crime, including the trafficking for the purpose of prostitution, pornography, mail order brides, and sex tourism.

President Bush, in his speech to the United Nations on September 26, 2003, referring to the sex tourism industry, called upon governments to inform travelers of the harm this industry does.

I urge Members of the House to pass H.R. 2620, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003, and I want to commend Congressman Chris Smith for his excellent work that requires airlines to develop and disseminate information, alerting travelers that sex tourism is a crime.

Governments have the responsibility to punish all participants involved in the trafficking scheme, including the customer and the facilitators; especially public officials who are corrupt. Unfortu-

nately, few legal systems penalize the customer, and very few countries are willing to prosecute corrupt public officials.

I urge the U.S. Department of State Office to Monitor Trafficking in Persons to take into account the link between demand in trafficking and scathing of government efforts in the annual Trafficking in Persons Report.

Governments have also the responsibility to enforce laws by prosecuting cases of trafficking. To date, in many parts of the world, the rates of prosecution are rather low, very low. I urge the Department of Justice to expand its training programs on prosecuting cases of trafficking to each of the countries where the rates of prosecution are still very low, while the problem of trafficking is growing.

However, it is important to reform not only the law, but also what I call the functional equivalent of the law. By that, I mean the customers, the traditions, the behavior. Countries that tolerate or accommodate or normalize prostitution should review their policies and inquire into whether such tolerance, accommodation, and normalization may contribute to rising numbers of victims of trafficking.

Governments have also the responsibility to cooperate with NGO's, allowing them the freedom to work, and consult with them in taking the necessary measures to combat trafficking. Unfortunately, in many countries around the world, NGO's are not allowed the freedom to function at all. I would like to see the United States playing a more active role in promoting human rights, especially in these countries.

In conclusion, I would like to report to you today that the United Nations protocol to prevent, suppress, and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, will become international law this December 2003.

We needed under Article 17, 40 instruments of ratification for the protocol to enter into force. On September 26, 2003, we reached our goal. Countries that defied the protocol must now comply with its mandates.

I would urge the United States to rectify the protocol. We have created international consensus as to the recognition of trafficking in persons as a human rights violation. It is now time to take serious, effective, and comprehensive measures to eliminate the ongoing tragedy of international slavery and human trafficking.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Mattar follows:]

Statement of Mohamed Y. Mattar, S.J.D.

Co-Director, The Protection Project at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Committee on Government Reform
Subcommittee on Human Rights and Wellness

October 29, 2003

The Role of the Government in Combating Trafficking in Persons - A Global Human Rights Approach

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Subcommittee, I am privileged to speak to you today on the global problem of trafficking in persons as a human rights violation and the role of governments in combating this problem.

I have prepared a written statement; however, my remarks will be a brief summary of that statement.

I have a number of issues, which I would like to address.

1. **Governments have the responsibility to respect the human rights of victims of trafficking in accordance with international conventional law.**

The Prohibition of Trafficking in Accordance with International Conventional Law. The basic duty of all states is to ensure the fundamental human rights of all citizens. Trafficking in persons is a grave human rights violation that constitutes a contemporary form of slavery, and international conventional law recognizes it as such.

Slavery and Trafficking in International Conventional Law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "no one shall be held in slavery or servitude" and that "slavery and slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms." Likewise, the 1956 Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery outlawed slavery practices including debt bondage, serfdom, bride price and exploitation of child labor. The 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others mandated that "through their public and private educational, health, social, economic and other related services, measures for the prevention of prostitution and for the rehabilitation and social adjustment of the victims of prostitution" [Article 16] should be taken by state parties. Further, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women explicitly prohibited "exploitation of prostitution of women" and "all forms of traffic in women" [Article 6], and the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child mandated that state parties must take all appropriate measures to prevent "the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form" [Article 35]. The 1999 Convention to Eliminate the

Worst Forms of Child Labour similarly prohibited "the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution..." [Article 3(c)]. The most recent international convention addressing slavery, the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, which went into effect July 1, 2003, provides that "No migrant worker or member of his or her family shall be held in slavery or servitude" and "No migrant worker or member of his or her family shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour." [Article 11(1)-(2)]. The International Criminal Court Statute, which became effective July 1, 2002, defines "enslavement" to mean "the exercise of any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over a person and includes the exercise of such power in the course of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children."

The 2000 United Nations (UN) Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. However, it was the 2000 UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children [hereinafter the Protocol], Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational International Crime that provided the first definition of trafficking in persons and stated that "exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs" [Article 3(a)]. The Protocol calls on state parties "to protect and assist the victims of such trafficking, with full respect for their human rights" [Article 2(b)].

Failure to Recognize the Trafficked Person as a Victim. However, our presence at this Hearing indicates that trafficking in persons as a form of slavery is indeed an "ongoing tragedy," and that the world has not yet done enough to provide the full protection of the human rights of victims of trafficking, as called upon by international law. There have been some efforts made by governments to shift the focus from treating the trafficked person as a criminal to recognizing such person as a victim. Unfortunately, many countries today still do not respect the human rights of victims of trafficking and instead treat them as criminals, charging them with immigration violations, detaining them in prisons, and deporting them.

Staggering Numbers of Transnational and Domestic Trafficking: Routes and Forms of Trafficking. Nor have we as a global community been able to effectively prevent trafficking. Today, in 2003, according to United States government estimates, between 800,000 and 900,000 people are trafficked annually, and this is just across international borders, with between 18,000 and 20,000 of these victims trafficked into the United States. Indicating the global nature of the crime of trafficking in persons, cases of trafficking into the United States include women and children who are trafficked from Honduras to Dallas and Ft. Worth, Texas; Latvia to Chicago; Mexico to Florida; Korea to Michigan; Japan to Hawaii; Cameroon to Maryland; Taiwan to Seattle; India to California; and Vietnam to Atlanta, Georgia. Importantly, the numbers cited above do not take into account the hundreds of thousands of women and children trafficked within their own countries, a staggering problem seen, for example, in many countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. For instance, there are reports that within the borders of Brazil alone, 100,000 women and children are estimated to be bought and sold every year. No country or region in the world is impervious to the problem, and all constitute either a country or region of origin, transit, or destination, and in many cases any combination of the three. As a whole, worldwide trafficking is estimated to be a $7 billion dollar annual business. Therefore, it is

evident that traffickers are still able to operate at relatively low risk, with high profits, and utter contempt for the lives of those who are caught up in the trafficking web as victims. The global community has yet to reverse the trend and return to the victims of this modern form of slavery the full extent of the human rights that have been taken away from them.

Forced Labor. Across the borders of the countries in West and Central Africa, for example, UNICEF estimates indicate that over 200,000 children are trafficked into conditions of slavery, some as young as 8 years old, working in domestic and other forms of labor. It is also reported that in Gabon alone between 5,000 to 6,000 children are enslaved. Many are beaten, and receive no pay for their labor. Thousands of women and girls from South and Southeast Asia are trafficked to Saudi Arabia and forced into domestic labor. In South Asia, the problem of debt bondage has been particularly prevalent in the countries of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal. According to estimates of various human rights NGOs, between 15 and 20 million people are enslaved within the bonded labor systems of those four countries. Many young women from Asia have also fallen victim to indentured servitude in the Northern Mariana Island of Saipan, a United States Commonwealth, working for 12 hour days, seven days a week, in unsanitary conditions, all for pay below the U.S. minimum wage standards, for many well known brand name manufacturers. You are probably aware of the recent decision of a U.S. Federal Judge to approve the settlement of sweatshop lawsuits filed in Saipan in 1999, establishing a $20 million fund to pay the 30,000 garment workers who are the plaintiffs in the lawsuit and who had been or still are working in such conditions.

Sexual Slavery. The expansion of sex industries in Southeast Asia is well known. UNICEF reports that between 244,000-325,000 women and children are in commercial sexual exploitation in Thailand. In Cambodia, no less than 55,000 women and children are working as sex slaves, 35% of whom are younger than 18 years of age. Thousands of women and girls are trafficked to the United Arab Emirates for sexual exploitation from the countries of Eastern Europe. And in Western Europe, it is reported that between tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of Eastern and Central European, African, Asian and Latin American women are trafficked into the sex trade to countries such as Germany and the Netherlands, Italy and Austria.

2. **Governments have the responsibility to address the contributing factors to the trafficking infrastructure so they prevent acts of trafficking.**

An International Obligation to Prevent Trafficking. A state has an international responsibility to prevent trafficking. The Protocol provides that "state parties shall establish comprehensive policies, programmes and other measures: (a) to prevent and combat trafficking in persons...." [Article 9(1)(a)]. These measures should include measures "to alleviate the factors that make persons, especially women and children, vulnerable to trafficking, such as poverty, underdevelopment and lack of equal opportunity." As a part of preventing trafficking, a state must also educate potential victims of trafficking as to the dangers of trafficking. It is my contention that any educational program warning about the dangers of trafficking should include also warning about the harm of prostitution itself. I would like to give members of the Subcommittee some examples of recent efforts to educate about the danger of trafficking and to prevent the acts of trafficking.

Awareness-Raising Campaign Conducted by an NGO in Moldova. For example, in Moldova, one of the most significant origin countries for the trafficking of women, the Center for the Prevention of Trafficking in Women (CPTW), a local NGO, uses a variety of media and training tools to educate the public in general, as well as to target the groups that are most at risk. It broadcasts radio programs, has created several TV documentaries, published newspaper articles, and trained youth volunteers across Moldova to conduct seminars with teenage youth, warning them not only about the dangers of trafficking, but also educating them about their rights under the law and how they can protect themselves against the possible violations of such rights. However, it is important that government themselves engage in similar efforts.

Awareness-Raising Campaign Conducted by the Government of Uzbekistan. Some governments have also taken steps to implement educational campaigns or to collaborate with NGOs in doing so. For example, on July 2, 2003, an Uzbek national TV station ran a twenty-minute documentary segment entitled "Dangerous Trade", which featured stories of six women trafficked to the United Arab Emirates for the purposes of prostitution and warned the public about the increasing danger of trafficking for Uzbekistan. The Ministry of Education has also allowed some anti-trafficking NGOs to give trafficking awareness lectures in public schools.

Monitoring Travel of Children as a Means of Preventing Child Trafficking by the Government of Burkina Faso. Burkina Faso, a country with a severe lack of resources, has nevertheless responded to the problem of child trafficking that exists in the country. Public concern about commercial sexual exploitation of children in Burkina Faso exists, and to prevent the trafficking of children, the government of Burkina Faso along with five other West African countries, Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, and Togo, announced the launching of a new common travel document, which went into effect in July 2002, aimed at fighting child trafficking in the region. Schoolchildren were asked by the authorities to suspend possible travel to Côte d'Ivoire, a major point of destination, until such time as the travel document went into effect. The new travel document is to contain the names of the adult accompanying the traveling child, as well as the adult who is to shelter the child at his or her destination.

Informing Domestic Servants about Their Rights in Destination Countries. In the Philippines, the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act provides for travel advisory and information dissemination, so that migrant workers can be aware of the dangers potentially involved in working in a foreign country, and prohibits the illegal recruitment of employees working in countries that do not fully protect the rights of migrant workers.

Restrictions on Travel of Single Women to Countries of the Middle East. The trafficking of women for domestic service to the Middle East is a growing problem, with women from South and Southeast Asia trafficked for this purpose. It has been reported for example, that Indonesian girls are trafficked from villages in Java, Sumatra, and other islands to Saudi Arabia, where they are forced into domestic labor. Women are also trafficked from Sri Lanka to work as maids. The government of Bangladesh, which is a country of origin for trafficking of women, in response to the growing problem of abuse of domestic servants in the countries of the Middle East, has banned single, unskilled females from traveling alone to most counties of the Middle East. The United Arab Emirates, which is a country of destination for many women who are trafficked for the purpose of prostitution, issued a special decree prohibiting single women from the Newly

Independent States of Central Asia under the age of 31 from entering the United Arab Emirates unless accompanied by male relatives or unless visiting the United Arab Emirates for business purposes. It is unclear, however, to what extent such a measure helps curb the trafficking of women.

Confronting the Economic Vulnerability of Women and Children. These are measures which may have some positive effect in preventing trafficking; however, governments need to enact economic reforms that take into account the special vulnerability of women and children, since traffickers supply human commodities by seeking the most vulnerable populations to lure into trafficking schemes. More women and children than men suffer from age and gender-based discrimination, poverty, lack of education, and economic desperation. Governments should take the necessary actions toward increased employment opportunities especially for women, access to education for all children, and creation of jobs within a particular country's borders to discourage nationals from having to seek migration to other countries as the sole economic opportunity.

3. **Governments have the responsibility to enact legislation to recognize all forms of sexual exploitation as a crime, including trafficking for the purpose of prostitution, trafficking for the purpose of pornography, trafficking for the purpose of mail-order brides, and sex tourism.**

The United States Call for Recognition of All Forms of Sex Trade as a Crime: The Case of Sex Tourism. President George W. Bush, in his speech to the United Nations in New York on September 23, 2003, stated that there is a need for establishing "clear standards and the certainty of punishment under the laws of every country" in order to put an end to the sex trade, including all forms of sexual exploitation it is associated with, such as sex tourism. President Bush said further that "today, some nations make it a crime to sexually abuse children abroad. Such conduct should be a crime in all nations. Governments should inform travelers of the harm this industry does, and the severe punishments that will fall on its patrons." The United States recognizes sex tourism as a serious crime. The United States Protect Act of 2003, Section 105, penalizes a person who enters the United States or travels abroad for the purpose of engaging in illicit sexual activity with a child. On the day following President Bush's speech at the United Nations, Michael Lewis Clark, a 69-year old retired United States army sergeant, was charged with sex tourism in one of the first indictments under the new law. Clark was indicted by a Seattle grand jury on 2 counts of traveling via foreign commerce to Cambodia to engage in illicit sexual conduct with a minor. He paid 2 young homeless boys, aged 10 and 13, $2 each to have sex with him. Working with 2 NGOs to gain the prosecution of Clark, Cambodian and United States Customs officials will bring witnesses from Cambodia to the United States if the case goes to trial. Clark is unlikely to be offered a deal as the United States Attorney General, John Ashcroft, has discouraged plea-bargaining for trafficking-related offenses throughout the country. I believe that this is a good policy. I also believe that what the President mentioned regarding governments informing travelers of the harm of sex tourism is a good thing, and that is why I urge members of the House to pass H.R. 2620, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003, which requires airlines, organized or operating in the United States, to develop and disseminate information alerting travelers that sex tourism is a crime.

Shortcomings in Child Sex Tourism Laws. Unfortunately, other governments are not following the same approach. For example, under the Swedish law, in order for the Swedish courts to have jurisdiction over illicit sexual activities with children committed abroad, the act must be criminal both in Sweden and in the country where it was committed, thus requiring double criminality for prosecution. In addition, in Sweden, the sanction for such a crime may not exceed the maximum penalty prescribed for that crime under the law of the country where the crime was committed. So, the Swedish law has its shortcomings. Further, countries that are destinations for child sex tourists should also enact strict laws to prevent its occurrence. For example, in Honduras only the sexual abuse of a child under the age of 12 is considered a crime. Therefore, a sex tourist can be prosecuted for exploiting a minor between the ages of 12 and 18 only when the child or his parents have denounced the offense.

Progress in Enacting Child Sex Tourism Laws. At least 20 countries have enacted sex tourism legislation that applies on an extraterritorial basis, including Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden (as mentioned) and Switzerland. Extraterritorial legislation should adopt a uniform age of consent and remove the double criminality and the double jeopardy requirements. Even more importantly, countries must enforce these laws.

Measures to Prevent and Punish Sex Tourism: The Case of Brazil. Some countries have taken steps to prevent sex tourism on their territory by targeting the general public and specifically, the customers – the sex tourists. For example, at the end of 2001, the local authorities of the city of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil launched a campaign against child sex tourism. This campaign aims to warn tourists to stay away from child prostitution, and is provided in several languages, Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English. In addition, Brazil has enacted laws targeting not only the sex tourists themselves, but also actors involved in facilitating their behavior. Law Number 8069-90 of 2000, in particular Article 244(a), imposes sanctions including fines and revocation of the license of a travel agency or hotel or other agency facilitating travel for the purpose of sex tourism. This is in addition to putting the tourist himself in jail for 10 years.

Child Pornography as a Form of Sexual Exploitation. Incidents of pornography, specifically child pornography, are largely cited in conjunction with prostitution or under the general guise of sex tourism, and are rarely addressed as a separate phenomenon in discussions of trafficking. This seems to arise out of the fact that pornography often accompanies other commercial sexual exploitation. Pornography is, however, a lucrative industry that has proliferated widely in some countries in Latin America and the Caribbean for example, with the help of the Internet and the growth of sex tourism in the region. Pornography also represents another layer of exploitation which victims trapped in the sex industry are often forced to endure. In many cases, women and girls are videotaped without their consent and the profits from the sales of such videotapes are kept entirely by the pimps and brothel owners. Children as young as 13 years old have been found in a pornography and prostitution ring in Antigua and Barbuda, and in Mexico, 5,000 minors have been reportedly engaged in prostitution or in pornographic activities. In Costa Rica, minors have reported being actively sought out for the purposes of production of pornographic material. Coercive mechanisms such as deception, sales and abductions are a common path to the procurement of minors for this purpose.

Abuse of Non-Commercial Sex: The Case of Mail-Order Brides. While the United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act narrowly defines sex trafficking as trafficking for the purpose of a commercial sex act, I would like to draw your attention to cases of non-commercial sex, which, if involves abuse, should also be considered a crime. One type of trafficking for non-commercial sex is that of mail-order brides. The popularity of mail-order bride agencies has greatly increased in recent years, with the increasing accessibility to the Internet, with increasing numbers of women from Eastern Europe arriving as mail-order brides to Western Europe, the United States, and other countries after the fall of the Soviet Union. The Council of Europe conducted an in-depth survey of 219 marriage agency websites during the summer of 2001, and found that close to 120,000 women from the former Soviet Union had been recruited as potential mail-order brides by these agencies, indicating the scope of the larger problem. The Philippines is also widely known as a significant origin country for mail-order brides. Women have been recruited into forced prostitution through mail-order bride agencies, and studies agree that incidents of abuse may be higher in such marriages. Women are often less likely to report such abuse due to their dependence on the husband to provide valid immigration status. And you may remember the tragic murder in Seattle of Anastasia Solovyova King from Kygyzstan, by her husband, Indle King Jr., whom she had married through a mail-order bride agency. Mail-order brides may be classified as trafficking for the purpose of labor or a case of sex trafficking. Section 652 of the United States Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 imposes upon the matchmaking organizations an obligation to inform the prospective bride "upon recruitment, such immigration and naturalization information as the Immigration and Naturalization Service deems appropriate, in the recruit's native language, including information regarding conditional permanent residence status and the battered spouse waiver under such status, permanent resident status, marriage fraud penalties, the unregulated nature of the business engaged in by such organizations." However, I want to draw your attention to the fact that this is merely a "disclosure law". Such a law does not address the issue of mail-order brides within the trafficking context.

4. Governments have the responsibility to recognize trafficking as a serious crime.

Failure of Some Legal Systems to Recognize Trafficking as a Serious Crime. The United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, which has just come into force on September 26, 2003, states that "serious crime shall mean conduct constituting an offense punishable by a maximum deprivation of liberty of at least four years or a more serious penalty" [Article 2(b)]. Unfortunately, some countries still provide for a light sentence in cases of trafficking in persons. For instance, in Turkey, transporting a person under the age of twenty-one for the purpose of prostitution is punishable only by 1 to 3 years of imprisonment. Similarly, in Qatar, where the punishment for trafficking in persons, as an activity related to prostitution, is light, the Criminal Code states: "[A] person who leads a female or attempts to lead her to practice sex with another person or to entice her to reside in, or frequently go to, a prostitution establishment with the purpose of practicing prostitution, whether inside the country or outside, shall be subject to imprisonment for a period not to exceed three years, or a fine not to exceed three thousand Riyals, or both." And the punishment for bringing a person into Egypt for the purpose of prostitution, or for the facilitation of entry of a person into Egypt for such a purpose, is between no less than one year and no more than five years in prison and a fine from one to five hundred Pounds.

Drawing a Distinction between Drug Trafficking and Trafficking in Persons. Many countries, while recognizing trafficking in drugs as a serious crime that warrants serious punishment, provide for a much lesser sentence for the crime of trafficking in persons. For instance in Poland, while selling drugs to minors is punished by 5 to 15 years of imprisonment, an individual who induces a person under the 18 years of age into prostitution is punished only by 1 to 10 years of imprisonment. In the year 2000, only 19 cases of trafficking in persons were registered with the Polish police, while 19,649 cases of drug trafficking were registered during the same year. Similarly, while capital punishment is the sanction for drug trafficking in Tajikistan, recruitment for the purpose of exploitation may only be punished by a fine or two years imprisonment.

A New Trend Enhancing the Penalty for Trafficking in Persons. The Philippines, for example, has recently enacted severe penalties for the offense of trafficking in persons, calling for the imprisonment of between 15 years and a life sentence for persons engaging in trafficking in persons. Likewise, in Nigeria, which is a major country of origin for victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation, a new law signed in July 2003 imposes a life sentence on any individual engaged in trafficking in persons for such a purpose. Other countries have also enacted anti-trafficking legislation that criminalizes the act of trafficking and provides for a serious penalty, as I have testified on the status of anti-trafficking legislation in foreign countries before the House Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on International Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Human Rights, on June 25, 2003 Hearing entitled "Global Trends in Trafficking and the Trafficking in Persons Report".

5. Governments have the responsibility to enforce laws by prosecuting cases of trafficking.

Failure to Prosecute Cases of Trafficking. Enacting legislation that makes trafficking in persons a serious crime alone is not enough. Without effective law enforcement and without publicized prosecutions of traffickers, traffickers are free to continue their criminal activities unhindered. To date, however, in many parts of the world the rates of prosecutions are rather low. For example, in Tajikistan in 2002, only four trafficking-related cases were prosecuted, which resulted in two convictions for kidnapping, exploitation for prostitution, and document and immigration fraud; while the traffickers in each case were sentenced to five years imprisonment, one of them was released under the amnesty act after serving only several weeks of the sentence. In Poland, it has been reported that although over 200 cases of trafficking have been investigated since 1997, when the last high-profile trafficking case was successfully prosecuted, prosecutions and convictions remain rare, and offenders are often released on lack of evidence against them. Likewise, according to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and reported by UNICEF, while 150 trafficking-related arrests were made between March and November 2001 in Albania, charges were pressed against only 10%. Only three persons were charged with trafficking and received sentences of 7 and 9 years in prison. The press in Indonesia has reported that local NGOs estimate that out of 286 cases of trafficking reported to the police between 1999 and 2001, only eight had gone to court, out of which offenders were convicted in only three cases. However, it is not only transition or developing countries that show such low instances of prosecutions of traffickers. Countries which have more

resources to take cases to trial still can show low rates of successful prosecutions of traffickers. For example in Japan, a significant country of destination and where the government acknowledges that trafficking is a problem, it has been reported that prosecutions of traffickers and facilitators remain rare, with offenders charged mainly on violations related to immigration and entertainment business laws.

The Role of the United States in Training Foreign Prosecutors. I would like to emphasize here the importance of training of prosecutors, lawyers, and judges on prosecuting cases of trafficking in persons and methods of investigation, submission of evidence and trial techniques. The United States Department of Justice conducts such training programs overseas, and I urge the Department of Justice to expand these programs in order to reach the countries where the rates of prosecutions are still very low, while the problem of trafficking is growing.

6. **Governments have the responsibility to punish all actors involved in the trafficking scheme, including the customer and the facilitators.**

A Link between Demand and Trafficking: The International Law Perspective. Article 9(5) of the Protocol addresses the issue of demand as an issue of prevention. It states that "states Parties shall adopt or strengthen legislative or other measures, such as educational, social or cultural measures, including through bilateral and multilateral cooperation, to discourage the demand that fosters exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking." Thus, the Protocol establishes a link between demand and trafficking.

Legalization and Decriminalization of Prostitution. Some legal systems do not go after the customer. The act of prostitution in many countries is legal. Only prostitution related activities constitute a crime and if the act of prostitution does not constitute a crime, why punish the customer who is obtaining a service, which is legal in nature. Sex in consideration for money is acceptable. Such countries include the majority of countries in Western Europe and Latin America. In some of these countries, prostitution is not only legal, but is legalized or decriminalized. Demand for sexual services tends to be highest in areas of legalized or decriminalized prostitution. In order to fulfill the needs of customers of prostitution, traffickers seek out vulnerable victims, and use deception and force to keep them in prostitution.

Punishing the Customer and the Woman in Prostitution: The Islamic Law Approach. Other legal systems penalize both the women in prostitution and the customer. That is the Islamic law approach in Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, Yemen, Mauritania, Jordan, Bahrain, Sudan, Tunisia, Malaysia, Brunei, and the United Arab Emirates, where the customer who buys sexual service from a woman in prostitution is considered to be committing adultery and that is a crime under Islamic law which punishes the adulterer and the adulteress.

When Buying Sex but not Selling Sex Is a Crime: The Swedish Law. A third approach is taken by the January 1, 1999 law of Sweden - that makes buying casual sexual services a crime. The Swedish Act "On Prohibiting Purchase of Sexual Services" provides that "a person who obtains casual sexual relations in exchange for payment shall be sentenced unless the act is punishable under the Swedish Penal Code – for the purchase of sexual services to a fine or imprisonment for at most six months." Thus, buying sex is a crime but selling sex is not. Based

upon our findings at The Protection Project, I have the following statistics for you: in 1999, 94 cases were reported under this law, with 10 resulting in conviction; in 2000, 92 cases were tried under this law with 29 resulting in conviction; and in 2001, 86 cases were prosecuted; 38 resulted in conviction.

Knowledge that the Women in Prostitution are Victims of Trafficking as Basis for Criminal Liability. Yet another innovative approach has been introduced in a few legal systems, where knowledge of trafficking makes the customer liable. This approach is adopted by Art 41-A of the Criminal Code of Macedonia which provides that: "The one that uses or enables another person's usage of sexual service from the person for whom he knows are victims of human trafficking will be punished with imprisonment from 6 months up to 5 years." The new legislation of Croatia of May 2003 follows the Macedonian model in criminalizing the act to the customer if he has knowledge that the person in prostitution has been trafficked.

The Law and the Functional Equivalent of the Law. What is important here is not to only change the law itself, so that the law makes a customer liable, what is more important is to reform "the functional equivalent of the law". By that I mean the customs, the traditions, and behavior. Countries that tolerate or accommodate or normalize prostitution should review their policies and inquire into whether such tolerance, accommodation, and normalization may contribute to rising numbers of victims of trafficking. It is also relevant here to note the importance of addressing traditional systems that may be contributing to the trafficking infrastructure not only for sexual exploitation, but also for labor. Bonded labor, or debt bondage, systems are prevalent in particular in many of the traditional societies of South Asia and in Africa. Under such systems, a person becomes a security against a debt or a small loan and must repay the debt through provision of personal services, often for his or her entire life. While many adults are exploited through such practices, child slavery appears to be more common, and some children are born into hereditary debt bondage. Thus, it is estimated that in India, approximately 5 million children are enslaved in bonded labor, even though India has a number of laws prohibiting slavery, debt bondage, and child labor, including the Constitution and the 1976 Bonded Labor System Abolition Act. However, these laws are poorly enforced, and traditional systems hold strong. In Africa, for example in Ghana, Benin, Nigeria and Togo, young girls may be given to priests as atonement for the sins of their male relatives, as part of the Trokosi (translated as "slaves of gods") traditional religious practice. These girls are often exploited sexually by the priests, forced into domestic work and work in the field and local markets. Such servitude lasts anywhere from 3 to 5 years. Although the government of Ghana has condemned the practice of Trokosi and has outlawed it in 1998, many women remain enslaved and the law has been difficult to enforce. Such systems also indicate the importance of addressing traditional and customary practices and how they may be contributing to the trafficking and exploitation of women and children.

Prosecution of United Nations Peacekeepers for Illicit Sexual Activities. In the case of Bosnia, for instance, the demand for prostitution has risen significantly with the arrival of UN peacekeepers. Until the mid-1990s, the sex-slave industry barely existed in Bosnia, but after the signing of the Dayton Accord in 1995, and with the arrival of approximately 50,000 male peacekeepers, a sex-trade market has been created and is flourishing. Women from Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Romania, Hungary and Albania have been lured to Bosnia by offers of legal

work, but are enslaved in brothels. There are currently 15 UN peacekeeping missions operating around the world. Rule 4 of the UN General Assembly Code of Conduct of 1993 stipulates that UN Peacekeepers should "not indulge in immoral acts of sexual, physical or psychological abuse or exploitation of the local population or United Nations staff, especially women and children." UN peacekeepers are under the exclusive criminal jurisdiction of their own national authorities and have immunity from local prosecution. It is up to the UN Board of Inquiry to find reasonable grounds for a charge of serious misconduct with a recommendation that the peacekeeper be repatriated for subsequent disciplinary action in his native country. Of only 24 officers repatriated to their countries for misconduct, none have been prosecuted for violating Rule 4 of the United Nations General Assembly Code of Conduct.

Entertainment Sex and Punishing the Facilitators. Any effective legal approach to combating trafficking, in my judgment, should target stripping, lap dancing, massage parlors, escort services and other forms of entertainment sex. It is not enough to follow a tort-nuisance approach, where such businesses are only be liable for zoning violations or disturbance of public order, public safety, or public tranquility. We should make these operators of entertainment sex criminally liable when they are involved in trafficking. But we have to be careful not to define any of these activities as a legitimate form of labor.

7. Governments have the responsibility to protect victims of trafficking.

State Responsibility in Protecting Victims of Trafficking: What Does It Mean? Protection of the victims of trafficking is yet another obligation of the state under international law. While the Protocol does not use mandatory language in this respect and merely calls upon the state to "consider" and "endeavor to provide" for the protection of victims of trafficking "[i]n appropriate cases and to the extent possible under (its) domestic law," the Protocol establishes state responsibility in protecting victims of trafficking. What does this mean? It means that states must treat a trafficked person as a victim, not a criminal. It means that states must not criminalize the act of the trafficked person and should not penalize the victim for illegal acts, such as illegal immigration or prostitution, as long as these acts have been committed in relation to the act of trafficking itself. It means that states should provide victims of trafficking with necessary services, such as health and legal services, as well as protective shelter. It also means that states should not deport victims of trafficking, but should consider granting them a residency status.

Failure to Recognize the Principle of Non-Criminalization of the Acts of Victims of Trafficking. Many countries do not follow the above-mentioned approach. For example, in August 2002 in Cambodia, 10 Vietnamese girls, ranging from ages 12 to 18, were arrested and convicted on immigration violations, even though the girls were trafficked into the country against their will and forced into prostitution. The girls were sentenced to three months in prison and subsequently deported, upon serving their sentence. According to estimates of the Greek government, close to 3,000 children are working in the country illegally. Most are trafficked Albanian children taken by foot across the mountains into Greece or in the backs of trucks across the Albanian-Greek border. However, although some progress to provide protection has been made in Greece, these children are still often treated as illegal immigrants by the Greek government and arrested pending deportation, with minimal or no access to social services. As

Terre des Hommes reports, those children that are under 12 are placed in detention centers until their families can be located. However, a significant percentage of children placed in such centers disappear from the detention centers before this takes place, and many of these children are re-trafficked.

Provision of Health Care to Victims of Trafficking: The HIV/AIDS Cases. It is important to mention here the significance of the provision of health care to victims of trafficking in light of the HIV/AIDS crisis that we are facing in many parts of the world. Trafficked women and children are forced into commercial sexual exploitation, exposing them to serious health risks, including HIV/AIDS. Trafficked women and children who are forced into prostitution are forced to service multiple clients a day, and are subject to rape and physical abuse from their traffickers. For example, 80% of HIV/AIDS cases in Thailand at the height of the HIV/AIDS epidemic were found in women working in the sex industry and their clients, many of whom are victims of trafficking from within Thailand and from places like Burma. Human Rights Watch has reported that 34% of the HIV cases in Japan throughout the 1990s were found among the non-Japanese (mostly Thai) women in Japan, many of which are thought to have been trafficked into Japan into the sex industry. According to the Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, "there are reports that young children are being targeted as sexual partners in order to reduce the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. It is also reported that instances of child rape are being committed by individuals who believe that sex with a virgin will cure them from HIV/AIDS". This link between HIV/AIDS and prostitution and trafficking needs further research. I want to make a reference here to a policy which I believe is a good policy, that is the recently passed United States Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Act of 2003, which states that "prostitution and other sexual victimization are degrading to women and children and it should be the policy of the United States to eradicate such practices. The sex industry, the trafficking of individuals into such industry, and sexual violence are additional causes of and factors in the spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic" [Section 2(23)].

Provision of Services to Victims of Forced Labor: The Case of Freed Slaves in Nepal. In Nepal, where the traditional bonded labor system of Kamaiya was abolished in 2000, the former slaves who were released found themselves homeless and unemployed. In the years that have passed since the liberation of the former kamaiyas, the government of Nepal has failed to ensure their access to proper housing, land, education, and health facilities. As a result, many of them were forced to turn to begging and prostitution or return to their former enslavers.

8. **Governments have the responsibility to identify victims of trafficking and assist them to come forward without fear of punishment.**

Absence of Reliable and Credible Statistics on the Number of Victims of Trafficking. Efforts to prevent trafficking and to aid trafficking victims are inherently based on the knowledge of routes of trafficking, where the victims are coming from, how they are transported and where and how they can be identified in the countries of destination. In many cases, little information is available on the routes of trafficking and the numbers of victims, indicative of inability to effectively identify them. Many of the statistics provided by different organizations

lack credible foundation and there are few adequate statistics kept by either non-governmental or governmental organizations.

Difficulty of Identifying Victims of Trafficking. For instance, recent research of the Council on the Status of Women in Canada in Quebec indicates that the police and law enforcement officials find themselves unable to help women that are trafficked to Canada for sexual exploitation. One reason that has been cited for this problem is the lack of instruments to identify victims of trafficking. Since many victims of trafficking in Canada do not speak French or English and are in Canada illegally, they are unable to ask for help. Relatively little information is also available on the exact number of victims of trafficking in Canada and the nature of their plight within the country. Such information is necessary for law enforcement and the judicial system to be able to provide an adequate network of support for victims of trafficking. Such a lack of adequate statistics is a problem faced by many countries around the world.

Where are the Victims of Trafficking in the United States? The real challenge for us here in the United States is also to identify victims of trafficking, and reach them so we can help them. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act, for instance, provides for 5,000 visas for victims of trafficking annually. Unfortunately, very few victims have applied for these visas. The U.S. government has put in place various successful programs of assistance to victims of trafficking. But we need a specific program on identifying victims of trafficking around the country.

9. **Governments have the responsibility to facilitate the repatriation of victims of trafficking.**

The Responsibility of Countries of Origin to Repatriate Victims of Trafficking. Any assistance to victims of trafficking should not be limited to protection within the country of destination, but should also include repatriation, with dignity and respect, to their country of origin. This is what the Protocol calls for under Article 8, which provides that the country of origin "shall facilitate and accept, with due regard for the safety of that person, the return of that person without undue or unreasonable delay." A country of origin "shall agree to issue...such travel documents or other authorization as may be necessary to enable the person to travel to and reenter its territory." Consequently a state has the responsibility to ensure the safe return of the trafficked victim. This process includes the issuance of travel documents for such a person, since in most cases of trafficking the trafficker confiscates the travel document of the victim. Embassy staff and consular assistance must also be sensitive to the needs of victims of trafficking, which is often not the case.

Obstacles in Accepting Victims of Trafficking into Their Communities. Women returning back to their countries of origin often feel the shame of having worked in prostitution. For example, Azerbaijani women in rural areas are prevented by their relatives from speaking out about their experiences because of the burden of revealing the shame to others. Therefore, in countries of destination, the process of repatriation must also include reintegration services, since in many cases of trafficking the community may reject the victim of trafficking, who also faces threats of reprisals by the trafficker and the shame of having worked in prostitution.

Reports of Government Failures to Repatriate Victims of Trafficking. An Israeli NGO, The Hotline for Migrant Workers, has reported that "the consul of Moldova regularly notes on the women's travel documents: "worked in Israel as a prostitute", in order to "punish" the woman. The Hotline and Isha le'Isha have written to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs demanding that something is done to stop this degrading practice, but nevertheless, the Moldovan consul continues to insist on it." In many countries, trafficked women and children are held in jails, shelters and detention centers awaiting repatriation, in the most severe cases, for many years. Also according to data provided by the Hotline in 2002, women from Uzbekistan wait for an average of 39 days in Israeli prisons and detention centers to receive the necessary travel papers to return home. One victim from Tajikistan spent 290 days in a prison in Israel awaiting documents, due to the lack of Tajik diplomatic presence in that country. Bangladeshi women and children, trafficked to Pakistan and to India, have reportedly been abused in jails in these countries, due to lack of action on the part of the Bangladeshi authorities, the embassies in particular. Such phenomena are not limited to these countries, and are a problem in many other countries of origin and destination around the world. It has even been reported that in some cases trafficked children have been held in the same jails as their traffickers.

10. Governments have the responsibility to fight corruption and punish public officials who facilitate or participate in the trafficking enterprise.

The Role of Corruption in Facilitating Trafficking. Corruption, a challenge especially in the context of trafficking in persons, undermines the effectiveness of government, leads to the misallocation of resources, harms development and thus, it has detrimental effects on the needy. As recognized by the United States Congress "trafficking [in persons] is often aided by official corruption in countries of origin, transit and destination, thereby threatening the rule of law." [United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act, Section (102)(b)(8)]. Corruption hinders the government from using the countries' resources to implement programs to prevent trafficking or protect victims of trafficking.

International Obligation to Criminalize Corruption and Punish the Corruption of Public Officials. Article 8 of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime addresses the issue of corruption of public officials. It states that "Each state party shall adopt such legislative and other measures as may be necessary to establish as criminal offenses, when committed intentionally: (a) the promise, offering, or giving to a public official, directly or indirectly, of an undue advantage, for the official himself or herself or another person or entity, in order that the official act or refrain from acting in the exercise of his or her official duties; (b) the solicitation or acceptance by a public officials, directly or indirectly, of an undue advantage, for the official himself or herself or another person or entity, in order that the official act or refrain from acting in the exercise of his or her official duties." Article 9 further requires that State Parties shall "adopt legislative, administrative or other effective measures to promote integrity and to prevent, detect and punish the corruption of public officials."

Failure of Governments to Effectively Combat Corruption of Public Officials. It has been reported that Bolivian police forces comply with persons known to exploit children. Reports further indicate that Dominican border officials are being bribed in exchange for allowing traffickers to bring Haitian children into the Dominican Republic. In a recent scandal, allegations

were brought in 2002 against the Dominican Consul in Argentina, as well as the Dominican Ambassador to Argentina regarding their involvement in the trafficking of Dominican women to Argentina for commercial sexual exploitation on the pretext of domestic work offers. You are also probably familiar with the recent news about a high-profile trafficking case in Montenegro, which has collapsed. In June 2003 the prosecutor's office in Podgorica, the capital of Montenegro decided to stop criminal proceedings against the deputy state prosecutor of Montenegro and others for their involvement in trafficking of a Moldovan woman, who alleged that she and other victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation in Montenegro had been patronized by members of the Montenegrin political elite and civil servants. Allegedly, the women were also repeatedly sold back to the brothels by members of the Montenegrin police force when trying to escape. Following international outrage over the Montenegrin government's alleged attempt to cover up the scandal, the international community called for reopening the criminal proceedings and sent an independent committee to investigate the case, represented by the OSCE. The committee has released its findings to the Montenegrin government on September 29, 2003, but the report has not yet been made public, and the future of the case is of now still unknown.

11. Governments have the responsibility to cooperate with non-governmental organizations (NGOs), allow them the freedom to work, and consult with them in taking the necessary measures to combat trafficking in persons.

Failure of Governments to Cooperate with NGOs. NGOs are critical in providing victims of trafficking with needed services. Unfortunately, governments do not always cooperate with NGOs. For example, it has been reported that in Togo NGOs have complained of poor coordination between the government and NGOs, sometimes disrupting the provision of needed services to repatriated children. In Russia, NGOs complain of the lack of support from the Federal Government and its failure to see NGOs as partners.

An Emerging Trend of Cooperation. However, many governments are beginning to open up to the resources of NGOs and to collaborate with them. We had seen some examples earlier from Central Asia where governments allow NGOs space on national television for anti-trafficking programming, and this has been the case in other regions as well. Studies show victims of trafficking are more willing to approach NGOs for assistance rather than government officials. Therefore, governments must support efforts made by NGOs to combat trafficking in persons. In many countries around the world NGOs are not allowed the freedom to function at all. I would like to see the United States playing a more active role in promoting human rights especially in such countries, and globally.

12. Governments have the responsibility to cooperate, sharing information, allowing for extradition, and providing for mutual assistance in criminal matters.

The Significance of Transnational Measures in Combating Trafficking. Because of the transnational nature of the crime of trafficking, combating trafficking requires transnational measures. This means that countries of origin, transit and destination must cooperate in fighting this crime. States must also recognize trafficking in persons as an extraditable offense, apply domestic anti-trafficking laws extraterritorially, and cooperate regionally.

A Regional Initiative in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). One important development is that intergovernmental cooperation efforts are currently taking place within the CIS, of which many countries constitute significant areas of origin for trafficking in persons. Thus, a new Convention on Legal Assistance and Legal Relations in Civil, Family and Criminal Matters has been signed by the CIS countries in October 2002. Another recent intergovernmental agreement has been signed by the CIS Ministers of Interior on September 23, 2003. This latest agreement is the first to specifically address the issue of trafficking in persons in the CIS region. It provides for exchanging legal, operational and investigative information related to human trafficking between the police bodies of the participating countries.

Collective Effort by the Governments of Southeastern Europe to Combat Trafficking in Persons. I would like to remark on another recent success in international cooperation in anti-trafficking efforts. Twelve countries in Southeastern Europe and neighboring regions participated in a joint operation carried out by the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative headquartered in Romania. The operation targeted over 20,000 border crossings, bars, and nightclubs in the region, and identified a total of 696 victims of sex trafficking and 831 suspected traffickers. The operation took place throughout September 2003, and was assisted by the United States. The countries taking part included Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Greece, Hungary, Moldova, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovenia, and Ukraine. This is very encouraging news and I hope that other countries in other regions would cooperate in fighting the crime of trafficking in persons.

In conclusion, I would like to report to you today that the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children will become international law this coming December 2003. We needed, under Article 17, forty instruments of ratification for the Protocol to enter into force, and on September 26, 2003, we have reached our goal. And the Protocol will enter into force on the 90th day following this important date. Countries that ratified the Protocol must now comply with its mandates. I would urge the United States to ratify the Protocol. We have now created international consensus as to the recognition of trafficking in persons as a human rights violation. It is now time to take serious, effective, and comprehensive measures to eliminate this "ongoing tragedy of international slavery and human trafficking".

Thank you.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Mattar. Let me start with some questions. Mr. Bales is on his way. I think he has landed now, and when we arrives we will let him make his statement. But in the interim, we will go ahead and start with questions. The votes on the floor have been postponed for awhile, so maybe we can get on with the business at hand.

Ms. Cohn, you mentioned a country where the police were complicities in the prostitution, and were involved in killing two ladies that escaped from one of these dens of inequity. Can you tell us the name of that country?

Ms. COHN. Mr. Chairman, I would be eager to discuss with you or your staff any of the specifics of that case, but it is an ongoing investigation and I would be reluctant to say it publicly.

Mr. BURTON. I see, because you think it might endanger others that are there.

Ms. COHN. And hinder whatever further investigation against the police officers that might take place.

Mr. BURTON. Well, we would like to know that, if it is possible. Maybe you can give it to us in private, so that we can maybe use whatever influence we might have on our agencies to make sure that the government of that country knows of those incidents and tries to clean up the mess and bring those to justice that are involved in that.

There is nothing I can think of that is worse than people who are in the position of law enforcement, who are supposed to have the public trust and the public's interests in mind, that are participating in criminal activities.

We have had a case here in the United States where one man was put in jail for 30 some years for a crime he did not commit, because of FBI agents that were corrupt. One of them has been put in jail, and another one is now going to be tried for murder.

So we need to clean that mess up, whether it is here in the United States or elsewhere. So if you could give us that information, we would really appreciate it.

Let me ask you what kind of surveillance they use; or is that something else that you would like to keep under wraps?

Ms. COHN. Mr. Chairman, IJM's investigators are former law enforcement officers themselves from here in the United States and from around the world. They use traditional surveillance methods, including under-cover cameras and the like to show on tape that a particular victim is being offered for a particular act by a specific perpetrator.

We were able actually to use that under-cover video surveillance at trial in Cambodia on October 15, and that was the only evidence used to convict the perpetrators. I would be very delighted to show you or your staff some of that video. But to protect the privacy of the victims, we were not able to show it today.

Mr. BURTON. Let me ask you, the victims, when given a chance to talk about their being brought into this business through slavery methods, are they willing to talk privately about it, or are they scared to death of the law enforcement?

Ms. COHN. The victims are incredibly scared of law enforcement, because they have often seen those same police officers come into

the brothels and abuse them; or have come into the brothels to accept bribes.

They are, however, after counseling and after care in a rehabilitative and after-care facility, willing to provide just the most extraordinary horrific stories that I have ever heard. When I get to the point where I think I have heard the worst story of what can happen to a human ever, I talk to the next girl and hear yet another story.

I would add, Mr. Chairman, just because I think this is an important point with the increasing attention paid to the HIV/AIDS global pandemic, I think it is important to note that the real brutal end cruelty of human trafficking is that these girls are dying by the thousands of HIV/AIDS, and traditional methods to prevent AIDS or to give access to these girls to HIV/AIDS prevention are not permitted, because the girls have no ability to choose their sexual partners and are not given any access to traditional preventive methods.

Anecdotes tell us that about 80 percent of trafficking victims in South Asia are HIV positive upon rescue.

Mr. BURTON. Eighty-percent?

Ms. COHN. Eighty-percent.

Mr. BURTON. So not only are they penalized with a shorter life and a more difficult lifestyle because of that disease, but also they are a walking epidemic.

Ms. COHN. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BURTON. The Coalition Against Trafficking in Woman, you said 80 percent of the women in the Netherlands, according to your information, are forced into prostitution?

Ms. COHN. No, I said 80 percent of the women in prostitution in the Netherlands are from other countries.

Mr. BURTON. Do you have any idea of how many of those that are from other countries that are literally forced into that, or do you have any idea about that?

Ms. COHN. Well, Mr. Chairman, we do not make a distinction between forced and free, in that sense, because we believe that whether or not a person gives consent, they are still exploited. But most of these women certainly have been trafficked, in terms of coming in across the border.

The problem is, as we see it, when these women are brought into a country, for example, what we have in the Netherlands now is a policy, because many Dutch women do not want to be in prostitution anymore, the Dutch Government has decided to make the market bigger by actively searching for women in prostitution, who will come into the country to service the market, basically. So this means that they are, to a certain extent, looking for women who will populate the brothels.

This is conditioned on the fact, as the government says, that they will basically be independent contractors, and that they will not be forced into the trade, etc.

But we know that women from different countries, whether they come from Eastern Europe, or whether they come from Asia or Latin America, do not facilitate their own migration into countries like the Netherlands and Germany. They have to be assisted in some way to do that, and that is trafficking.

But what we are seeing happen is that under the aegis of this notion of voluntary trafficking, people are using terminology such as voluntary migration for sex work at this point. The trafficking is actually being redefined, because of this very phony issue of voluntariness.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you.

Mr. Johnson, you were talking about, I cannot remember, how much the cost is. I am trying to recall the question now. My notes are not too clear. How much money would it take to help deal with the problem of these children being brought into slavery? Do you have any idea?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think it is impossible to put an exact number on it.

Mr. BURTON. Well, let me ask you this, and I will ask all of you this question. I talked to Mr. Miller when he was testifying awhile ago about setting up a fund where we could give rewards to people who turn in these people who are forcing people into slavery, whether it is prostitution, child prostitution, or whatever. Do you think that would be a positive thing to do?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think that is an important step. To answer your question, I think that money spent on prevention, in the very beginning, when you are looking at this, is very important, to engender a culture of protection within the society itself.

Mr. BURTON. No, I understand that prevention is very important. But I am talking about, if you are going to stop this, you are going to have to deal with the people who are forcing people into slavery, whether it is prostitution or anything else.

What I am asking is, from your experience and the information that you have been given through your studies, do you think that if we set up a fund, and there was money to be given to people who turned in these people who are putting people into slavery, do you think that would be effective?

Mr. MATTAR. I think it is a good idea. Let me refer here to the role which NGO's play in different countries, identifying victims of trafficking and trying to work with the police and law enforcement in identifying traffickers.

So I think NGO's are already playing that role, trying to help the police identify traffickers and helping the police with assisting victims.

Whether rewards would be given to NGO's or individuals who would help in that process, I think it is a good idea. I am not sure how it would be implemented in a certain mechanism.

Mr. BURTON. Ms. Cohn.

Ms. COHN. Mr. Chairman, I think that rewards could be an effective mechanism in identifying traffickers. What we find, at least in the countries where we work in Southeast Asia though, is the traffickers are often not terribly hidden, but there is so much freedom and such a culture of impunity in their committing their crimes, that the challenge is not actually finding them or even finding the evidence of them. The challenge is getting the government to have the political will and local enforcement to have the determination to arrest and move forward in the case.

I would be concerned at local law enforcement, hoping to profit from rewards and being paid to do something that their job should already be paying them to do.

Mr. BURTON. Well, let me just ask one more question and then I will yield to my colleague, Mr. Smith. If could get the IMF and the World Bank and these other institutions that loan money to Third World countries that are involved in this kind of activity, who wink at the law enforcement agencies that are sanctioning prostitution, do you think, if they thought their government was going to be cutoff or have their foreign and foreign assistance reduced, that would be an effective tool to get them on the stick and stop law enforcement from participating and protecting the slave traders?

Ms. COHN. I think that the U.S.'s leadership in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act demonstrates that countries do respond to the threat of losing non-humanitarian aid, and would likewise respond to concerns about other sources of funding. So, yes, I do think that might motivate them.

I should say on the other side, that there are people of goodwill in all these countries, doing very good things, including members of the Government; and that it is also, I think, the responsibility of the U.S. Government to provide them resources to combat this trafficking. That should not all be the stick but, in fact, be a carrot, as well.

Mr. BURTON. Did you have a comment before I yield to Mr. Smith?

[No response.]

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman; and again, I want to thank you for holding this very important hearing and for your ongoing commitment to this issue.

I want to thank our panelists who are on the cutting edge and have been instrumental in motivating Congress; not just this Congress but other parliaments and Congresses around the world, to be more pro-active and, above all, to help the victims in each country.

I know that the International Justice Mission and so many of you have been corroborating in the first writing of this legislation. You have provided us an enormous amount of input in the bill that hopefully will be up the floor next week. That will take us another step forward.

As a matter of fact, as you know, Ms. Cohn, it was your organization that was so insistent on the police side of this, that some of the countries are maybe gaming the system. When we asked for information, not only were they rather shoddy in what they provide us, they talk about investigations and prosecutions but not convictions and sentencing. That is changed and fixed in this new piece of legislation.

We also have a presumption that if they fail to cooperate with our request for data, at the Embassy and at Mr. Miller's level, we will presume that they have a bad story to tell and that it work be against them.

We have to say that this is so serious to us, and hopefully it should be to you, that you risk being a Tier 3 sanctioned country

going forward by your lack of responsiveness. That would be remedied in the new bill.

On the police side, all of you make very good points, and Ms. Cohn, I think you make a very good point about that is the Achilles Heel of all of our efforts. If they continue their complicity, their protection, as you pointed out that despicable example of the police collecting in kind; you know, we will be at this and we will not win this.

So I think police training, that is contained in the bill. But we have to get the political and all the other interested parties to take more seriously complicity by the police.

I would point out and remind you, and you know it already, but in our minimum standards, certainly whether or not a country protects their victims. I say this to Mr. Johnson and you might want to respond to that, what countries, in your view, and maybe some of the more egregious ones, are not protecting their victims?

Are there those that are not protecting that are on Tier 2, for example, that should be on Tier 3, because that is an essential minimum standard that was written in to the law?

Everywhere we go, and I know, Mr. Miller does it, as well, and the State Department is doing it just like the NGO's, you know, it is not just prosecution. That is not enough. It has to be the concurrent, equal, if not more so, in terms of the human concern, to make sure that those victims are protected.

So you might want to touch on that, as well, because you did say other nations treat victims as offenders. If there are some that are in Tier 2 or 1 that we are missing, please let us know now and perhaps by additional followup comments.

You know, I have raised the issue with the Netherlands several times, including with the Chair and Office for the OSCE, which I chair. The lack of understanding that when you have, as you said, Dr. Raymond, 80 percent of the women in the Netherlands, and they are the Chair and Office at the OSCE, and speak glowingly about their efforts to mitigate trafficking. Yet, they have this, in their own back yard problem of all these foreign nationals working in their brothels, it is unclear how many of those are by force or some form of coercion are there. But certainly the exploitation is profound.

I think, Mr. Chairman, and we ought to be looking at this in our own country, we certainly have a problem in places like Las Vegas. How many of those women have been trafficked? How many of those are there perhaps against their own will? I think that is ripe for investigation and, if necessary, if it yields something, prosecution.

I would remind you and the members here, and the NGO's know it and Mr. Miller knows it, what led to the South Korean expose that women were being trafficked from Russia, from the Philippines under this ruse of an entertainment visa that the South Korean Government was giving out, and they were being brought into be exploited, that is gone now, I am happy to say.

I would just note parenthetically that our Government and General Laporte has put 661 brothels in places off limits that previously had been permissible to go to, as a direct result of this.

But they found, and a Fox reporter named Tom Merriman did the spade work on this, that all of these South Korean women were showing up in the United States, and it begged the question, where were they coming from? What was the network?

This is here in the United States, so you might want to touch on that, as well, and we are running out of time. Maybe you want to touch on that, Mr. Johnson, on those who are not treating the victims as victims, but as offenders.

Mr. JOHNSON. I think you are right in relation to what has been raised already about the training of police, in which getting the list of countries where the victims are actually treated as offenders. That is really at the local level, unless there is training to ensure that happens. That happens in my own country. There are examples, but it certainly happens much more in the developing world.

One form of slavery that we have not talked about today are child soldiers; people who are forcing young boys and girls taken into conflict. We would like to talk about the women and children in the Conflict Protection Act, and we certainly thank Representative Shays for his co-sponsorship of that.

Part of Save the Children's effort has been to look at a protection score card, particularly in relation to conflict, in relation to what countries they are doing in relation to protection, and we can certainly provide that to members after this hearing.

I think it really is important, when you are looking at the countries, to look at the holistic nature of how we are dealing with the issue of trafficking and this culture of protection, whether it be in conflict or whether it be in a non-conflict setting.

I think our earlier speakers talked about the four "Ps." While law enforcement is very, very important, what one can do on the prevention side at the local level; what one can do on the recovery side; and the issue of funding is most important at those two ends.

If we are able to get women and children out of these situations, then unless we can help them in recovery, then that will return back. Unless we stop the flow of these people to be manipulated, then we can keep on going. The law enforcement needs to happen, but we need to have the bookends, so to speak, of both prevention and recovery.

Mr. BURTON. Does anybody else have any comments they would like to make?

Mr. MATTAR. Very quickly, I just want to make reference to the importance of repatriation in any program of assisting victims of trafficking. What we are seeing in many countries of origin, they failed the test. They fail to accept back women in prostitution, who have been trafficked. They fail to provide them with safe return. They fail to issue for them travel documents very quickly and accept them back.

You see that in the newly independent states, Central Asia. You see it in Moldavia. You see it in many countries. It think something has to be done when you talk about training programs. We have to be conscious of how to provide victims of trafficking with some kind of repatriation programs.

Mr. BURTON. I see Mr. Bales has arrived, but before we go to Mr. Bales, I think we will let Congressman Shays ask his questions.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I really had questions to ask, but I want Mr. Bales to go, and I have a feeling that we are going to then have to cutoff for votes.

I just want to say what amazes me is, I used to look back and think, how could the world have traded in slavery? How could the civilized world have allowed it? Then there was this big debate, and ultimately, it became the "cause celebre."

What surprises me, and not taking my full time, I would love someone to explain to me why this is not a "cause celebre" with women's organizations, why it is not the "cause celebre" with major organizations within countries, why countries do not treat it, including the United States, as a big issue until this President launched it; why so many countries yawned when the President talked about it as a major initiative?

I do not understand that part of it, and I need someone to explain that to me. If you do not know, we will leave the question hanging, and let us hear from Mr. Bales, so we can make sure his trip here was worth it. I am assuming, Mr. Chairman, that this is not the last of your hearings.

Mr. BURTON. No, it is not the last, but it is the first. Mr. Bales, you are recognized.

Mr. BALES. Thank you so much.

Mr. Shays, let me take a quick attempt to answer your question.

It is the case that in the past, the movements against slavery in those times were based upon public redefinitions of the reality of slavery as a moral issue.

In the past, if we go back 200 or 300 years, slavery was seen as an economic topic, not a moral topic, possibly a political question. It took the public redefining it, from being an economic activity to being a moral concern, to turn it into a political issue.

Mr. SHAYS. What about now, then?

Mr. BALES. Well, that is what happened in the past, and that is what led to our own Constitutional amendment getting rid of slavery.

Today, we are faced with a situation where the morality is not doubted, but it is completely surrounded by a kind of public ignorance. I believe that, in fact, it is not a question of the fact that it is not a "cause celebre" into the future, but that it is not a "cause celebre" yet.

But in fact, as the understanding of the realities of this, the horrific physical realities and also the understanding of this is what could be the fundamental moral question of the 21st century, it will become the "cause celebre" if that is of any use at all. But it is a very big question, indeed. Shall I proceed, sir?

Mr. BURTON. Yes, we have been waiting. I know that you missed your plane and you finally caught one, and we are glad you are here. So we would like to hear what you have to say, and then we will continue on with our questions.

Mr. BALES. Thank you very much, and I apologize for my tardiness.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I cannot tell you how encouraged I am that this subject has been taken up by the House Human Rights and Wellness Subcommittee.

As president of Free the Slaves, as an American, like all Americans, who loathes the crime of slavery, I am excited that our political leaders are taking up the issue of modern slavery.

Free the Slaves is the American sister organization of Anti-Slavery International. It is the world's oldest human rights group, formed in 1787 in order to combat the slavery of that date. We want to build a positive relationship with the Government and promise to help in any way that we can.

I want to add that Free the Slaves has already worked with committed Republicans and committed Democrats on this issue, and I believe that these hearings are an indication of how this is the time to bring together and unite all sides of the aisle and all kinds of voices around the issue and against the realities of contemporary slavery.

This afternoon I would like to touch on four points very briefly: the nature of modern slavery, how slavery touches our lives, the urgent need for a consistent approach to slavery by the U.S. Government and some practical suggestions about how America can use its influence to end slavery once and for all.

Slavery, real slavery, has increased, and I know you have been hearing about examples of it, dramatically across the world in the last 50 years. It has grown rapidly, in part, because of the belief among the public and even governments that slavery ended in 1865 or in the 19th century.

But you know, for years, I have travelled the world, meeting slaves and meeting slaveholders, and meeting those people who are fighting slavery at the grassroots. I can assure you that slavery is not dead. My conservative estimate is that there are 27 million people in the world in slavery today.

Now let me be clear that I am talking about slavery; in its most basic form, the holding of a person against their will through violence, paying them nothing, and forcing them to work. It is the same basic slavery that has dogged humanity for at least 5,000 years, but today it has some pernicious modern twists.

For example, and I think you mentioned this in your opening remarks, slaves are cheaper today than they have ever been in human history. Rapid population growth, combined with the impacts of modernization and globalization on the economies of the developing world, has generated a bumper crop of people vulnerable to enslavement. When government corruption, particularly police corruption, removes the protection of the state, violence can be used to turn those vulnerable people into slaves.

Now this is happening around the world, and once enslaved, the victims can be transported even to those countries where the rule of law is secure. The State Department, and I am sure you have heard again today from John Miller, estimates that up to 20,000 people are brought into the United States each year.

In research that we are currently carrying out for the United Nations International Labor Organization, we estimate that up to 100,000 people are currently held in situations of forced labor in America. They may be forced to work as prostitutes, or in agriculture, in sweatshops, or as domestic servants.

Moreover, slave-made products flow into our homes. Despite the clear prohibition on the importation of slave-made goods in the

1930 Smoot-Hawley Tariff legislation, which is still in force, a host of slave-made raw materials and products flow into America.

A few years ago, we asked a slave newly freed on a cocoa farm in West Africa if he knew what happened to the cocoa he harvested. "No," he said. Had he ever tasted chocolate? Again, he said, "No."

So we asked him, what would you say to those millions of people who eat the chocolate made from the cocoa you have grown in slavery? "Tell them," he said, "when they eat chocolate, they are eating my flesh."

Now I am very happy to say that with the help of Congress, and the active and energetic participation of the chocolate industry, especially the chocolate industry of the United States, we are making enormous progress in the area of cocoa, and forced labor and slavery in cocoa. But this achievement stands alone. Slave-free trade is not yet a reality in the land of the free.

So the picture is a serious one; millions of people enslaved, and both slaves and slave-made goods being bought and sold within the United States.

There are, happily, several positive points. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act passed at the end of 2000 is now seen as a model for the world; and when it is amended this session, it will be an even stronger instrument against the trade in human beings.

The Trafficking Office and USAID have made sizable grants having real impact in anti-slavery work abroad. The support by the American Government to the International Labor Organization, in their work to rehabilitate freed child slaves, is crucial to that effort.

On the other hand, there are some serious problems. Research that we have carried out for the Department of Justice delivers one very clear message: that American law enforcement is under-resourced and uncoordinated in addressing the crime of slavery, forced labor, and the crime of human trafficking.

We must adequately resource our legislation. We have to avoid the situation such as in India, a country with one of the best and most comprehensive laws against slavery on the books anywhere in the world, and many, many slaves waiting for the enforcement of that law.

Confusion exists in other parts of the American Government, as well. We have had some very courageous statements by Members of Congress against slavery in parts of Africa.

In the past, however, the State Department asserts that slavery has disappeared in some of those same countries. At times, it has seemed that a succession of American governments has chosen to recognize slavery according to their international political goals.

Now I have to say, in the last 2 years, there has been a very distinct improvement in this. I just recently returned from Burma, and I have seen there the impact on the Government of the very clear statements by Secretary Powell about the crime of forced slavery in that country.

I travel all over America talking about slavery, and I have talked about our Government's response to slavery with citizens across the country. I want to say very clearly what they want you to hear: what is morally wrong cannot be right. America must not play politics with slavery.

If we are to imagine ourselves a bastion of freedom, our foreign policy must apply this principle in a way that is consistent and universal. Our belief in freedom is soiled and diminished if we condemn slavery in one country, and turn a blind eye to it in other. Happily, I think this is not fading as part of our foreign policy.

At the same time, while the problem we confront is large, the obstacles are not insurmountable. Three key battles are already been won. We do not have to win the moral argument. Virtually everyone in the world agrees that slavery is wrong.

Second, we do not have to win the economic argument. Ending slavery does not threaten the economic well being of any industry or any country. Third, we do not have to win the basic legal argument. Laws against slavery exist in virtually every country in the world.

Because this is truly an international crime, our Government needs to press for more action within international agencies. This is not a problem of just the United States or any other single country. It is a global problem, and it needs a global cooperation.

Eradicating slavery is a challenge shared by all humanity. We all know about the United Nations teams that searched for biological weapons in Iraq, and we know about international efforts to protect minorities in the Balkans.

But where are the United Nations Teams to inspect and locate slavery? Where are the contingents that could protect freed slaves and help them toward reintegration in their own societies? Working together, we can verify, assist, and ensure that nations are doing all in their power to find, liberate, and rehabilitate enslaved people.

Our own Government's law enforcement policy suggests other tools we could use to confront this problem of slavery worldwide. Our Department of Justice has located their anti-slavery work very soundly on the 13th Amendment. They are extremely expert, and that expertise can be shared.

The cooperation, funding, and training of foreign law enforcement could be extended to help end the police corruption that supports slavery. Assets confiscated from slaveholders and traffickers could help provide desperately needed resources for the rehabilitation of freed slaves.

We must remember that liberation is only the first step to freedom. It must be followed by helping ex-slaves achieve a decent independent life.

In many ways, our country still suffers from a botched emancipation. Shelby Foote, the historian of our civil war, put it this way, "Slavery was the first great sin of this Nation. The second great sin was emancipation, or rather the way it was done. The Government told four million people, 'You are free, hit the road.' Three-quarters of them could not read or write. The tiniest fraction of them had any profession that they could enter."

We must not allow that mistake to be made again anywhere in the world, or our children and our grandchildren will still be dealing with the ugly legacy of slavery in the same way that we have to deal with it today in the United States, following our botched emancipation.

Of course, there is not a single solution to slavery. Slavery is embedded in both local cultures and the global economy. But our Government has a marvelous collection of sticks and carrots that could be tailored to specific situations. We must coordinate the sticks and carrots that already exist in the hands of the State Department, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Homeland Security to a maximum effect.

Many governments want to maintain ties and build a more positive image in the United States. We need to make it clear that a positive image is one that includes working actively to reduce slavery. As our Government brings its influence to bear, the rapidly growing public movement calling for action on slavery will support it.

After 5,000 years, if there is coordinated and integrated leadership and effort, the eradication of slavery, I believe, is possible in the 21st century. Founded upon the primacy of individual liberty and given its role of leadership in the world, the United States could reasonably mobilize an international consensus to eradicate slavery.

There is historical precedence for this. In the 19th century, the British Government led an international movement to abolish legal slavery. Britain deployed, between 1819 to 1890, a sizable naval force devoted to the interdiction of slave ships. That fleet peaked in size at 36 ships and the operation to free slaves cost the lives of nearly 2,000 of Her Majesty's sailors and marines.

Compared to that grim sacrifice, the human and financial cost of eradication today would be minuscule. Recall that while 27 million is the largest number of slaves to ever live at one time, it is also the smallest proportion of the world population in slavery in human history.

Note that the extremely low cost of slaves worldwide means that criminal slaveholders do not have large investments to defend. In our work with partner organizations in Northern India, we find the cost of freeing, rehabilitating, and reintegrating slaves average about $30 per family, and this does not involve paying criminals to set their slaves free.

The American people and the American Government must ask this question: are we willing to live in a world with slaves? If not, we are obligated to take responsibility for things that connect us to slavery, even when those things are far away.

Unless we work to understand the links that tie us to slavery and then take action to break those links, we are puppets, subject to forces we cannot or will not control. If we do not take action, we are just giving up and letting other people jerk the strings that tie us to slavery.

Of course, there are many kinds of exploitation in the world, many kinds of injustice and violence to be concerned about. But slavery is exploitation, violence, and injustice, all rolled together in its most potent combination.

If there is one fundamental violation of our humanity we cannot allow, it is slavery. If there is one basic truth that virtually every human being can agree on, it is that slavery must end. What good is our economic and political power if we cannot use it to free slaves? Indeed, if we cannot choose to stop slavery, how can we say that we are free? Thank you very much, sir.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bales follows:]

Oral Testimony of Dr. Kevin Bales to the House Sub-Committee on Human Rights and Wellness
Hearings on Worldwide Slavery, 29 October 2003

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I can't tell you how encouraged I am that this subject has been taken up by the House Human Rights and Wellness Sub-Committee. As President of Free the Slaves, as an American who, like all Americans, loathes the crime of slavery, I am excited that our leaders are taking up the issue of modern slavery. Free the Slaves is the American sister-organization of Anti-Slavery International, the world's oldest human rights group, founded to fight slavery in 1787 - we want to build a positive relationship with government and promise to help in any way that we can. This afternoon I'd like to touch on four points: the nature of modern slavery; how slavery touches our lives; the urgent need for a consistent approach to slavery by the US government, and some practical suggestions about how America can use its influence to end slavery once and for all.

Slavery, real slavery, has increased dramatically across the world in the last 50 years. It has grown rapidly, in part, because of the belief among the public and even governments that slavery was ended in 1865. For years I have travelled the world, meeting slaves and slaveholders, and the people who are fighting slavery at the grassroots. I can assure you that slavery is not dead. My conservative estimate is that there are 27 million slaves in the world today.

Let me be clear that I am talking about slavery in its most basic form – the holding of a person against their will through violence, paying them nothing, and forcing them to work. It is the same basic slavery that has dogged humanity for at least five thousand years, but today it has some pernicious modern twists.

For example, slaves are cheaper today than they have ever been in human history. Rapid population growth, combined with the impacts of modernization and globalization on the economies of the developing world, has generated a bumper crop of people vulnerable to enslavement. When government corruption, particularly police corruption, removes the protection of the state, violence can be used to turn the vulnerable into slaves.

This is happening around the world, and once enslaved, the victims can be transported even to those countries where the rule of law is secure. The State Department estimates that up to 20,000 are brought to the United States each year. In research that we have recently carried out for the United Nations we estimate up to 100,000 people are currently held in situations of forced labor in America. They may be forced to work as prostitutes, in agriculture, or as domestic servants. Moreover, slave-made products flow into our homes. Despite the clear prohibition on the importation of slave-made goods in the 1930 Smoot-Hawley Tariff legislation, which is still in force, a host of slave-made raw materials and products flow into America.

A few years ago we asked a slave newly freed on a cocoa farm in West Africa if he knew what happened to the cocoa he harvested. "No", he said. Had he ever tasted chocolate? Again, "No". So we asked him, what would you say to those millions of people who eat the chocolate made from the cocoa you have grown? "Tell them," he said, "when they eat chocolate they are eating my flesh." I am happy to say that with the help of Congress, and the active and energetic participation of the chocolate industry through the Cocoa Protocol, we are making enormous progress in the area of cocoa – but this achievement stands alone. Slave-free trade is not yet a reality in the land of the free.

So the picture is a serious one: millions of people enslaved, and both slaves and slave-made goods being bought and sold within the United States. There are, happily, several positive points. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act passed at the end of 2000 is now seen as a model for the world, and when it is amended this session it will be an even stronger instrument against the trade in human beings. The Trafficking Office and US-AID have made sizable grants having real impact in anti-slavery work abroad. Support by the American government to the International Labor Organization for the rehabilitation of freed child slaves is crucial to that effort.

On the other hand, there are several serious problems. Research that we have carried for the Department of Justice delivers one very clear message: that American law enforcement is under-resourced and uncoordinated in addressing the crime of slavery, forced labor, and human trafficking. We must adequately resource our legislation. We have to avoid the situation in India – a country with one of the best and most comprehensive laws against slavery on the books, and many, many slaves waiting for the enforcement of that law.

Confusion exists in other parts of the government as well. We have had courageous statements by members of Congress against slavery in parts of Africa. Meanwhile the State Department asserts that slavery has disappeared in some of those same countries. At times it seems that a succession of American governments has chosen to recognize slavery according to their international political goals.

I travel all over America talking about slavery; I've met and discussed our government's response to slavery with citizens across the country. Let me say very clearly what they would want you to hear: what is morally wrong cannot be politically right. America must not play politics with slavery. If we are to imagine ourselves a bastion of freedom, our foreign policy must apply this principle in a way that is consistent and universal. Our belief in freedom is soiled and diminished when we condemn slavery in one country, while turning a blind eye to slavery in another.

At the same time, while the problem we confront is large, the obstacles are not insurmountable. Three key battles are already won. We do not have to win the moral argument, everyone agrees that slavery is wrong. Second, we do not have to win the economic argument, ending slavery does not threaten the economic well being of any state or industry. Third, we do not have to win the basic legal argument – laws exist in virtually every country against slavery.

And because this is truly an international crime, our government needs to press for more action within international agencies. This is not a problem of just the United States or any other single country – it is a global problem needing global cooperation. Eradicating slavery is a challenge shared by all humanity. We all know about the UN teams that searched for biological weapons in Iraq, or international efforts to protect minorities in the Balkans. But where are the UN Slavery Inspection Teams? Where are the contingents that protect freed slaves and help them toward reintegration? Working together we can verify, assist, and ensure that nations are doing all in their power to find, liberate, and rehabilitate enslaved people.

Our own government's law enforcement policy suggests other tools we could use to confront the problem of slavery worldwide. Our Department of Justice has located their anti-slavery work soundly on the 13th Amendment, they are extremely expert, and that expertise can be shared. The cooperation, funding and training of foreign law enforcement could be extended to help end the police corruption that supports slavery. Assets confiscated from slaveholders and traffickers could help provide desperately needed resources for the rehabilitation of freed slaves.

We must remember that liberation is only the first step to freedom, it must be followed by helping ex-slaves achieve a decent independent life. In many ways our country still suffers from a botched emancipation. Shelby Foote, the historian of our civil war, put it this way: "Slavery was the first great sin of this nation. The second great sin was emancipation, or rather the way it was done. The government told four million people, 'You are free, hit the road.' Three-quarters of them couldn't read or write. The tiniest fraction of them had any profession that they could enter." We must not allow that mistake to be made again anywhere in the world – or our children and grandchildren will still be dealing with the ugly legacy of slavery.

Of course, there is not a single solution to slavery. Slavery is embedded in both local cultures and the global economy. But our government has a marvellous collection of both sticks and carrots that could be tailored to specific situations. We must coordinate the sticks and carrots that already exist in the hands of the State Department, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Homeland Security to maximum effect. Many governments want to maintain ties and build a more positive image in the US. We need to make it clear that a positive image is one that includes working actively to reduce slavery. And as our government brings its influence to bear, the rapidly growing public movement calling for action on slavery will support it.

After 5000 years, if there is coordinated and integrated leadership and effort, the eradication of slavery is possible in the 21st century. Founded upon the primacy of individual liberty, and given its role of leadership in world affairs, the United States can reasonably mobilize an international consensus to eradicate slavery. There is historical precedence for this. In the 19th century, the British government led an international movement to abolish legal slavery. Britain deployed, from 1819 to 1890, a sizeable naval force devoted to the interdiction of slave ships. The fleet peaked in size at 36 vessels and

the operation to free slaves cost the lives of nearly 2000 of Her Majesty's sailors and marines.

Compared to that grim sacrifice, the human and financial cost of eradication would be miniscule. Recall that while 27 million is the largest number of slaves to ever live at one time, it is also the smallest proportion of the world population in slavery in human history. Note that the extremely low cost of slaves worldwide means that criminal slaveholders do not have large investments to defend. In our work with partners in Northern India, we find the costs of freeing, rehabilitating, and reintegrating slaves average about $30 per family – and this does not involve paying criminals to set their slaves free.

The American people and the American government must ask this question: Are we willing to live in a world with slaves? If not, we are obligated to take responsibility for things that connected us to slavery, even when far away. Unless we work to understand the links that tie us to slavery and then take action to break those links, we are puppets, subject to forces we can't or won't control. If we don't take action we are just giving up and letting other people jerk the strings that tie us to slavery. Of course, there are many kinds of exploitation in the world, many kinds of injustice and violence to be concerned about. But slavery is exploitation, violence, and injustice all rolled together in their most potent combination. If there is one fundamental violation of our humanity we can not allow, it is slavery. If there is one basic truth that virtually every human being can agree on, it is that slavery must end. What good is all our economic and political power, if we can't use it to free slaves? Indeed, if we can't choose to stop slavery, how can we really say we are free?

Thank you.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Bales.

Mr. Shays.

Mr. SHAYS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate having my time for questions. I do want to get back to a basic question. First off, I am not throwing stones, because I was not here a year ago or 2 years ago like Chris Smith and others who were very focused on this issue.

But as a world community, I did find it interesting that I was having to defend why the President would take the U.N.'s time, and why in this time of great terrorism he would spend part of his speech talking about slavery. I found myself being almost amazed and offended by the questions I was getting from the news media.

So first off, break down the $27 million as to, as best we know, what kinds of slavery, what is the most and so on. Who wants to start? Mr. Bales, do you want to start?

Mr. BALES. The largest numbers of people in slavery are in South Asia, across North and West Africa, Central and South America, and Southeast Asia, as well. Probably the largest proportion of those are people in forms of debt bondage in South Asia, Nepal, Pakistan, and India. In part, that is simply because of the very large populations in those countries.

Mr. SHAYS. And it is not necessarily prostitution, correct?

Mr. BALES. No, sir, it is not necessarily prostitution.

Mr. SHAYS. It can be working on the farms, working on the cocoa factories, working on the plantations, working in manufacturing, and so on.

Mr. BALES. Across all of those economic sectors and many more; the only qualification would be to say that slaves are almost never used in any form of sophisticated industry plant.

Mr. SHAYS. This does not have to be directed just to Mr. Bales since I guess you all know the answers to these questions, but I will continue with you, though. Does it tend to be mostly children?

Mr. BALES. No, sir, it is a mixture of men, women, and children. We do not know what the precise proportion is.

Mr. SHAYS. More women than men?

Mr. BALES. I would suspect it is more women than men.

Mr. SHAYS. If anybody disagrees with what is being told, I am going to assume that you all agree, unless you disagree, OK? Does anyone disagree with what Mr. Bales has said to me so far; mostly more women than men, all ages, not necessarily most in prostitution?

Ms. COHN. I agree with what Mr. Bales said. I would add only that we have seen, in some countries, whole villages bonded to a particular industry, say, the quarry industry.

You will also see there that debts are inherited, so that if a child went into slavery for a $20 medical debt to get treatment for her mother, that she will be enslaved and then when she has children, her children will be enslaved when they are of working age; and then when she dies, that debt will be inherited, as well.

Mr. SHAYS. At one point, and I do not know if you were the one who mentioned this, but the young woman, the child who lives with her mother while these sexual acts are taking place, and maybe that was you, Mr. Johnson, the child is just doing her thing or his thing, but in this case, it was a young girl.

But you almost sounded like there was some ethics to it, that she did not become a prostitute at 13, but it was when she became 14. It was almost like, you mentioned at 14 she became a prostitute. Do not misunderstand it, but is there almost a gross code of ethics, even within this system?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think in relation to that and those people who control this particular brothel, it was that age that children then were forced into prostitution.

What was interesting though was that it was only until we started getting the children into school and the later of the group of children, when she turned 14 it was a pivotal moment, and she then was withdrawn from school because her mother was ill. Poverty is one of the major issues, too. It is the cycle that they are unable to get out of this situation.

Mr. SHAYS. So the children are allowed to go to school before they become prostitutes?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, the intervention that we had made was that we had started working with the children, in trying to enable them to get to school.

Once we realized that this young girl was being forced into prostitution, due to the poverty of her mother and she had no choice, there was much pressure brought to bear on this young girl.

But the other children said, we do not want to live here anymore, which was what prompted us to then start the cycle. Then the girls were able to be removed at a distance far enough beyond the control of the pimps, but close enough that they could maintain contact with their mothers; and no girls have returned.

Mr. SHAYS. Let me ask this question. Why does the U.N. not make this a bigger issue? I mean, this seems to me, as I said to someone in the press, like an issue no one should be able to disagree with. In effect, I said, this was really an olive branch to the U.N. to say, hey, let us find some things that we can all agree on.

So were you puzzled by the reaction? First, were you happy that the President spoke out? Did you feel like there was sufficient congratulations on the part of those in our community who may not like the President for other reasons? Did you find the reaction of the U.N. satisfactory? Give me your reaction, all of you. Dr. Mattar, you may start.

Mr. MATTAR. I think what we are talking about here is a new international consensus, as to what we consider trafficking in persons. Let me go back to 1949.

Mr. SHAYS. I do not know if you are answering my question. You may be, and I just may not understand it. First, I need to know, did the U.N. respond favorably, or are you saying to me they did not, but——

Mr. MATTAR. No, I think the United Nations, by creating that international consensus as to what we consider trafficking in the protocol to prevent trafficking in persons, I think it created an international consensus. I think countries have to act now to do something about that.

I just want to say that this month, now we had 40 deratifications of the countries that defied the protocol. That creates some kind of international consensus as to what we consider trafficking in persons. This did not exist prior to the 2000 protocol.

Mr. SHAYS. You are helping me understand that. Maybe it is just our media. But was there great admiration for the United States? You know, when I think, why do they hate us, which is a question I do not think is a fair question; I think why does the world have contempt for us? In some cases, the contempt is because we are doing some good things.

Did the rest of the world say, well, this is the reason why I want to like the United States; or did they say, the United States is butting into our affairs, bug off? I mean, I am just trying to understand.

Mr. MATTAR. I think countries welcome every time the United States is promoting human rights all over the world. That is how I see the role of the United States in promoting combatting trafficking in persons.

Mr. SHAYS. Just a few more minutes, Mr. Chairman; Mr. Bales?

Mr. BALES. You were asking about, how did the United Nations respond. I was in a room with representatives of six United Nations agencies when the news came that the President had made that statement in New York. I was in Southeast Asia at the time. They were overjoyed and, of course, the United Nations is no monolithic organization any more than any great governmental organization.

At the grassroots, the many agencies that have to confront human trafficking, enslavement, debt bondage, and so forth, in the United Nations; they were very pleased that our President had said those things.

Mr. SHAYS. Why did they keep it such a secret?

Mr. BALES. Those are the people at the grassroots. In the same way that it is hard to get, you know, Lee Iacocca to have exactly the same message as the guy on the shop floor; it is hard for me to understand necessarily why that is the case, but it filters up and it filters down.

Mr. SHAYS. Dr. Raymond.

Ms. RAYMOND. Yes, our reaction also was that people within the U.N. system were very pleased, as were we, as were many other NGO's.

But there was also a very negative reaction in the context of the venue that the President chose to express it. The negative reaction was basically that he was trying to soften the problem in Iraq and the issue of terrorism by basically launching that venue to discuss trafficking within that location.

Mr. SHAYS. Was not this venue in the address of the President of the United States to the U.N. totally confined? Was he restricted to just talking about terrorism?

I mean, that may have been the expectation; but good grief, he was a world leader, coming before the world community, saying we disagree here. So we disagree; but can we agree here? You have answered the question to me, but I have contempt for the reaction.

Ms. RAYMOND. I do not disagree with what you are saying, Mr. Shays. But I am telling you what we heard.

Mr. SHAYS. Thank you, I was shooting the messenger. I am sorry, Dr. Raymond.

Ms. RAYMOND. But could I go back to something else that you asked about; what Mr. Bales had said earlier about the numbers

in slavery and whether or not those numbers are numerically more women and children than men, for example.

I would like to just take up this whole question of labor trafficking versus sex trafficking, which I did in my longer preparation and did not get a chance to say this in my restricted remarks.

Obviously, these are both gross violations of human rights. But I think that unfortunately, what we are seeing now is that a number of NGO's in the human rights community are insisting that labor trafficking is the real problem, and that sex trafficking is comparatively minor; most of it being rather harmless prostitution.

Now clearly, being trafficked into exploited farm work or domestic labor or other forms of bonded labor is incompatible with human rights, and it is harmful to those who are subjected to it.

But I what think we have to ask here is the harm really as severe as the harm to women and girls, who are trafficked into prostitution in brothels and repeatedly subjected to intimate violation; to rape, basically?

Mr. SHAYS. Right.

Ms. RAYMOND. I think also ignored is the fact that many of the women trafficked for bonded labor, whether you are talking about domestic labor or whether you are talking about farm work or whatever else one is talking about, their exploitation concludes with they are being sexually exploited, as well, and is often turned into informal systems of prostitution. So I think it is very important to emphasize that.

Mr. SHAYS. Thank you; could I just have Mr. Johnson respond, since he is a constituent, maybe? Are you from Save the Children in Westport, or are you somewhere else?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, actually, I represent Save the Children of the United Nations, so I was around in the corridors that day. There were two questions that you asked, and maybe I can answer first the international question.

Mr. SHAYS. The records show, though, that Save the Children is corporately headquartered in the Fourth District. [Laughter.]

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you; the international perspective, I think it is a big issue. To give you one example, one of the major films in Sweden last year was about the trafficking of a young girl, which challenged Sweden's notions of how it deals with this issue.

But it is getting on the headlines in other media outlets. For example, there were two instances. The Child Soldiers Campaign, which was very hard, looked at children being bonded in conflict. The other was the Yokohama, the second world conference on the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

So while I agree with you, we have still got a long way to go. But I think that there are many initiatives, and certainly, what the U.S. Government is doing is a great step forward and is part of a wider world movement to do something about it.

So while I think sometimes the coverage is not what we would hope for, I think that there are very good signs for us taking the next big step. Certainly, what Congress is looking at right now will be part of that big momentum forward.

Mr. SHAYS. I am going to just quickly respond to Dr. Raymond, and then thank you, Mr. Chairman. You have been very kind.

I do want to agree with one point. I think that the President could have introduced it and said, I know the focus is on this. But he could have then said, while we may disagree here, could we also find ways that we can find common ground, such as—and I think there are ways that just the tone of his presentation might have taken some of that criticism that you were saying that some people had.

This is a wonderful hearing to have, Mr. Chairman; thank you for doing this.

Mr. BURTON. We might collectively send a letter to the administration suggesting some things they might incorporate into the next human rights speech he makes before the U.N. That might he helpful.

Mr. SHAYS. I would love to be part of that.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Smith, real quickly?

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much; very quickly, as a matter of fact, we have a letter going over to the President to thank him for the job that he did there.

I think it was just the tip of the iceberg. It is unfortunate those who reacted negatively did not realize the comprehensiveness of what this administration is doing.

You know, John Miller is a major part of that. He spoke earlier and is still here. But I really do think that our country has gotten it right and we are in the process, hopefully, of making it better.

Also, just a thought, you know, we talk about the United Nations. It has its strengths and weaknesses. But one of it is, it is all a matter of priorities, it seems to me. The repleader system exists, but in order for our repleader to have access, he or she has to have the full compliance of the potentially offending country. At any step along that investigation, certain barriers can be put in place to bar their ability to find out what really is going on. But obviously, we have to keep pushing.

Then there is the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, which has a lot of farcical aspects to it. It can do some good. There is no doubt about it. But it also has the terrible situation where you have rogue nations like Sudan and others.

Talk about slavery; the first hearing I ever had on slavery was on the slavery that did exist and continues to exist. That was almost 10 years ago. People did not believe it. They acted as if we were making it up.

We talked about Mauritania. We talked about Sudan, and even one of our former members of the International Relations Committee, Congressman Dimally, was there as the Government representative, defending Mauritania; which I found, and said so during the hearing, to be offensive.

So I think very often, wittingly or unwittingly, some people are going to put themselves on the line to say, this is not as bad as you say it is. That just completely thwarts the human rights message.

As human rights warriors, you work goes under-heralded, unfocused upon. The people from America would understand this. But the Valley Forge solders who were out there in the cold and just surviving and overcoming; hopefully, we can give you some implication and work side-by-side with you.

Let me also say, I think a big part of the problem is in prosecutorial discretion here in the United States. Post-September 11, despite the best efforts on the part of our U.S. attorneys, they have become pre-occupied, as has the FBI, with doing things other than trafficking. But where a U.S. attorney has a heart and a mind and assets, he or she can really do a job.

In my own state, and I would say to all of my colleagues, ask your U.S. attorneys, what are you doing on trafficking? I know the Attorney General, several times, has admonished his U.S. attorneys to do more. But they still have that prosecutorial discretion to pick and choose.

My U.S. attorney, for example, Chis Christy, went after some Russian traffickers, liberated 30 Russian women, and he is going to get, I think, a major sentencing of those who have done it, who trafficked. He recently got one from some Mexican women, and the traffickers, three of them, got 17 to 18 years for what they did.

So all of us, I think, could do more to say to the FBI and especially to Justice, this is a priority for us, and it certainly is for you. You the heros and the warriors, and we thank you so much. I join my colleagues in thanking you.

[Applause.]

Mr. BURTON. Thank you; we really appreciate your hard work. You do not get many accolades, especially from Congressmen. So I want you to know that even though there are a few of us up here, we represent a lot more than are in this meeting today.

Because of your being here today, Chris and I, and we will get Mr. Shays as well, the two Chrises and Dan, we will write some letters to some of the law enforcement people to start the ball rolling to maybe go into some of the problems that we have here in the United States regarding slavery and prostitution, which hopefully you will be proud of when we get some results.

In any event, thank you for your patience. I know it has been a long day. Thank you very much for being here. I want to thank my former colleague for being here and all of the hard work you are doing; thanks an awful lot. We stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:47 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.]

[The prepared statement of Hon. Elijah E. Cummings and additional information submitted for the hearing record follows:]

Statement of Congressman Elijah E. Cummings
Government Reform Hearing
On
"The Ongoing Tragedy of International Slavery and Human Trafficking: An Overview"
October 29, 2003 at 2:00 p.m.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Slavery is something that many here in the United States believe to have ended in 1869 with the Fifteenth Amendent to United States Constitution. The 15th amendment reads, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." Unfortunately, as we will learn with this hearing today, international slavery and human trafficking is a pervasive problem that needs to be addressed. Far too many of us do not understand the magnitude of this problem, which is truly a global issue.

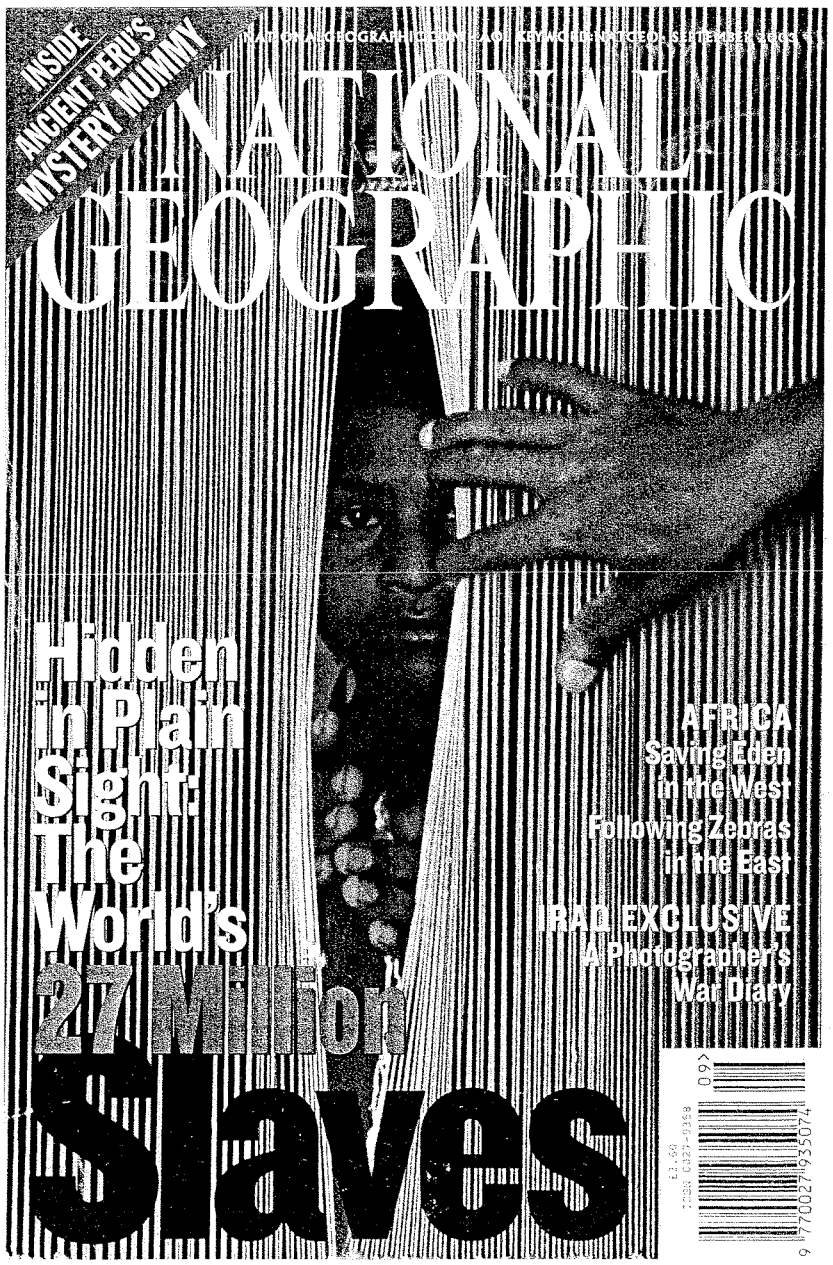
It is estimated that over 27 million individuals are enslaved throughout the world in 116 countries. Over 27 million humans are currently being forced through fear, violence, or coercion into unpaid servitude ranging from manual and domestic labor to sexual exploitation. There are over 27 million

slaves in the world today. The belief is that modern day slavery exists only in foreign countries, causing many in this country to overlook the issue. Yet, it is estimated, that of those 27 million modern day slaves, one hundred thousand (100,000) are located right here in the United States where they are held in situations of forced labor. In fact, every year up to twenty thousand (20,000) more slaves are brought to the United States. These are men, women, and children who are forced into prostitution, domestic labor, migrant work, and sweatshop labor, among others.

Fortunately, in 2000, Congress passed the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, which helps to aid and protect victims of modern day slavery by setting aside grant monies for programs that help to rehabilitate victims of slave trafficking and by establishing programs that help prevent trafficking, promote public awareness of human slavery, and provide more stringent penalties for persons committing the crime of human trafficking. This law brings awareness to the issue of modern day slavery, and it is my hope that with continued efforts such as this hearing, Congress will continue to pass laws and educate the general public on the dangers and realities associated with human slavery.

The knowledge that slavery, an act thought to have been abolished, is still alive and flourishing should concern all of us. A concerted effort must be made to understand the problems surrounding modern day slavery and human trafficking and everything must be done to eradicate these offenses to human kind.

With that said, I would like to once more thank you Mr. Chairman for holding today's hearing. I look forward to hearing from the witnesses as they help us to further understand the ongoing tragedy of international slavery and human trafficking.


INSIDE
ANCIENT PERU'S
MYSTERY MUMMY
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AFRICA
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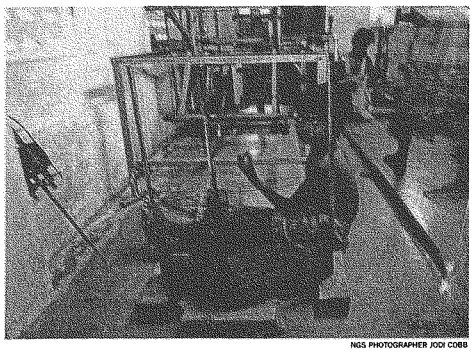
From the Editor



NGS PHOTOGRAPHER JODI COBB

Panneer is ten years old. He winds thread 14 hours a day for looms in Kanchipuram, India. His fingers bleed. His body is being poisoned by dye.

Thousands of child slaves work India's silk industry. Photographer Jodi Cobb and her assistant Neha Diddee saw the life they endure on the day they met Panneer. Later, after hours of shooting, Jodi and Neha walked back to their car, sat down, and wept.

The "21st-Century Slaves" article in this issue may have the same effect on you as it had on Jodi, author Andrew Cockburn, and the rest of the team that prepared the story. You may cry. You may be sickened. You may be riveted, unable to stop reading. Or you may decide you can't bear any more, and flip to the next article.

As an editor, why would I decide to publish an article that makes people want to turn away, or that they may not want their children to see? Because until we began work on this story I had no idea there were 27 million slaves in the world—all around us, largely invisible. I think you should know, and I think your children should know. Here's my promise: If you read the story that begins on page 2, you'll never look at the world the same way again.

Bill Allen

Watch my preview of the October issue on ***National Geographic Today*** on September 16 at 7 p.m. and again at 10 p.m. ET/PT on the National Geographic Channel.

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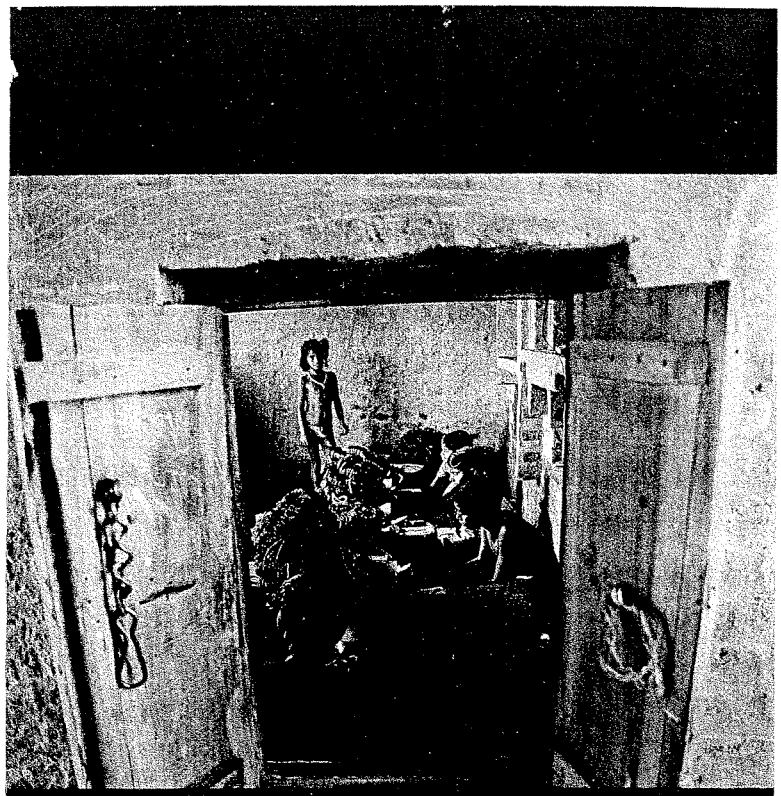
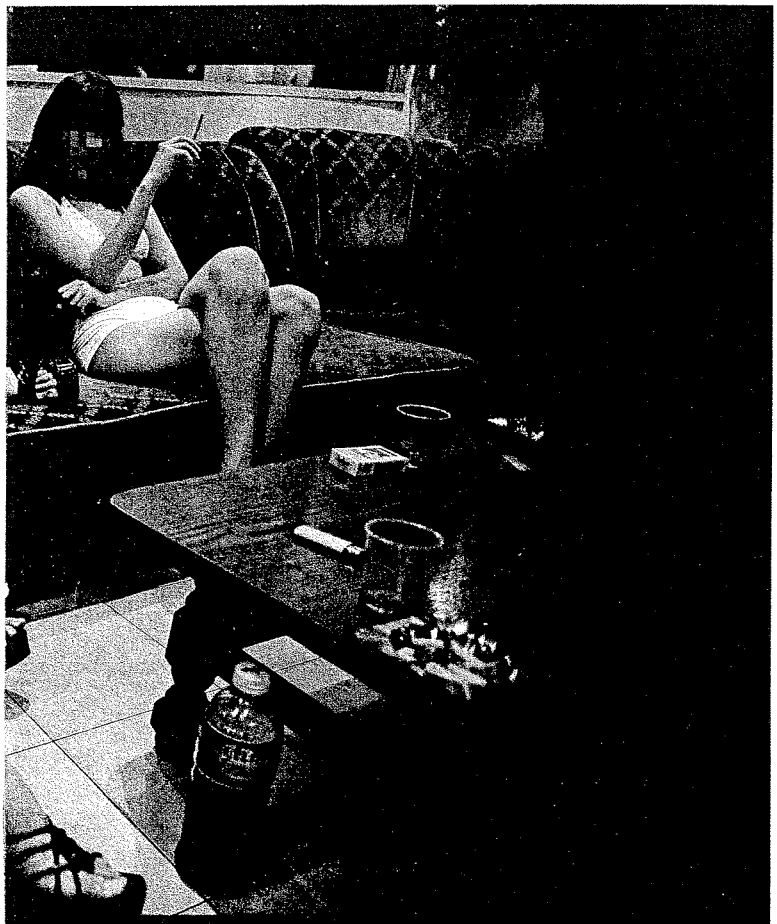
By Andrew Cockburn • Photographs by Jodi Cobb National Geographic Photographer

The headline below is not a metaphor. This story is about slaves. Not people living *like* slaves, working hard for lousy pay. Not people 200 years ago. It's about 27 million people worldwide who are bought and sold, held captive, brutalized, exploited for profit. It's about

21ST CENTURY SLAVES

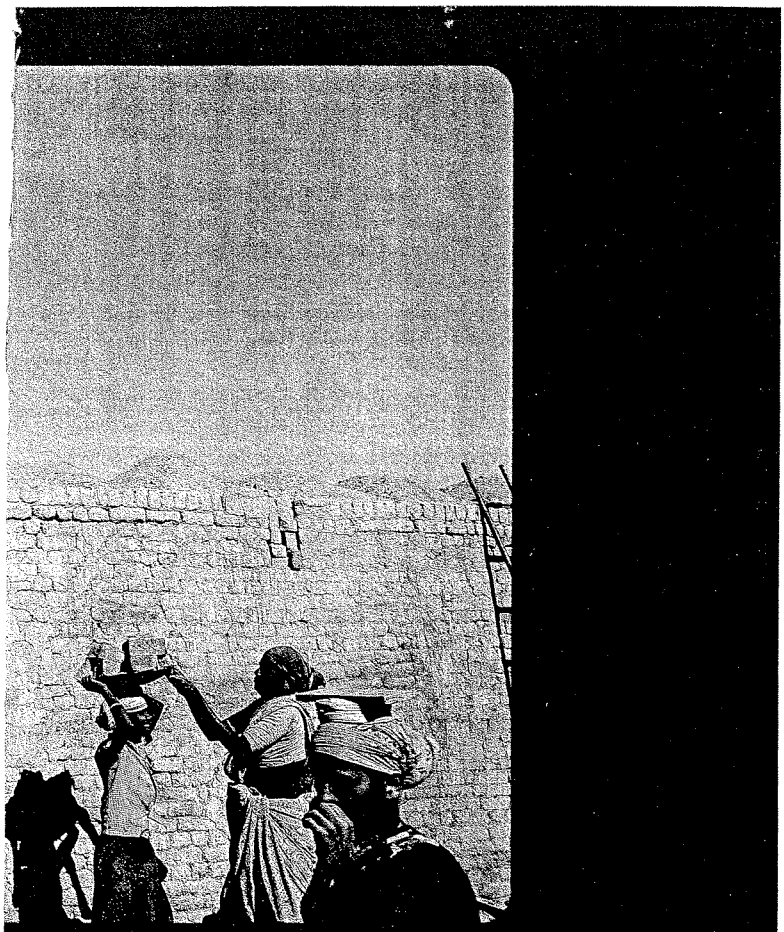


In a dim, airless room in northern India, a dozen children bend over gas burners making bracelets that sell for 40 cents a dozen. These children, between 9 and 14 years old, work ten hours a day, every day—traded by their parents to the workshop owner for cash. The average sum that enslaves an Indian child? $35.



Unlike drugs, a woman's body can be sold over and over

Owners of Israeli brothels, like this one in Tel Aviv, can buy young women from Moldova or Ukraine for around $4,000 each. With ten prostitutes to service customers, even a small operation can make a million dollars a year. Traffickers posing as employment agents find victims in poor Eastern European towns and lure them abroad with promises of good jobs. When the women arrive—in Israel, Germany, Switzerland, Japan, the U.S.—they're delivered to buyers who typically beat, rape, or terrorize them into compliance.



Debt traps entire families in **bondage** for generations

Mothers and daughters haul handmade bricks at a southeast India kiln while fathers and sons stoke the fires. Kiln owners acquire workers by loaning poor families money for expenses far beyond their means: medical care or a funeral. Despite years of work to pay these loans, exorbitant interest and dishonest accounting perpetuate the debts, and parents pass the burdens on to their children. Roughly two-thirds of the world's captive laborers—15 to 20 million people—are debt slaves in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal.

Sherwood Castle, headquarters to Milorad Milakovic, the former railway official who rose to become a notorious slave trafficker in Bosnia, looms beside the main road just outside the northwest Bosnian town of Prijedor. Under stucco battlements, the entrance is guarded by well-muscled, heavily tattooed young men, while off to one side Milakovic's trio of pet Siberian tigers prowl their caged compound.

I arrived there alone one gray spring morning—alone because no local guide or translator dared accompany me—and found my burly 54-year-old host waiting for me at a table set for lunch beside a glassed-in aquamarine swimming pool.

The master of Sherwood has never been shy about his business. He once asked a dauntless human rights activist who has publicly detailed his record of buying women for his brothels in Prijedor: "Is it a crime to sell women? They sell footballers, don't they?"

Milakovic threatened to kill the activist for her outspokenness, but to me he sang a softer tune. Over a poolside luncheon of seafood salad and steak, we discussed the stream of young women fleeing the shattered economies of their home countries in the former Soviet bloc. Milakovic said he was eager to promote his scheme to legalize prostitution in Bosnia—"to stop the selling of people, because each of those girls is someone's child."

One such child is a nearsighted, chain-smoking blonde named Victoria, at 20 a veteran of the international slave trade. For three years of her life she was among the estimated 27 million men, women, and children in the world who are enslaved—physically confined or restrained and forced to work, or controlled through violence, or in some way treated as property.

Victoria's odyssey began when she was 17, fresh out of school in Chisinau, the decayed capital of the former Soviet republic of Moldova. "There was no work, no money," she explained simply. So when a friend—"at least I thought he was a friend"—suggested he could help her get a job in a factory in Turkey, she jumped at the idea and took up his offer to drive her there, through Romania. "But when I realized we had driven west, to the border with Serbia, I knew something was wrong."

It was too late. At the border she was handed over to a group of Serb men, who produced a new passport saying she was 18. They led her on foot into Serbia and raped her, telling her that she would be killed if she resisted. Then they sent her under guard to Bosnia, the Balkan republic being rebuilt under a torrent of international aid after its years of genocidal civil war.

Victoria was now a piece of property and, as such, was bought and sold by different brothel owners ten times over the next two years for an average price of $1,500. Finally, four months pregnant and fearful of a forced abortion, she escaped. I found her hiding in the Bosnian city of Mostar, sheltered by a group of Bosnian women.

In a soft monotone she recited the names of clubs and bars in various towns where she had to dance seminaked, look cheerful, and have sex with any customer who wanted her for the price of a few packs of cigarettes. "The clubs were all awful, although the Artemdia, in Banja Luka, was the worst—all the customers were cops," she recalled.

Victoria was a debt slave. Payment for her services went straight to her owner of the moment to cover her "debt"—the amount he had paid to buy her from her previous owner. She was held in servitude unless or until the money she owed to whomever controlled her

had been recovered, at which point she would be sold again and would begin to work off the purchase price paid by her new owner. Although slavery in its traditional form survives in many parts of the world, debt slavery of this kind, with variations, is the most common form of servitude today.

According to Milorad Milakovic, such a system is perfectly aboveboard. "There is the problem of expense in bringing a girl here," he had explained to me. "The plane, transport, hotels along the way, as well as food. That girl must work to get that money back."

In November 2000 the UN-sponsored International Police Task Force (IPTF) raided Milakovic's nightclub-brothels in Prijedor, liberating 34 young women who told stories of servitude similar to Victoria's. "We had to dance, drink a lot, and go to our rooms with anyone," said one. "We were eating once a day and sleeping five to six hours. If we would not do what we were told, guards would beat us."

Following the IPTF raids, Milakovic complained to the press that the now liberated women had cost a lot of money to buy, that he would have to buy more, and that he wanted compensation. He also spoke openly about the cozy relations he had enjoyed with the IPTF peacekeepers, many of whom had been his customers.

But there were no influential friends to protect him in May this year, when local police finally raided Sherwood Castle and arrested Milakovic for trafficking in humans and possessing slaves.

We think of slavery as something that is over and done with, and our images of it tend to be grounded in the 19th century: black field hands in chains. "In those days slavery thrived on a shortage of person power," explains Mike Dottridge, former director of Anti-Slavery International, founded in 1839 to carry on the campaign that had already abolished slavery in the British Empire. The average slave in 1850, according to the research of slavery expert Kevin Bales, sold for around $40,000 in today's money.

I visited Dottridge at the organization's headquarters in a small building in Stockwell, a nondescript district in south London. "Back then," said Dottridge, "black people were kidnapped and forced to work as slaves. Today vulnerable people are lured into debt slavery in the expectation of a better life. There are so many of them because there are so many desperate people in the world."

The offices are festooned with images of contemporary slavery—forced labor in West Africa, five- and six-year-old Pakistani children delivered to the Persian Gulf to serve as jockeys on racing camels, Thai child prostitutes. File cabinets bulge with reports: Brazilian slave gangs hacking at the Amazon rain forest to make charcoal for the steel industry, farm laborers in India bound to landlords by debt they have inherited from their parents and will pass on to their children.

The buying and selling of people is a profitable business because, while globalization has made it easier to move goods and money around the world, people who want to move to where jobs are face ever more stringent restrictions on legal migration.

Almost invariably those who cannot migrate legally or pay fees up front to be smuggled across borders end up in the hands of trafficking mafias. "Alien smuggling [bringing in illegal aliens who then find paying jobs] and human trafficking [where people end up enslaved or sold by the traffickers] operate exactly the same way, using the same routes," said a veteran field

"Is it a crime to sell women? They sell footballers, don't they?" Milorad Milakovic, after his brothels in Prijedor were raided, complained that the now liberated **women had cost a lot of money to buy** . . . and that he wanted compensation.

agent from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). "The only difference is what happens to people at the other end." As the fees people must pay for transport rise in step with tightening border controls, illegal immigrants are ever more likely to end up in debt to the traffickers who have moved them—and are forced to work off their obligations as slaves.

It's dangerous for outsiders to show too close an interest in how these trafficking mafias work (a point that had occurred to me at Sherwood Castle), but in Athens I found a man who has made the study of slave trafficking his specialty and lives to tell the tale.

In 1990 Grigoris Lazos, a sociology professor at Panteion University, embarked on what he thought would be straightforward research on prostitution in Greece. Bright and intense, he resolved to go straight to the source, the prostitutes themselves. Through them he eventually made contact with the people who had enslaved them. Over the course of a decade—and in the face of intense disapproval from his professional colleagues—Lazos gained access to trafficking operations from the inside and was able to paint a clear picture of the interplay between prostitution and slavery in his country.

"You should note the difference between a small trafficking gang and a large network, which uses the Internet and bank accounts," he said. "Any bar owner or group of bar owners in Greece can send someone up to southern Bulgaria to buy women for cash. The cost of a girl in that area is $1,000, or, if you negotiate, you might be able to get two for $1,000. Best to try on a Monday for cheap prices, because most trafficking happens at the weekends. Mondays are slow, so you can get the leftovers."

"A network on the other hand," he continued, "has the ability to bargain and complete financial transactions from a distance. Simply call Moscow, ask for women, and they will be sent to Romania and from there on through Bulgaria to Greece. The parties don't even have to know each other. The importer simply says, 'I want so-and-so many first quality women, so-and-so many second quality, so-and-so many third quality.'"

Flicking through his exhaustive files, the professor rattled off the cold data of human trade. "Between 1990 and 2000 the total amount earned in Greece from trafficked women, that is to say those who were forced into this kind of prostitution, was 5.5 billion dollars. Voluntary prostitutes, those who were working of their own accord and are mostly Greek women, earned 1.5 billion dollars."

The efficiency and scope of the Greek traffickers' operations studied by Lazos is by no means unique. In Trieste, the gateway from the Balkans into northern Italy, investigators from the local anti-mafia commission tracked the activities of Josip Loncaric, a former taxi driver from Zagreb, Croatia.

By the time Loncaric was finally arrested in 2000 he owned airlines in Albania and Macedonia and was involved in moving thousands of people destined for work not only in prostitution but in any menial task requiring cheap labor in the prosperous world of the European Union. His Chinese wife, who was also his business partner, provided a link to criminal Chinese triads with which Loncaric did profitable business smuggling Chinese as well as Kurds, Iraqis, Iranians, and any other afflicted people willing to mortgage themselves in hopes of a better future. Many of Loncaric's Chinese victims found themselves locked up and forced to work 18 hours a day in restaurants or in the famous Italian leather workshops.

Trafficking mafias and smugglers, in the last decade of the 20th century, brought 35,000 people a year into Western Europe through the Trieste area, guiding them at night through the rugged mountains and forests straddling the border with Slovenia. But this is only one of many funnels between poor worlds and rich ones. Thousands of miles away I found another flood of migrants fleeing Central America on their way to El Norte, the United States, where they could ultimately become slaves.

These migrants' homes were ravaged by the wars of the 1980s and '90s and reduced to further ruin by a succession of natural and man-made disasters. Hurricane Mitch pounded Honduras and Nicaragua in 1998; afterward the number of homeless street children in Central America jumped by 20 percent. El Salvador was hit by a 7.6 earthquake in 2001. Large parts of the region have been without rain for the past three years, and the world price of coffee has crashed, ruining the Central American

coffee industry and leaving 600,000 workers unemployed. In Guatemala more than half a million coffee workers face starvation.

Many economists argue that the North American Free Trade Agreement has made its own contribution to the flood of people trying to move north, maintaining that cheap U.S. corn imported into Mexico has effectively driven millions of Mexican peasant corn farmers out of business and off the land. They suggest that for every ton of corn imported into Mexico, two Mexicans migrate to the U.S.

The tiny Guatemalan town of Tecún Umán lies on the bank of the Suchiate River. Here migrants from Central America gather to cross into Mexico on their way north. Those with valid travel documents for Mexico cross the bridge over the river; those without them pay a few cents to be ferried across on rafts made from tractor inner tubes.

No matter where they come from, a great majority of migrants arrive in Tecún Umán penniless, easy prey for the local hoteliers, bar owners, and people smugglers—known as coyotes—who live off the flow of humanity. It is a town where, in the words of one former resident, "everything and everyone is for sale."

Some of the luckier migrants find a temporary safe haven at Casa del Migrante, a walled compound just a few yards from the muddy riverbank. "Every day, morning and night, I give a speech here," says the Casa's director, Father Ademar Barilli, a Brazilian Jesuit who remains surprisingly buoyant despite the surrounding misery. "I talk about the dangers of the trip north and urge them to go back. It's a bad choice to go home, but a worse one to try to go on to the U.S."

Barilli warns migrants about the bosses in Mexico who may take their precious documents and force them into slavery on remote plantations. He tells them about the brothels in Tapachula, the Mexican town across the river, where girls are forced into prostitution. Most, remembering the misery they have left behind, disregard his warnings. As Adriana, a 14-year-old prostitute in a Tapachula bar, exclaimed when asked if she would consider going home to Honduras: "No, there you die of hunger!"

Despite Barilli and Casa del Migrante, Tecún Umán itself is hardly safe. The week before I arrived, a dead coyote had been dumped just outside the gates of the compound with a hundred bullets in his body. "People are killed here because of the traffic in people and babies. There are many mafias involved in the business of this town. *Aquí uno no sale en la noche*—Here you don't go out at night," Barilli said.

As I calculated the amount of daylight left, Barilli explained what local bar owners say to girls from the buses that roll in every day from the south. "They talk about a job working in a restaurant. But the job is in a bar. After the girl has worked for a while just serving drinks, the owner denounces her to the police and gets her arrested because she has no documents. She is jailed; he bails her out. Then he tells her she is in his debt and must work as a prostitute. The debt never ends, so the girl is a slave."

Barilli cited a recent case involving a bar named La Taverna on the highway out of town. The owner, a woman, had duped six girls in this fashion. "Some of them got pregnant, and she sold the babies," he said. Thanks partly to the efforts of a Casa del Migrante lay worker (who afterward went into hiding in response to a flood of very credible death threats), the bar owner was finally arrested and jailed.

Stepped-up security in the wake of 9/11 has made the major obstacle on the road from the south, the border between Mexico and the U.S., more difficult than ever to clear. With heightened control has come a commensurate increase in the price charged by smuggling gangs to take people across: up from an average of about *(Continued on page 18)*

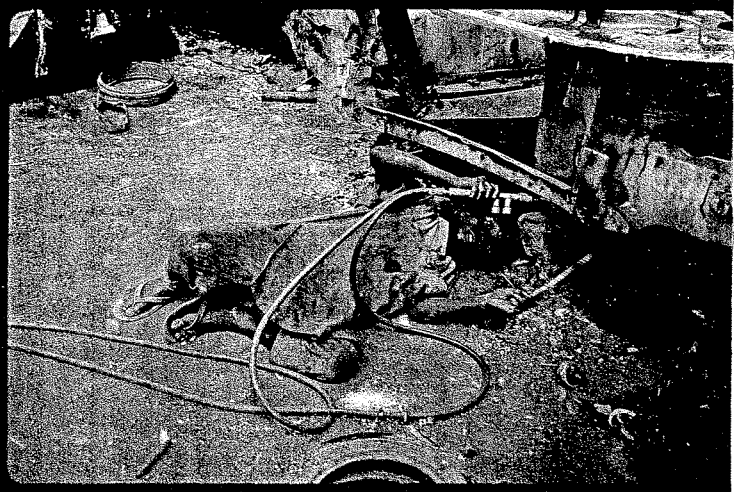
"The slaves in Lake Placid were invisible. . . . People were playing golf at the retirement community, and right behind them was a slave camp."

Broken Promise

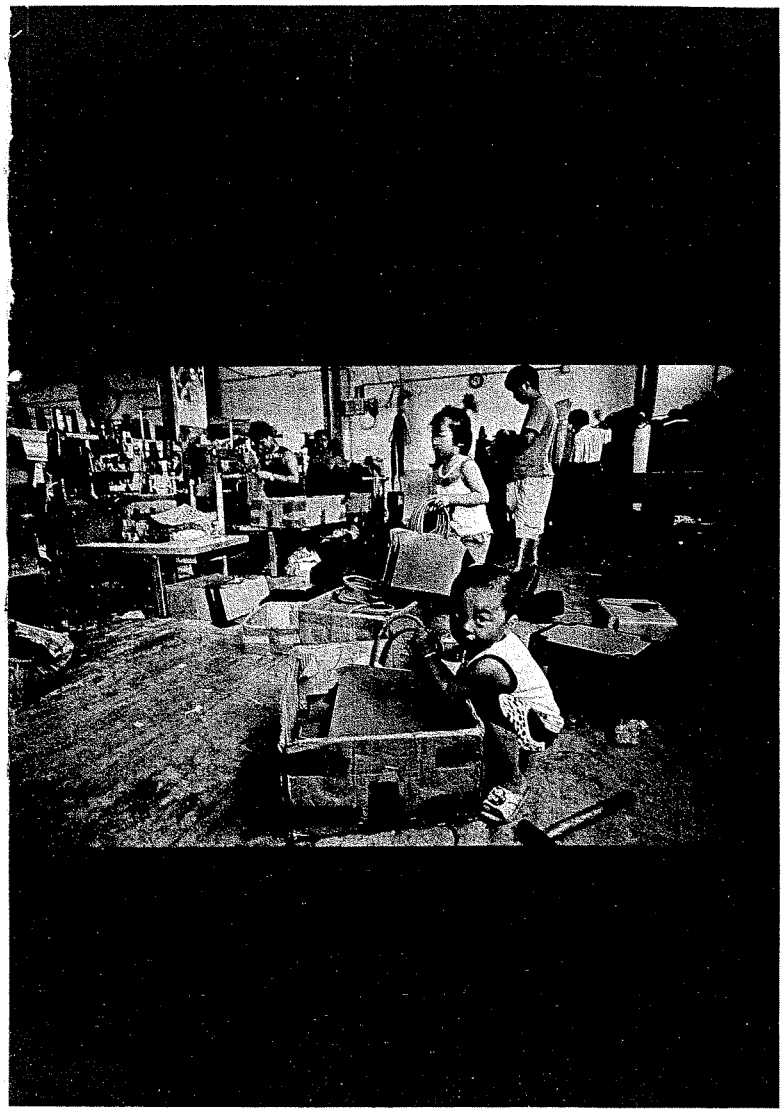
Countries where slavery is legal: **0**

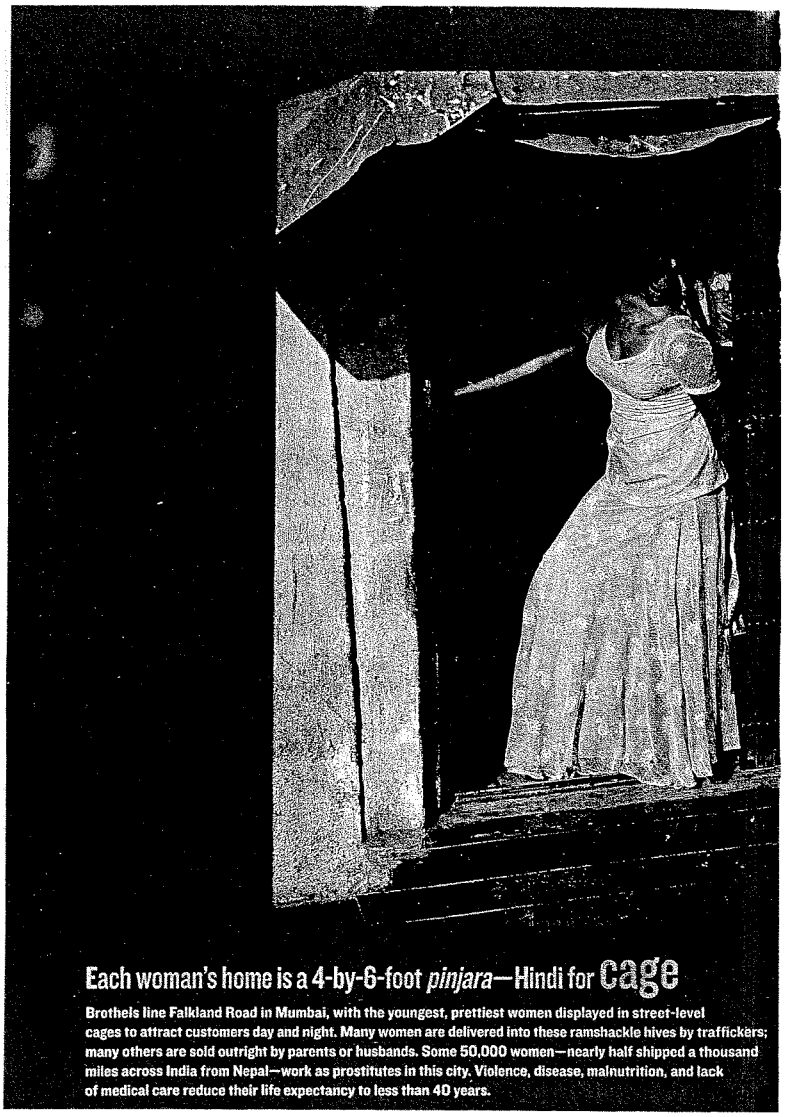
Countries where more than a hundred human beings are known to have been trafficked last year: **Albania, Angola, Armenia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Brunei, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cuba, Czech Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Latvia, Lebanon, Liberia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Moldova, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, North Korea, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Serbia and Montenegro, Sierra Leone, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Vietnam, Zambia, Zimbabwe**

SOURCE: 2003 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE REPORT ON TRAFFICKING



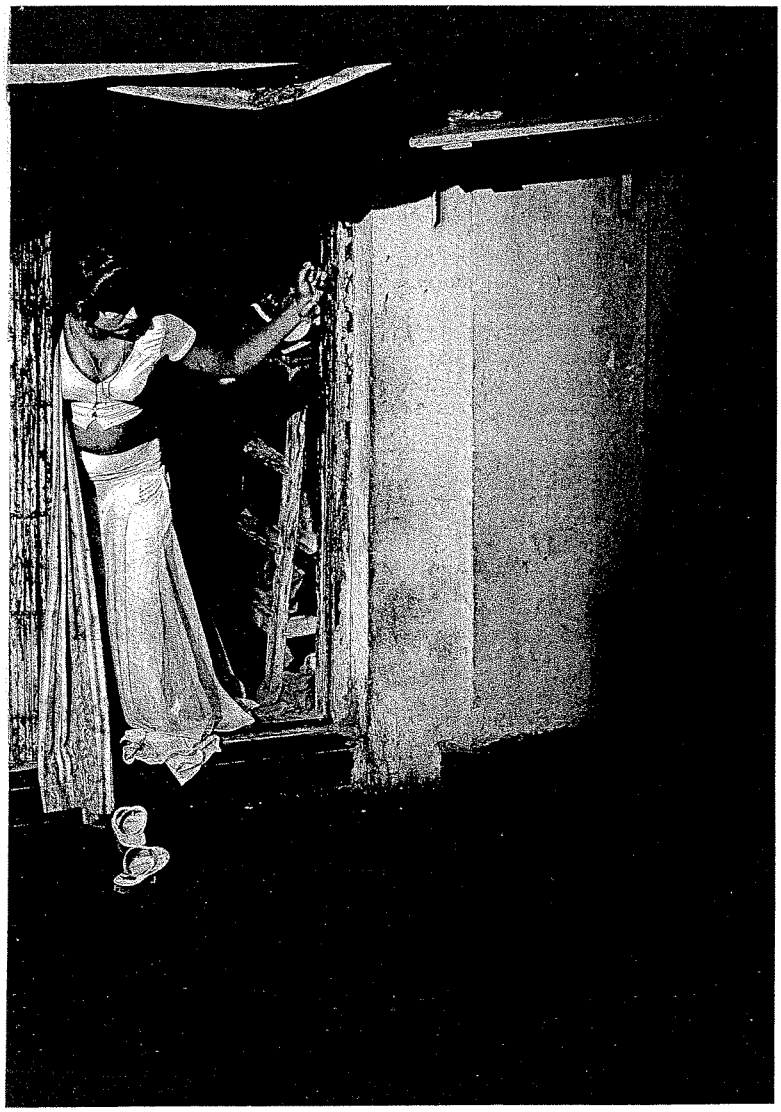
The boy's parents sent him to the mechanic's shop in Benin's capital, Porto-Novo, to learn a skill. He works all day (above) without rest or pay. He can't go outside without permission. Any disobedience brings a beating. According to Kevin Bales, a leading slavery researcher and director of U.S.-based Free the Slaves, this mix of total domination and economic exploitation defines modern slaveholding. Slaves today are controlled not by legal ownership, but by what Bales calls "the final authority of violence." Slavery may be easier to define than it is to detect, however. Among the estimated 60,000 Chinese now living in Italy, legal and illegal immigrants have been found laboring side by side with slaves. Investigations of immigrant workplaces—like a leather factory near Florence (right)—are often stymied by language barriers and the widespread use of fraudulent identity documents.





Each woman's home is a 4-by-6-foot *pinjara*—Hindi for cage

Brothels line Falkland Road in Mumbai, with the youngest, prettiest women displayed in street-level cages to attract customers day and night. Many women are delivered into these ramshackle hives by traffickers; many others are sold outright by parents or husbands. Some 50,000 women—nearly half shipped a thousand miles across India from Nepal—work as prostitutes in this city. Violence, disease, malnutrition, and lack of medical care reduce their life expectancy to less than 40 years.

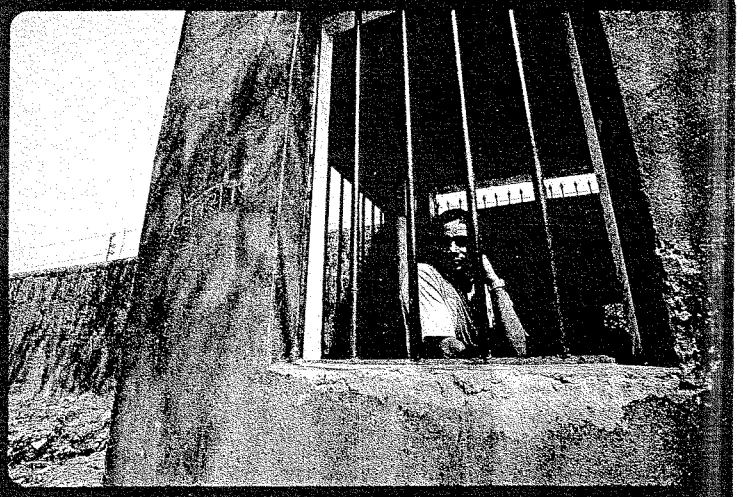


Stopping Traffic

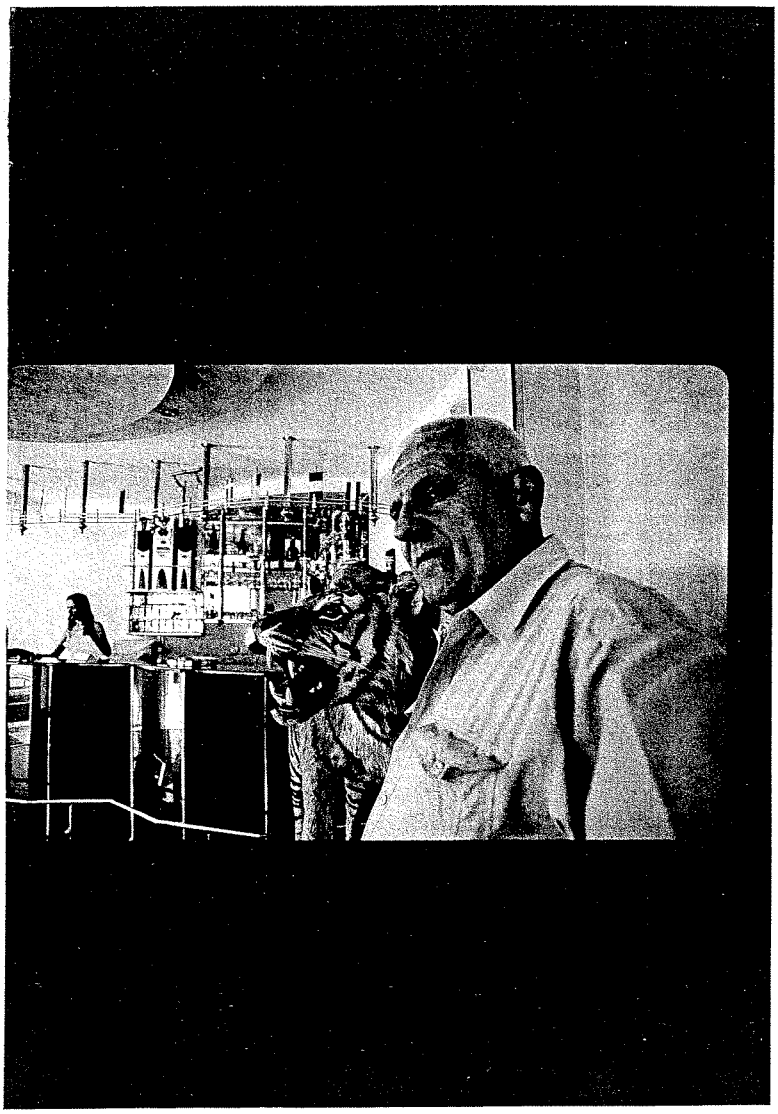
Countries that actively prosecute trafficking in human beings as a serious crime: **25**

Prison sentences imposed on some convicted traffickers in the U.S. in 2002:

- **Louisa Satia and Kevin Waton Nanji, 9 years each for luring a 14-year-old girl from Cameroon with promises of schooling, then isolating her in their Maryland home, raping her, and forcing her to work as their servant for three years.**
- **Sardar and Nadira Gasanov, 5 years each for recruiting women from Uzbekistan with promises of jobs, seizing their passports, and forcing them to work in strip clubs and bars in West Texas.**
- **Fifteen defendants in *U.S.* v. *Pipkins, et al.*, up to 40 years total for forcing children into prostitution in Atlanta, Georgia. Victims were tortured for disobedience.**
- **Juan and Ramiro Ramos, 12 years each, and José Luis Ramos, 10 years, for transporting Mexicans to Florida and for forcing them to work as fruit pickers. A local van driver and his employees were brutally beaten for trying to help victims escape.**



Convicted trafficker Chandra Gautam (above) will spend 16 years in a Nepalese jail. Long prison sentences and proactive police investigations are part of what the U.S. Department of State calls "a significant effort" by Nepal to stop trade in people. In Bosnia Milorad Milakovic (right) was arrested in May on charges that he buys and sells women through his bar-and-brothel empire. The wealthy Serb says that United Nations international police forces and Bosnian visa and immigration officials have been among his most valued customers. "There's a clear link between slavery and government corruption," says Corbin Lyday, a former official of the U.S. Agency for International Development. "Government officials in dozens of countries assist, overlook, or actively collude with traffickers."



(Continued from page 11) $1,000 a person to $2,000. Survivors of the journey arrive deeply indebted and vulnerable to slavers.

In Immokalee, Florida, I sat in a room full of men and women with the same Maya features I had last seen on the faces of the people in Tecún Umán. Almost all of them were farm laborers, toiling on Florida's vast plantations to pick fruit and vegetables consumed all over the U.S. They were meeting at the headquarters of a farmworker organization, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), to discuss ways of improving conditions in their ill-paid occupation. When the rapid-fire Spanish conversation died away, an elderly man picked up a guitar and began to sing about Juan Muñoz, who left Campeche, Mexico, "to seek his fortune in the U.S." but ended up in Lake Placid, Florida, working "as a slave" for a cruel boss who stole all his money.

Blues singers composed similar laments about the miseries of plantation life in the Old South, and we think of those songs as part of our heritage. But this song was not about the past. Juan Muñoz is a real person, a 32-year-old who left his small farm in Campeche because he couldn't earn enough money to feed his family. He made his way across the border to Marana, Arizona, where a coyote promised him a ride all the way to a job picking oranges in Florida. The ride cost $1,000, which Muñoz was told he could pay off over time. On arrival he found he had in fact joined the modern slave economy.

Highway 27 runs through citrus country in the heart of Florida, which supplies 80 percent of U.S. orange juice. The pickers in the fields that line the highway are overwhelmingly immigrants, many undocumented and all poor. They earn an average $7,500 a year for work that is hard and unhealthy, toiling for bosses who contract with growers to supply crews to pick crops. The law generally leaves these people alone so long as they stick to low-paid but necessary work in the fields.

Sweatshop conditions in the fields are almost inevitable, since the corporations that buy the crops have the power to keep the prices they pay low, thus ensuring that wages paid by harvesting companies to pickers stay low too. These conditions lead to a high turnover in the workforce, since anyone with a prospect of alternative work swiftly moves on. Hence the appeal to crew bosses of debt-slave crews, whose stability and docility are assured. That is how Juan Muñoz found himself held captive along with at least 700 others in the well-guarded camps operated by the Ramos family in and around the little town of Lake Placid.

"They had almost all been picked up in Arizona by coyotes who offered to take them to Florida and then sold them to the crew bosses," says Romeo Ramirez, a 21-year-old Guatemalan who went undercover to investigate the Ramoses' operation on behalf of the CIW.

Captives in eight camps in and around Lake Placid were living "four to a room, which stank, sleeping on box springs." Not surprisingly, the workers were terrified of their bosses. "People knew they would be beaten for trying to get away," said Ramirez, citing the rumor about one would-be escapee who "had his knees busted with a hammer and then was thrown out of a car moving 60 miles an hour.

"The workers were paid by the growers every Friday," Ramirez continued, "but then they would all be herded to the Ramoses' stores in Lake Placid and forced to sign over their checks. By the time they had paid for rent and food, their debt was as high as ever." One such store, Natalie's Boutique, is a block from the police station.

In April 2001 a team from the CIW helped four of the captive laborers, including Muñoz, to make a break. Spurred to action by the unequivocal testimony of the escapees, the FBI and INS mounted a raid—although the prominent "INS Deportation Service" sign on the side of the bus accompanying the raiding party gave the crew bosses enough warning to send the workers out into the orange groves around Lake Placid to hide. Nevertheless, the brothers Ramiro and Juan Ramos, along with their cousin José Luis Ramos, were eventually charged with trafficking in slaves, extortion, and possession of firearms. In June 2002 the three Ramoses were convicted on all counts and received prison sentences totaling 34 years and 9 months.

This 21st-century slave operation may have been ignored by the Ramoses' corporate clients; and federal agencies may have been slow to react to prodding by the CIW. But the slave crews were hardly out of sight. The main camp in which the Ramoses confined their victims was just on the edge of *(Continued on page 23)*

I Was Born a Slave

My name is Salma. I was born a slave in Mauritania in 1956. My parents were slaves, and their parents were slaves of the same family. As soon as I was old enough to walk, I was forced to work all day, every day. Even if we were sick, we had to work.

When I was still a child, I started taking care of the first wife of the head of the family and her 15 children. Later, even if one of my own children was hurt or in danger, I didn't dare help my child, because I had to care for the master's wife's children first. I was beaten very often, with a wooden stick or leather belt. One day they were beating my mother, and I couldn't stand it. I tried to stop them. The head of the family got very angry with me. He tied my hands, and branded me with a burning iron, and hit me across the face. His ring cut my face and left a scar.

I was never allowed to go to school or learn anything more than some Koran verses and prayers. But I was lucky, because the eldest son of the master had gone to school away from our village and had different ideas than his father. This eldest son secretly taught me to speak French and to read and write a little. I think that everyone thought he was raping me, but he was teaching me.

Other slaves were afraid of liberty. They were afraid they wouldn't know where to go or what to do. But I always believed that I had to be free, and I think that helped me to escape.

I tried to escape about ten years ago. I didn't know how close I was to Senegal, so I walked for two days in the wrong direction. I was found and sent back, and punished. My wrists and ankles were bound, then I was tied to a date tree in the middle of the family compound, and left for a week. The head of the family cut my wrists with a razor, so that I bled terribly. I still have scars on my arms.

Finally I met a man in the market who told me that Senegal was just across the river. I decided I had to try again. I ran to the river, where a man with a small wooden boat agreed to take me to Senegal. There I made my way to a safe house run by a former slave from Mauritania. I stayed in Senegal for a few years, earning my keep by doing housework. But I never felt safe. Always I was afraid that the master of the family would pay people to find me and bring me back to his house.

When I got to the U.S., I worked braiding hair. The first time I was paid for work I had done, I cried. I had never seen a person paid for her work before in my life. It was a very good surprise.

One of the hardest things was leaving my children behind, but I knew I had to escape first. In the three years I have been here, I have been working to free my children. I paid people to find them and take them to Senegal, and now I am paying for my children to go to school. Every morning I get up early, and buy a phone card, and speak with them. They tell me they would rather die in the street than return to Mauritania. My oldest daughter is now in the United States with me. I want very much that my other children will join us. In Mauritania, I never had the right to make decisions concerning my own children. Here, it is so different.

In Mauritania, I didn't dare go to the government, because they wouldn't listen. It doesn't matter what the laws say, because they don't apply the laws. Maybe it's written that there is no slavery, but it's not true. Even in front of the president of Mauritania I can say in full voice that there is slavery in Mauritania, because now I am as free as he is.

When I first came to the U.S., I was afraid that I would be sent back. But then I met my lawyer, and a doctor who helped me, and Kevin Bales of Free the Slaves, and the Bellevue Program for Survivors of Torture. The judge at my asylum hearing was honest, and did his job. He demanded proof, but then he listened, and paid attention.

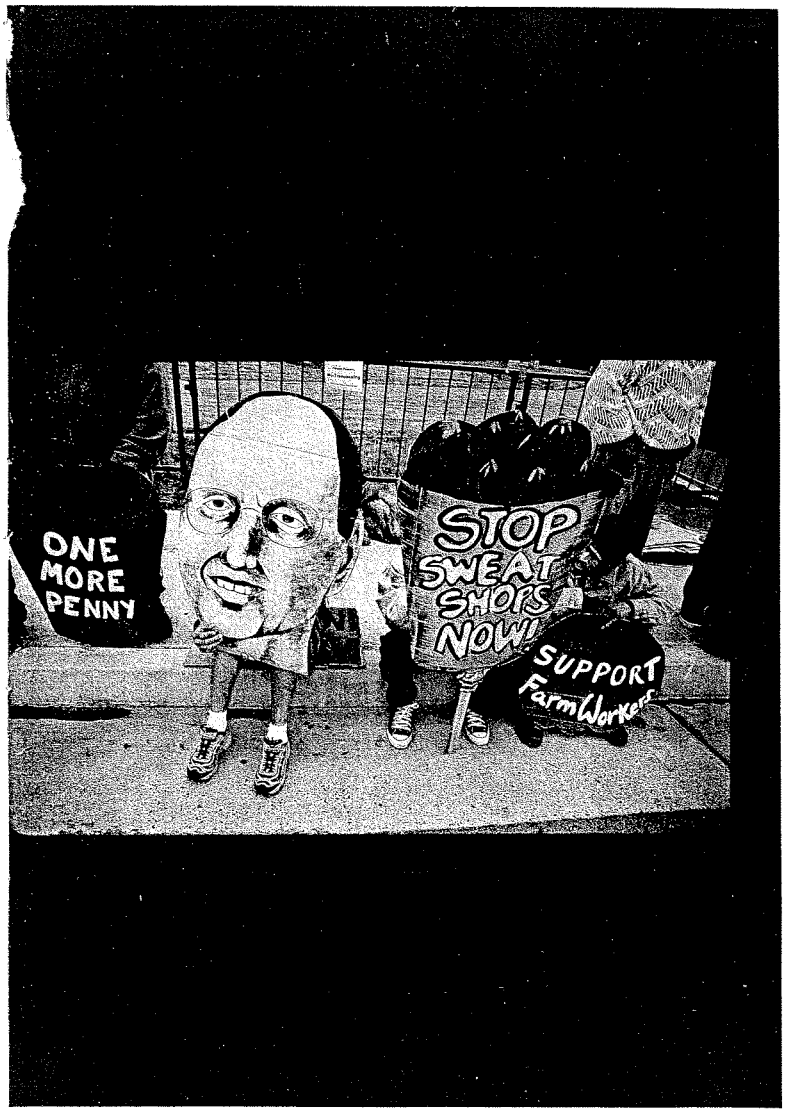
I would like to be a citizen of the United States one day, and I want my children to be citizens. Here I have freedom of expression. In Mauritania, there was no freedom of expression. In Senegal, I was afraid to speak out, because we were so close to Mauritania. Then I had to be cautious. I had to be far, far, far away. Here, now, I can speak out.

Breaking the Chains

Estimated annual contribution by slaves to the global economy: **13 billion dollars**
Some commercial production that involves slave labor:

- In Brazil slaves make charcoal used to manufacture steel for automobiles and other machinery.
- In Myanmar slaves harvest sugarcane and other agricultural products.
- In China child slaves manufacture fireworks.
- In Sierra Leone slaves mine diamonds.
- In Benin and Egypt they produce cotton. (A 1999 Egyptian government report estimated that one million children are forced to work in that country's cotton sector "because they are cheaper and more obedient [than adults], and are the appropriate height to inspect cotton plants.")
- In Ivory Coast some 12,000 child slaves pick cacao beans exported for use in chocolate. Slave labor has also been reported in the production of coffee, tea, and tobacco crops worldwide.

After work in tomato fields and citrus groves, farmworkers gather to tackle another job: ending labor abuses in South Florida agriculture. The Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), mostly immigrants from Mexico, Guatemala, and Haiti, has rescued many of its own 2,000-plus members from five large-scale Florida slave-labor operations in the past six years. CIW estimates that up to 10 percent of U.S. farm laborers are enslaved. The rest are earning sweatshop wages. A March hunger strike at the California headquarters of Taco Bell (right) promoted awareness of farm-labor issues. "A penny more per taco could translate into twice what pickers now earn for tomatoes," says CIW member Lucas Benitez (above at left). With the small increase in cost for the consumer, large companies like Taco Bell might pay more for produce, and produce suppliers might be less tempted to slash labor costs by using slaves.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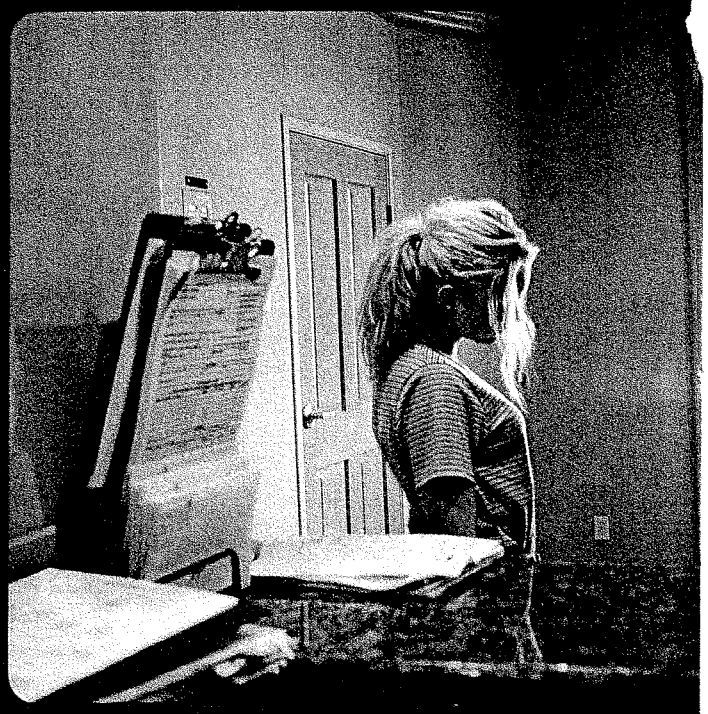
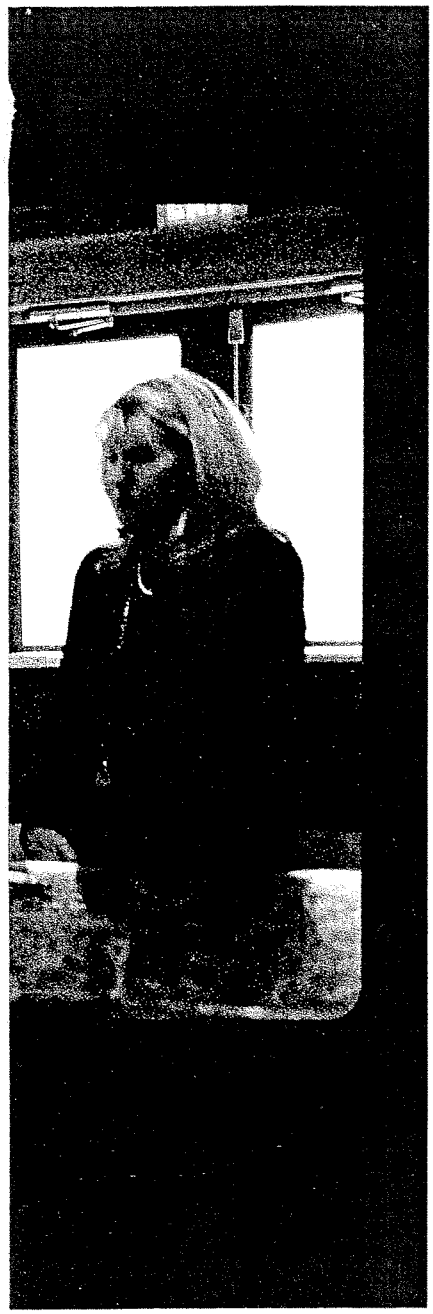
Farm Workers



One U.S. shelter has rescued 10,000 child prostitutes

Sociologist Lois Lee, right, has spent 24 years working with children from 11 to 17 years old who've been trafficked by pimps. One young resident, left, at her Children of the Night shelter in southern California was forced to work as a prostitute in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Nevada before escaping her captor. "The sexual exploitation of American children cuts across every economic, ethnic, and social line," Lee says. "This is not just a Third World problem."



(Continued from page 18) town right beside a Ramada Inn. On the other side of the compound a gated community, Lakefront Estates, offered a restful environment for seniors.

"The slaves in Lake Placid were invisible, part of our economy that exists in a parallel universe," points out Laura Germino of the CIW. "People were playing golf at the retirement community, and right behind them was a slave camp. Two worlds, speaking different languages."

The Ramos case was in fact the fifth case of agricultural slavery exposed in Florida in the past six years. All came to light thanks to the CIW, which is currently promoting a boycott of fast-food giant Taco Bell on behalf of tomato pickers. The corporation boasts of its efforts to protect animal welfare in its suppliers' operations. Corporate officials also say they demand compliance with labor laws, but point out that since they cannot monitor suppliers' labor practices continually they rely on law enforcement to ensure compliance.

Slavery and slave trafficking in the U.S. today extend far beyond farm country into almost every area of the economy where cheap labor is at a premium. In 1995 more than 70 Thai women were rescued after laboring for years behind barbed wire in the Los Angeles suburb of El Monte, making clothes for major retailers while federal and state law enforcement repeatedly failed to obtain a proper warrant to search the premises. In June 2001 federal agents in Yakima, Washington, arrested the owners of an ice-cream vending company and charged them with using Mexican slaves, working to pay off transportation debts, to sell ice cream on city streets. According to Kevin Bales, there are between 100,000 and 150,000 slaves in the U.S. today.

The Department of State puts the number of people trafficked into the U.S. every year at close to 20,000. Many end up as prostitutes or farm laborers. Some work in nursing homes. Others suffer their servitude alone, domestic slaves confined to private homes.

The passage by Congress in 2000 of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, which protects such slaves against deportation if they testify against their former owners, perhaps has helped dispel some fearfulness. The growth of organizations ready to give help, like the CIW or the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking, a southern California group that has

assisted more than 200 trafficked people, means that victims are not alone. Public scrutiny in general is rising.

Still, such captives the world over are mostly helpless. They are threatened; they live in fear of deportation; they are cut off from any source of advice or support because they cannot communicate with the outside world. And the harsh fact remains that this parallel universe, as Laura Germino called it, can be a very profitable place to do business. Before sentencing the Ramoses, U.S. District Court Judge K. Michael Moore ordered the confiscation of three million dollars the brothers had earned from their operation, as well as extensive real estate and other property.

Moore also pointed a finger at the agribusiness corporations that hired the Ramoses' picking crews. "It seems," he said, "that there are others at another level in this system of fruit picking—at a higher level—that to some extent are complicit in one way or another in how these activities occur."

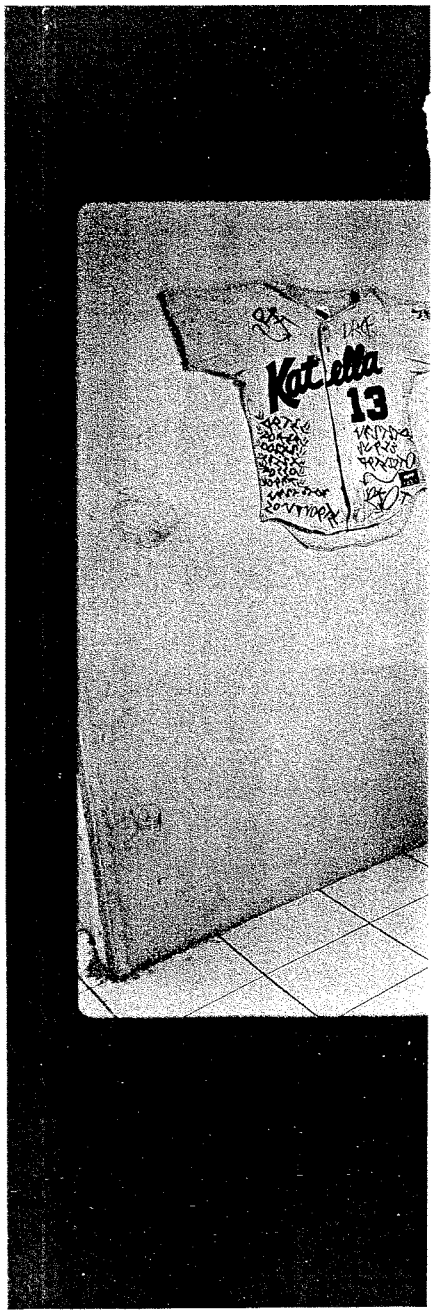
A former slave named Julia Gabriel, now a landscape gardener in Florida and a member of CIW, remembers her arrival in the U.S. from Guatemala at the age of 19. She picked cucumbers under armed guard in South Carolina for 12 to 14 hours a day; she saw fellow captives pistol-whipped into unconsciousness. "Maybe this is normal in the U.S.," she thought. Then a friend told her, "no, this is not normal here," so Gabriel found the courage to escape.

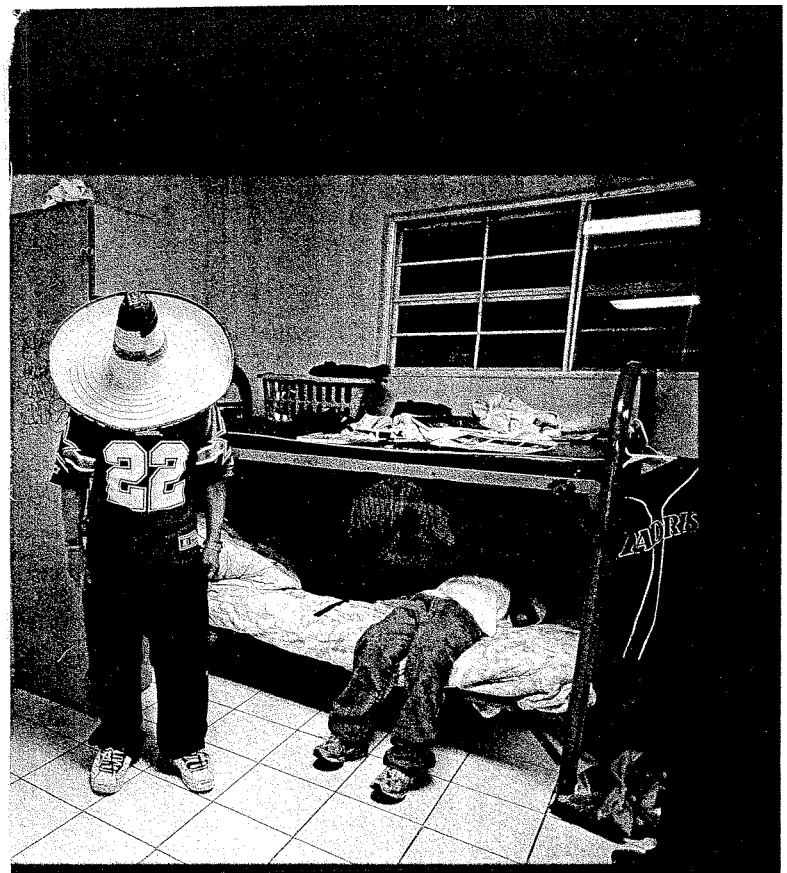
"This is meant to be the country to which people come fleeing servitude, not to be cast into servitude when they are here," says Attorney General John Ashcroft. But some historians argue that the infamous trans-Atlantic slave trade that shipped millions of Africans to the New World was abolished only when it had outlived its economic usefulness. Now slave traders from Sherwood Castle to sunny Florida—and at hundreds of points in between—have rediscovered the profitability of buying and selling human beings. Which means that, in the 21st century, slavery is far from gone. □

WEBSITE EXCLUSIVE

- Read the latest U.S. Department of State report on trafficking.
- Use an interactive map to track slavery worldwide.
- Learn from expert Kevin Bales how you can help, and link to organizations working to stop slavery.

nationalgeographic.com/ngm/0309.





"I have to believe that this can change"

So says social worker Marisa Ugarte. She speaks quietly of three boys living in a Mexico shelter, one 12 years old, the other two no more than 15. All had been shuttled between Tijuana and San Diego, California, and prostituted to pedophiles. Ugarte directs the Bilateral Safety Corridor Coalition, a network of 62 U.S. and Mexican organizations fighting trafficking. "People are beginning to see," Ugarte says, "that slavery is still real."

Mary W. Covington, Director
Washington Office
International Labor Organization

Committee on Government Reform
Subcommittee on Wellness and Human Rights

"Trafficking of Humans for Labor"

Wednesday, October 29, 2003
2:00 p.m.
2154 Rayburn House Office Building

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee on Government Reform and the Subcommittee on Wellness and Human Rights. My name is Mary Covington, and I am Director ad interim of the Washington Office of the International Labor Organization. On behalf of the ILO, I thank you for inviting us to deliver a briefing on the trafficking of humans for labor. We commend you for your efforts to increase awareness of this tragic and growing exploitation of people.

As you may know the ILO is a specialized agency affiliated with the United Nations. It is a unique intergovernmental organization that brings governments, workers and employers together to set international labor standards and to advance the ILO's work helping countries find ways to create employment and improve working conditions. One hundred and seventy-seven countries are members of the ILO. They are represented by the three groups in the ILO's Governing Body and its annual assembly, the International Labor Conference, so that workers and employers together have an equal voice and vote alongside governments.

The Roots of Trafficking

The word "trafficking" was first applied to traders who went back and forth exchanging goods in the sixteenth century. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, trafficking was being used to suggest the sale of illicit or disreputable goods and denoted the action of illegally moving contraband – often drugs or weapons – across borders for profit.

When the term "trafficking" finally came into common use in the late twentieth century to refer to the movement of human beings across borders or within a country for exploitation in labor, including the commercial sex trade, it represented an amalgamation of the different meanings given to the word over four centuries.

Even as understanding of the complex phenomenon of trafficking grows, there is still some confusion between trafficking and other forms of people movement and often, as a result of this, people who have been trafficked are treated as wrongdoers rather than victims. Recent international conventions have attempted to explain the fine line between trafficking and two other principal areas of movement of people: migration and smuggling of people.

All over the world, and in increasing numbers, people are on the move, migrating from their village to the city. From the city to the countryside for seasonal employment. From their home to a neighboring country to live or work. Across continents in search of a better life or a new beginning. It is estimated that some 150 million people were living outside their homelands as the twenty-first century began. Some of these were refugees who had migrated permanently to another country; some were temporary migrants. Some were regular migrants; others were 'undocumented,' their status not recognized by the host country.

When people are smuggled across a border, this is usually considered to have involved a 'voluntary' agreement to which the smuggled person has been a party. Smugglers operate where people who want to move cannot find a legal way to do that, or where they are not aware of the legal channels open to them or, in some cases, where there are no channels at all for legal migration.

In practice, it is not always easy to differentiate between people smuggling and trafficking, because a 'voluntary' agreement may be a result of deception, or may involve an individual or family entering into debt to pay for the travel, debt that puts them at the mercy of the lender. It may result in physical confinement and in forced labor, where compliance is often assured because identity documents have been confiscated or the victims threatened with disclosure to the authorities.

People who are trafficked enter the process when they are recruited. They may be forced or coerced by family, friends, recruitment agents or agencies, and in extreme cases be forcibly removed by abduction. They may be duped by misinformation or lies, or pushed by need or desperation to seek out recruiters. This initial stage in the process may involve the exchange of money or negotiation of a loan. Once in debt, the person who wants to move is extremely vulnerable to threats and manipulation. Children are particularly vulnerable to coercion and deception, and impoverished parents, who hand them over or sell them to recruiters, may think they are sending their children to a better life.

Trafficking is a result of an unmet demand for cheap and malleable labor in various commercial sectors, and of the demand for women and children in the fast-growing sex trade. Supply factors include poverty, lack of education, conflict and natural

disasters that devastate local economies, cultural attitudes towards children -- and girls, in particular, and weak laws and enforcement.

The growth of organized crime also feeds into trafficking. Where people are vulnerable because of ignorance, need, desperation, misinformation, marginalization or rank in the social hierarchy as a result of race, gender or age, -- they are at risk of falling into the hands of those who wish to exploit them. EUROPOL has indicated that organized criminal networks are increasingly becoming involved in illegal migration because of the high returns available, currently estimated at around $12 billion a year, with little risk of detection or conviction. In general, these networks make huge profits 'hiring out' the structures -- transport, corrupt officials, safe houses, personnel -- they already have in place for the movement of other drugs, stolen vehicles and other forms of contraband. When the people who move through these illegal channels end up in exploitative situations, they become trafficking victims and the criminal networks become human traffickers.

Trafficking in human beings is a moral outrage, yet criminal penalties for those who engage in it are often less stringent than for those who traffic in drugs. Children are trafficked internally and across borders in Central and South America and in West and Central Africa for exploitation in domestic service. People of all ages are trafficked across the land borders of South Asia for work in carpet and garment factories, for street hawking and begging, on construction projects and tea plantations, in manufacturing or brick kilns. In the Middle East and North Africa, women and girls are trafficked to work in domestic service, boys are trafficked into the region to work as camel jockeys, and Asian men are trafficked into construction and manual labor.

Where labor standards are rigorously adhered to and labor laws are monitored and enforced vigorously, the demand for trafficked persons and services is likely to be low. The main exception is prostitution and domestic service where the closed and invisible nature of the activities challenges enforcement.

Trafficking and Forced Labor

In 2001, the ILO published a report entitled *Stopping Forced Labor*. It was the second report in a series of four that are published annually in rotation under the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. The report noted that the

broader phenomenon of trafficking in persons often contains elements of forced labor. It involves men and boys, but above all women and girls. It affects both richer and poorer countries and is a truly global phenomenon. It is, the report points out, "the underside of globalization."

The points of origin may be poorer countries, and often the most deprived rural areas within these countries. The main destinations may be the urban centers of richer countries — Amsterdam, Brussels, London, New York, Rome, Sydney, Tokyo — and the capitals of developing and transition countries. But the movement of trafficked persons is highly complex and varied. Countries as diverse as Albania, Hungary, Nigeria and Thailand can act simultaneously as points of origin, destination and transit.

While the media focuses on trafficking for commercial sex, persons are often trafficked for other purposes that may involve forced labor. The past movement of Haitian agricultural workers into the Dominican Republic was a typical example of international labor trafficking. Similar coercion involving agricultural migrant workers has been detected worldwide. Domestic workers, factory workers and particularly those in the informal sector can all become the victims of this phenomenon. While economic forces drive trafficking, it will take a range of tools to combat it.

ILO Activities to Combat Trafficking

The ILO, like most agencies in the UN system, now uses the definition in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children which states that trafficking is

> "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs."

The Protocol further states that where children under age 18 are concerned, the

> "recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons… ."

The ILO's work on trafficking is guided in large part by two ILO Conventions: No. 29, the Forced Labor Convention, adopted in 1930, and No. 182, the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, adopted in 1999. In Convention 29, forced or compulsory labor is defined as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily." It covers both adults and children.

Convention 182, which applies to persons under the age of 18, was adopted to set priorities for the most egregious kinds of child labor and it specifically prohibits "all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labor, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict." This convention prohibits the use of children for prostitution, pornography, for the production and trafficking of drugs, and all work which is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

The ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, which represents global ground rules adopted in June 1998 by delegates to the International Labor Conference, also guides the ILO's work in this area. The Declaration is drawn from the principles in the ILO Constitution and in the ILO's eight core conventions, which cover freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining; abolition of forced labor; the elimination of child labor; and equality in employment. Mechanisms for follow-up are intended to translate the Declaration into action on the part of member states and through technical assistance provided by the ILO. This instrument enables countries that have not ratified all of the core conventions to work towards achieving full respect of the rights and principles embodied in these conventions.

Several programs of the ILO deal with the growing problem of trafficking. The International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor, or IPEC, has been conducting field projects for several years to combat trafficking in children. The International Migration Branch, the Gender Promotion program, the Standards Branch, and the Workers and Employers Bureaus contribute their expertise to the ILO's work in the area of trafficking.

The newest activity is the Special Action Program to Combat Forced Labor, which was established in 2001 to conduct research, raise awareness and provide technical assistance to member states. Trafficking has become the main focus of this

new office, because of the rising concern in member states about the rapid growth of this form of forced labor.

The Special Action Program aims to significantly raise global awareness of forced labor and to build integrated operational programs that involve as many as possible of the ILO's technical capacities. Because so many victims of forced labor and trafficking are migrant workers, research and action are carried out in different geographical areas, including destination countries of trafficked people. National action includes technical support to law and policy reform and prevention projects in communities with people who are at risk. The Program's work includes data collection, skills training, capacity building of employment services and labor inspections, as well as rehabilitation projects for returned victims.

The Special Action Program has begun to fill the gap in research on the demand for cheap and malleable labor that constitutes a major 'pull' factor in trafficking. More research is needed in countries to which trafficking victims are moved -- the destination countries, which more often than not are developed, industrialized countries that are rarely the focus of anti-trafficking initiatives. A first pilot study was carried out in France. This was followed up in Germany, Hungary, Turkey and Russia.

To understand the global scope of trafficking, the Special Action Program is developing a global estimate of the number of victims of forced labor and trafficking for publication in 2005 in the second Global Report on Forced Labor. The first report, *Stopping Forced Labor*, published in 2001, indicated that trafficking in human beings -- especially women and children – was on the rise worldwide. Yet to this day there is no accurate picture of the size of this problem. Since trafficking and other forms of forced labor are illicit and occur in an underground economy, they escape national statistics as well as traditional household or labor force surveys.

The global estimate will generate benchmark figures on the minimum worldwide scope of some of the main forms of forced or compulsory labor, including the forced labor outcome of trafficking. This global research will draw upon ILO expertise with worldwide estimates by relying on secondary sources and using different statistical methods. Data collection started in June 2003 and to this date researchers have entered 4'760 observations from 1'300 sources into our new database. This database contains information not only on the incidence of forced labor and trafficking in different parts of the world, but also

on the nature and the mechanisms of the problem. An initial global estimate is expected in early 2004.

The ILO is increasingly being asked to provide technical assistance in countries that want to eliminate forced labor and trafficking. The technical projects conducted by the Special Action Program tackle problems across the trafficking cycle – in countries of origin, transit and destination. In addition, it is developing a body of research to aid in the design of new projects that will target forced labor as a major component of trafficking.

This program is also offering technical assistance to governments in drafting appropriate legislation to combat trafficking and the resulting forced. As an aid to this work, the program is developing legislative guidelines to assist governments in the ratification and implementation of the Palermo Protocol of the UN Convention against Organized Crime. Donor countries supporting projects under the ILO's Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work include the United States, United Kingdom, France, Ireland, The Netherlands and Germany. To date, they have contributed some $8.3 Million to the Special Action Program on Forced Labor. Many of the projects have involved seminars, mass information programs and research, as well as training for government labor inspectors and employment services, and workshops for government, employer and worker representatives.

A few examples include:

- In Albania, Moldova, Romania, Turkey and Ukraine, studies on forced labor and trafficking in origin and transit countries; workshops to validate studies, raise awareness and seek consensus on implementation of national plans of action to combat forced labor, and a sub-regional training seminar on the labor dimensions of human trafficking to strengthen the role of labor authorities in national coordination councils against trafficking.

- In Russia, a national workshop on forced labor and trafficking; a study of forced labor in different regions, including Tajikistan workers in the construction industry, and consultations followed by a training workshop for officials from Ministries of Interior, Foreign Affairs and Labor.

- In Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal, a comprehensive project comprising research, awareness-raising, capacity-building, policy advice and pilot demonstration projects on prevention of trafficking and protection and rehabilitation of victims.

- In Japan and the Republic of Korea, policy advice for the governments on trafficking in destination countries through expert participation in seminars and workshops.

- A regional consultation in Hong Kong for government, worker and employer representatives from Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and Hong Kong on the protection of Asian domestic workers against forced labor and trafficking. A project will start soon to mobilize action for the protection of domestic workers from forced labor and trafficking in Southeast Asia. It will include legal and policy advice; capacity-building; advocacy, research and empowerment; and targeted interventions; as well as pilot projects for the prevention and rehabilitation of trafficked victims.

- A project in Brazil, funded by the U.S. Department of Labor's International Labor Affairs Bureau, merits special attention. Brazil is one country afflicted by forced labor and trafficking. The more remote the region, the more widespread these conditions are and the more difficult it is for the government to combat them. The Brazilian labor ministry cares about the country's workers and its international reputation. It turned to the ILO for help because the ILO had great success in helping Brazil eliminate child labor in Amazon charcoal production. The ILO quickly put the experts together to work with the Brazilian Labor Ministry to address the problem of slave labor. Although only in operation since early 2002, the ILO project has already achieved several milestones. It has trained labor inspectors and labor prosecutors to find and prosecute the violators. It has also activated a task force to combat slave labor and has mobilized key institutions, such as the Labor Prosecutions

Office, the National Human rights Bureau, Federal Police, Federal Judges, the Catholic Church, the Brazilian Bar Association and the National Confederation of Workers in Agriculture. The ILO has been instrumental in formulating new legislative proposals to combat slavery and its policies are an integral part of the President's measures to combat slave labor.

- This year, the ILO has received grants from the U.S. Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons for projects to reduce trafficking in persons in Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Zambia and Brazil.

The International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), has gradually expanded its work to combat trafficking in children since the program started operations in 1992. The research arm of IPEC estimates that 1.2 million children are trafficked, that is moved within and across national borders through force, coercion or deception into situations involving their economic and sexual exploitation. IPEC studies have found that children were found trafficked to and from all regions of the world.

The consequences of child trafficking are many. In the worst cases, trafficking can be responsible for a child's death or permanently damage his or her physical and mental health. It also encourages drug dependency, breaks families apart, and deprives children of their rights to an education and freedom from exploitation. If trapped in commercial sexual exploitation, a child may suffer violence at the hands of exploiters, physical and emotional damage as a result of premature sexual activity, and exposure to STDs and HIV/AIDS. The situation of trafficked girls is especially marked by the risk of pregnancy, early motherhood and reproductive illnesses that might affect their ability to have children in later life.

Child trafficking is a crime under international law. It is widely recognized as a distinct and egregious violation of children 's rights, comprising one of the worst forms of child labor. Trafficking is not a discrete act – rather, it is a series of events that takes place in the child's home community, at transit points and at final destinations. Whenever a child is relocated and exploited, it is trafficking. And those who contribute to it – recruiters, middlemen, document providers, transporters, corrupt officials, employers and service providers – are traffickers.

Combating child trafficking requires policies and programs that are comprehensive in addressing both the causes and the processes associated with it, wherever they are found on the trafficking route. Action must target not only children, but also their families; their communities; the recruiters, traffickers and exploiters; and society at large.

It is encouraging that many governments, international organizations, workers' and employers' organizations, civil society groups, communities, and families have taken action to combat the trafficking of children. They have made efforts to better understand the issue and have drawn up policy frameworks at national and local levels.

While the commercial sex trade remains the predominant form of exploitation of trafficked children, a number of recent IPEC studies in Asia and Central and West Africa indicate that children are very often trafficked for other forms of labor exploitation as well. These include domestic service; armed conflict; service businesses, such as restaurants and bars; and various other forms of work, most of it hazardous, such as work in factories, agriculture, construction, fishing and begging. It has also been found that exploitation of trafficked children can become progressively more egregious, that is, those trafficked for work in factories, domestic service or restaurants may be later forced into prostitution; or children trafficked for prostitution may be resold more than once.

ILO projects have been launched to reduce the vulnerability of children, families and at-risk communities by addressing the root causes of child trafficking, including poverty and social attitudes, while providing alternatives to victims withdrawn from exploitation. Stricter law enforcement and legislation directly targeting traffickers have also been introduced. The Governments of the United Republic of Tanzania, Nepal and El Salvador, for example, have made a commitment to combat child trafficking and child prostitution by establishing, with the help of the ILO and IPEC, a national program with a timetable for eliminating the worst forms of child labor in their respective countries. These are referred to as "time-bound" programs.

Because it crosses borders, the trafficking of children must also be addressed at the bilateral, sub-regional and international levels. To this end, IPEC operates six sub-regional projects on child trafficking:

- A major program in West/Central Africa focusing on awareness-raising campaigns among at-risk groups, community-level protection projects, law-enforcement capacity building, networking among social actors, rehabilitation and reintegration programs and the provision of alternatives for at-risk children and their parents.

- A project in South Asia – covering Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka – supporting local implementing partners in the areas of research, capacity building, policy development and legislation, prevention, recovery and reintegration of trafficked children. Anti-trafficking units have been set up in government agencies; surveillance units have been set up with computerized monitoring of rescued victims; youth groups have been mobilized; and a strategy for effective rehabilitation has been developed.

- An ongoing three-year project to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children in seven countries in Central America by creating synergies among the national initiatives in the region, establishing and facilitating cross-sectoral cooperation, and strengthening the capacities of major actors in the region to address the problem.

- In South America, ILO-IPEC is mapping the incidence of child trafficking and exploitation in the border areas of Brazil and Paraguay, and is active in programs to build institutional capacity, raise awareness, mobilize community-based protection mechanisms, and rescue and care for exploited children.

- In South-East Asia, ILO-IPEC's Mekong Sub-regional Program to Combat Trafficking in Children and Women worked with local partners in Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and China (Yunan Province) to implement projects in skills training, alternative livelihood promotion, legal issues and awareness-raising. Other IPEC participating countries in this region include Indonesia and the Philippines.

- In Europe, a program to combat trafficking of children and young people for labor and sexual exploitation in the Balkans (Albania, Romania, Moldova) and the Ukraine. A current focus on analysis, assessment and training will lead to the development of a comprehensive action program focusing on prevention of child trafficking and reintegration of victims.

The U.S. Department of Labor has been the largest supporter of IPEC projects to combat child trafficking, contributing over $9 million. In addition, the Department of Labor began supporting in U.S. Fiscal Year 2001 the launch of IPEC's comprehensive programs in Nepal, Tanzania and El Salvador to end the worst forms of child labor within a specific number of years. In these countries, child trafficking – and its victims – has been identified as one of the worst forms of child labor to receive priority attention. The total amount of U.S. support for these country programs is $13.5 million.

Finally, the Department of Labor has indicated that it plans to fund two additional IPEC projects to address trafficking of children for exploitive labor in South Asia for a total amount of $3.5 million.

COALITION TO ABOLISH SLAVERY & TRAFFICKING

5042 Wilshire Blvd. #586 ♦ Los Angeles, CA 90036 ♦ 213-385-5584 phone ♦ 213-385-0702 fax

TESTIMONY OF KAY G. BUCK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The Coalition to Abolish Slavery & Trafficking (CAST) thanks the Chairman and members of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and Wellness of the Committee on Government Reform of the United States House of Representatives for this opportunity to supplement the record regarding its role in providing necessary resources to victims of human trafficking. I, Kay Buck, as Executive Director of CAST provide the following testimony:

On October 29, 2003, Janice G. Raymond presented testimony to this Subcommittee. At the hearing entitled, "The Ongoing Tragedy Of International Slavery And Human Trafficking: An Overview," Dr. Raymond made unsubstantiated statements that "CAST" is a "well-known, pro-'sex work'" advocate and that it supports "prostitution as work," "decriminalization of the sex industry," and "prostitution as an employment choice." To the contrary, her characterization of CAST is inaccurate. Equally troubling is that Dr. Raymond made no attempt to communicate with anyone at CAST to confirm her perceptions.

To set the record straight, please be advised that Dr. Raymond's characterization of CAST as an organization that supports the legalization of prostitution is simply incorrect. To be more specific, myself and the Board of Directors of CAST verify that CAST has not and does not support "prostitution as work", "decriminalization of the sex industry", "prostitution as an employment choice", "pro-'sex work' advocacy," or the "legalization of prostitution" in any way, shape or form. CAST has always and will continue to combat human trafficking, in all of its forms, as defined by § 103(8) of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000:

> (A) sex trafficking[1] in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
>
> (B) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.

Pub. L. No. 106-386, Division A, 114 Stat. 1464 (2000).

We have communicated both telephonically and in writing with Dr. Raymond in order to correct her unsubstantiated beliefs about CAST on the issue of the legalization of prostitution. Irrespective, however, of Dr. Raymond's ultimate beliefs about CAST's view on this matter, the higher imperative is that the information provided to this Subcommittee and reflected in the Congressional Record accurately describes CAST's core mission and outlines the official views of

---

[1] § 103 (9) provides "[t]he term 'sex trafficking' means the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act."

CAST on the issue of sex trafficking. Thus, as indicated above, we appreciate your willingness to allow us to provide this information to this Subcommittee.

Since its inception in 1998, CAST has been the first and only organization in the United States dedicated exclusively to assisting all victims of human trafficking and modern-day slavery and working towards ending all instances of such human rights violations. CAST's activities are interconnected by a client-centered approach that seeks to empower trafficked victims to fully realize their individual potential while advancing the human rights of all trafficked persons, including victims of sex trafficking, domestic worker trafficking , and garment worker trafficking, to name a few. As detailed below, CAST's model program areas include intensive case management and counseling to trafficking victims, providing basic needs to victims such as food, housing, and medical care, human rights advocacy and policy reform, research and training, and public education and community organizing.

CAST *provides comprehensive human services to trafficked persons* who need shelter, food, medical and mental health care, legal services, ESL training and jobs. The case management arm of CAST also provides coordination and individual legal advocacy in tandem with local and federal government agencies working to prosecute criminal cases against traffickers and provide other victim services.

CAST *conducts policy advocacy focused on protecting and advancing the human rights of trafficked persons*. This effort is directly informed by research and the actual experiences of CAST's trafficked clients both inside and outside the criminal justice system. CAST also provides training to government and non-government organizations that may come into contact with trafficked persons. CAST has provided training on how to serve trafficking victims to over 2000 individuals from government agencies, law enforcement and non-governmental organizations.

CAST *seeks to promote the dignity and freedom of trafficked persons* through community organizing and public awareness. Public speaking and media advocacy efforts seek to highlight the courage and resilient spirit of trafficked people and recognize them as contributing members of the community.

In the over 200 cases of trafficking and slavery CAST has been involved either through direct service or as a consultant, CAST has worked extensively with the following United States government agencies to assist all trafficked persons as they cooperate in the investigation and prosecution of their traffickers:

a. Department of Justice,
b. Immigration and Naturalization Service/Department of Homeland Security,
c. Federal Bureau of Investigation,
d. Department of Labor,
e. Many other law enforcement agencies.

We complement the good work of this Subcommittee in its exploration of human trafficking and look forward to continuing to work with members of this Subcommittee and the United States Congress to jointly rid the world of human trafficking in all of its forms.

Sincerely,

Kay Buck

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e. Many other law enforcement agencies.

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Sincerely,

Kay Buck

THE PARTNERSHIP TO PROTECT VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING

October 28, 2003

Dear Member of Congress:

We the undersigned organizations and individuals are writing in support of H.R. 2620, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA). The TVPRA will not only correct unanticipated problems trafficking victims have encountered since the Act was initially passed in 2000, but will also strengthen programs designed and intended to assist trafficking victims, as well as domestic and international law enforcement activities targeted at traffickers. We seek your support of this important legislation.

Background and Synopsis

In 2000, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) P.L. 106-386 was adopted. This landmark legislation authorized the Departments of State and Justice to combat the practice of trafficking in persons, accurately described as "modern-day slavery." When the original Act was passed, the CIA estimated that approximately 50,000 individuals were being trafficked into the United States and held in deplorable living conditions. These individuals are forced to work in our fields, sweatshops, and brothels across the country. Current estimates indicate that more than 800,000 people become victims of trafficking every year, across the globe.

The TVPA granted the Departments of Justice and State the necessary tools to combat the evil practice of human trafficking. As a result of the Act, the Justice Department has prosecuted cases from American Samoa to California to Texas to New York. To date, nearly 400 survivors of trafficking in the United States have received much-needed assistance to begin the arduous process of recovery from their trauma. Thankfully, victims are coming forward in greater numbers to assist prosecutors. In addition, thanks to the work at the State Department and USAID, a growing spotlight has been put on the issue through the annual Trafficking in Persons Report.

Yet despite the accomplishments of the TVPA, the ugly practice of trafficking continues. Victims still face obstacles in securing assistance and traffickers are becoming more organized. Sexual slavery and forced labor continue to significantly contribute to the growth of the trafficking industry.

Practical Application

H.R. 2620 is designed to address the real life problems trafficking victims face. For example, the bill extends refugee benefits to the victim's derivative family members. Within the next six months, eighty spouses and 168 children will be joining 206 trafficking victims rescued in Samoa. These families will be plunged into poverty without refugee benefits. The victims' spouses cannot apply for work permits until they are in the country, so for at least three months, one person will have to support the entire family. On an income that barely supports one, this

individual will need to pay for new housing, food and other expenses to accommodate a family. Refugee benefits will offer a temporary, much needed safety net for these families, protecting them from tremendous hardship.

H.R. 2620 also creates derivative eligibility for siblings. Currently, a victim may apply for a derivative T-visa for a spouse, children, and parents, but not siblings, if the victim is under age 21. This means that the parents of victims under age 21 who choose to come to the United States to be with the victim must leave other children behind. Creating eligibility for siblings supports family reunification, which is critical to restoring victims' mental health, helping them to recover from the trauma of the trafficking experience.

The Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) is designed to rectify the lingering problems surrounding human trafficking, as well as strengthen existing statutes and programs that assist trafficking victims and their families. These much needed changes include:

- Facilitating better cooperation between federal, state, and local trafficking prosecutions
- Eliminating the requirement that a victim of trafficking between the ages of 15 and 18 must cooperate with the investigation and prosecution of his or her trafficker in order to be eligible for a T-visa
- Affording trafficking victims the same confidentiality in the T-visa process as that afforded to victims of domestic violence and other crimes

On behalf of all the trafficking victims and the Partnership, we urge you to support and advocate for the TVPRA's swift passage in the House of Representatives. Passage of H.R. 2620 will make a immediate and tremendous difference in the lives of trafficking victims and their children, across the United States.

Sincerely,

National Organizations
Asian Law Caucus, San Francisco, California
Boat People SOS, Falls Church, Virginia
Break The Chain Campaign, Washington, D.C.
Center for Women Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.
Church Women United, Washington, D.C.
Coalition to Abolish Slavery & Trafficking, Los Angeles, California
Coalition on Human Needs, Washington, D.C.
Equal Justice Center, Austin, Texas
Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Washington, D.C.
FAIR Fund, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts
Family Violence Prevention Fund, Washington, D.C.
Immigrant Legal Advocacy Project, Portland, Maine
Immigration Law Project, La Raza Centro Legal, Inc., San Francisco, California

International Rescue Committee, New York, New York
Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Washington, D.C.
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, Baltimore, Maryland
NA'AMAT USA, Washington, D.C.
National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, Washington, D.C.
National Council of Jewish Women, Washington, D.C.
National Immigration Law Center, Washington, D.C.
National Network to End Domestic Violence, Washington, D.C.
NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, Washington, D.C.
Public Counsel, Los Angeles, California
Tahirih Justice Center, Falls Church, Virginia
Center for Gender & Refugee Studies, U. C. Hastings College of the Law, San Francisco, California
Urban Justice Center, New York, New York
Vital Voices Global Partnership, Washington, D.C.
Women's Human Rights Project Globalization Research Center, University of Hawai'i-Manoa Honolulu, Hawai'i
Women's Law Initiative, Brooklyn, New York

State & Local Organizations

Asian Coalition Against Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault, Des Moines, Iowa
Colorado Coalition Against Sexual Assault, Denver, Colorado
El Centro, Inc., Kansas City, Kansas
Farmworker Legal Services of New York, Inc., Rochester, New York
Florida Council Against Sexual Violence, Tallahassee, Florida
Florida Freedom Partnership, Miami, Florida
Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault, Springfield, Illinois
Immigrant Justice Project Legal Services of Southern Piedmont, Inc., Charlotte, North Carolina
Indiana Coalition Against Sexual Assault, Indianapolis, Indiana
Iowa Coalition Against Domestic Violence, Des Moines, Iowa
Iowa Coalition Against Sexual Assault, Des Moines, Iowa
Kansas Coalition Against Sexual & Domestic Violence , Topeka, Kansas
Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights of the San Francisco Bay Area San Francisco, California
Maine Coalition Against Sexual Assault, Augusta, Maine
Nebraska Domestic Violence Sexual Assault Coalition, Lincoln, Nebraska
Nevada Coalition Against Sexual Violence, Henderson, Nevada
New Jersey Coalition Against Sexual Assault, Trenton, New Jersey
New Mexico Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs, Inc., Albuquerque, New Mexico
New York State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, Albany, New York
North Dakota Council on Abused Women's Services, Bismarck, North Dakota
Northwest Immigrant Rights Project, Seattle, Washington
Northwest Women's Law Center, Seattle, Washington
Ohio Domestic Violence Network, Columbus, Ohio
Oregon Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence, Salem, Oregon
Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape, Enola, Pennsylvania

Sexual Assault & Trauma Resource Center of RI, Providence, Rhode Island
Sor Juana Ines Center for Domestic Violence Prevention, San Mateo County, California
Southwest Iowa Latino Resource Center, Red Oak, Iowa
Texas Council on Family Violence & National Domestic Violence Hotline, Austin, Texas
Workers' Rights Law Center of New York, Inc., New Paltz, New York

Individuals

Deborah Appel. San Mateo County, California
Andrea J. Black Sergeant of Police, Houston Police Department, Houston, Texas
Ruth Brandwein
Melissa M. Ewer, Catholic Charities, Albuquerque, New Mexico
Deborah Feliks
Alana J. Goebel, Trenton, New Jersey
Valerie Hink, Tucson, Arizona
Naomi Mann, Washington, D.C.
Patti Jo Newell, Albany, New York
Alex Orozco, Des Moines, Iowa
Giovanni I. Perry, Catholic Charities, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Shelley Peters
Nancy Lynn Robertson, Des Moines, Iowa
Darlene Rodrigues, Immigrant Services Coordinator, Domestic Violence Clearinghouse and Legal Hotline
Patricia L. Ruble, Alexandria, Virginia
Elizabeth Ward Saxl, Augusta, Maine
Senator DiAnna R. Schimek, Nebraska State Legislature
Jonathan Scop, Portland, Oregon
Elsy Segovia, Washington, D.C.
Julie M. Caron Sims, Jackson, Michigan
Dolly Warden, Lutz, Florida
Linda Wiggins, Blairsville, Georgia