## Human Trafficking - A Global Challenge in Our Own Backyard

## Creating a Community of Global Citizens to Change the World

# Opening Remarks John Sexton

President, New York University

#### I. NYU Center for Global Affairs

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to NYU for this extraordinary evening discussing human trafficking, a global challenge in our own backyard. There are three organizations that have come together to make this important evening possible. We're happy to say that NYU's Center for Global Affairs, which is part of our School of Continuing and Professional Studies, is your host for the evening and is led by an extraordinary woman, Vera Jelinek. Jelinek I understand means deer and little deer in particular. Of course, that's referring to deer, d-e-e-r, not d-e-a-r, but those of you that know Vera, know her extraordinary energy and know that she is in fact a dear person who cares deeply about others. In our Center for Global Affairs, we run a Masters program, and the students and faculty who are here in the audience tonight are just extraordinary and are dedicated to making the world a better place.

## II. Partner Organizations

There are two partner organizations. This is not the first time that we've partnered with Vital Voices Global Partnership, an extraordinary organization that invests in women and making progress for women around the globe discovering special people and pioneers that are committed to making the status and capacities available to women expand, and of course an organization that is dedicated to fighting the kind of tragedy that we'll be discussing this evening. Vital Voices is led by a personal friend of my family for decades, an extraordinary woman in her own right, Melanne Verveer, one of the great public servants of our time, and it is wonderful to welcome Melanne back to campus.

The other partner organization, of course, is the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, which is a global leader in the fight against elicit drugs and international crime. It's represented tonight by two wonderful people who we welcome to the NYU campus, Executive Director Antonio Maria Costa and Goodwill Ambassador Julia Ormond.

Joining this group of sponsoring organizations is an all-star cast of leaders from business, NGOs, government, the media, and entertainment, who are dedicated to ending the blight of human trafficking and will inspire you tonight with their stories, their passion, and their courage.

#### III. Locational Endowment

As we enter this 21<sup>st</sup> century in which one of the core human issues will be how we confront others different from ourselves, whether that be in religion, race, ethnicity or other ideas, we at NYU have come to call ourselves the university of the other because we're blessed with the locational endowment of being in this magnificent city, which brings together literally the entire world in miniature in its neighborhoods into one knitted community.

We talk a lot on campus about the challenges of encountering the other, but this issue is usually posed in terms of whether we're going to see the space between us and the other as a clash of civilizations or as a jagged world where the chasm is too great to bridge or whether we're going to see it in more hopeful terms.

## IV. Human Trafficking

Tonight's topic, it would seem to me, is of such gravity and raises before us the specter of such atrocity that there can be no chasm in saying this cannot endure. This must stop, and what we hope to do this evening is to inspire you to join the community of global citizens who will say about human trafficking, no more, it cannot go on, and who will join with the organizations that bring us together tonight to combat it so that it is eliminated from the world. Only if we can take care of the obviously wrong can we get on to the challenge of building a true community of the others in the world. Welcome to NYU. We're delighted to partner this evening with two great organizations to bring you this conversation. Thank you.

## **Human Trafficking: Stories and Solutions from the Field**

# Remarks to Commemorate the International Day for the Abolition of Slavery Antonio Maria Costa

**Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and Director-General of the United Nations Office in Vienna** 

#### I. Introduction

Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen, today we are commemorating the International Day for the Abolition of Slavery, right? I'm afraid that is wrong. Slave trade was not abolished in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the British Parliament nor by the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Slavery is not a part of history. It is with us and thrives in our own backyard.

Slavery is actually a booming international trade, less obvious of course than 200 years ago but all around us even in this very well-off neighborhood. Of course, we know the roots of the problem. Poverty makes people vulnerable. Then evil people exploit dreams of a better life using deception, coercion and inevitably violence. Victims end up in sweatshops, mines, or farms doing dirty, dodgy, dangerous manual work, or they end up in the sex trade enslaved and indebted to their masters, afraid or unable to escape. There is no money, no identity, no dignity, and no future in this heart of darkness.

#### **II.** Economic Considerations

The economy of human trafficking is significant. Since the world woke up to this terrible reality about ten years ago, the mass of people trafficked and exploited worldwide would populate a state like Kansas and produce an income equivalent to that of Kansas or Montana. Yet, we don't see this tragedy in our backyard. Perhaps we don't want to see this very real and competitive "state" as I compare it to a U.S. state. Otherwise, why would it be that so many God-fearing, law-abiding citizens in our middleclass would buy the products and the services produced and achieved by the slaves? Perhaps we don't want to see this very real situation. At the United Nations, we talk a lot about failed states. Well, this is a rhetorical question, but what can we do to make this state fail as we cannot send the blue-helmeted peacekeepers in as we do in failed states? We may like to volunteer ourselves, all of us, as freedom fighters to free the slaves, and you will see tonight on the stage a very good representation of those freedom fighters.

## **III.** Effective Weapons

#### 1. Public Awareness

We all can count on effective weapons. The first weapon is public awareness. The success of this event is evidence of that. Yes, there is now plenty of this awareness building thanks to committed activists and politicians, some of them in this room like the NGOs at Vital Voices. Here I pay tribute to Melanne Verveer, journalists like Nicholas Kristof here tonight, concerned business people like Marilyn Carlson Nelson here tonight as well, and champions like our United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Goodwill Ambassador Julia Ormond.

## 2. Curbing Demand

I talked about a first weapon. The second weapon is curbing demand. Here I am going to be a bit provocative. Moral outrage is not going to stop the traffickers. There must be consideration of supply and demand as cost and benefit are the traffickers' primary motives. We therefore need to change the balance of the risks and returns lowering their incentives to trade and increasing the threat of retribution. That means less demand for the products and the services of exploited people. No cheap, laborintensive goods that we like to buy. No diamonds or pearls we like to donate at Christmas. No free toxic waste disposal done so much in Africa. No inexpensive home services so frequently abused. No sex holidays and the like. I urge the Western man to keep the zipper up.

As long as there is demand, criminals will always find a way to supply what the markets want. How do we reduce the demand for forced labor output? It is a method of education to begin with and public

awareness more than law enforcement. Most people have moral standards and common sense. Knowing what is behind the product or the service they purchase would lower the desire to acquire it. Look at the splendid results produced by naming and shaming multi-nationals selling products manufactured by minors in slave-like conditions. We can similarly bankrupt the brothel in our neighborhood, whether it's legal or illegal, wherever the neighborhood is, across the Atlantic or here. We can similarly bankrupt the tourist company promising exotic sex on distant shores or the diamond company thriving on children working in their mines. That was the second weapon.

#### 3. Political Action

The third weapon in our arsenal is political action to implement international laws against human trafficking. As of today, 117 States have signed the United Nations' Protocol, and 110 countries have ratified it. The Protocol is only a well-meaning piece of paper unless it is implemented. We at the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime brokered the agreement about five years ago in Vienna. Now, as its custodian we make States mindful of the commitments they have signed up to. Let me remind you of these engagements and what you can do to help.

#### a. Prevention

Let me start with the obvious first point—prevention. According to the Protocol, States should establish, number one, policies to combat human trafficking and protect the victims. We will talk about this later. Second, they should undertake measures to warn potential victims of the danger of trafficking and alleviate the risk offered to vulnerable people. Third, States should exchange in formation on trafficking routes, traffickers' profiles and victims' identification. I see so many people from so many countries in this office. The question to you is have your governments done what they have signed up for? Help us do our job by signaling negligence. We will send our freedom fighters.

#### b. Prosecution

The second is prosecution. The U.N. Protocol obliges parties to make human trafficking a criminal offense with an adequate system of penalties. I know well-off and well-meaning, which means basically rich, Northern European and North American countries where convicted traffickers get out with a slap on the wrist. I ask you again, have your governments established an adequate system of penalties?

#### c. Protection

The third is protection. States are committed to care for the physical, psychological, and social recovery of victims offering housing, visas, and assistance in their language keeping in mind the needs of women and children. The evidence in my possession regarding so many member States point to a flat no. Not enough is being done and certainly not fast enough given the size of the problem. This is not a wish list that I have presented to you. This is international law, and 110 countries have signed up to it. Let us make sure that they will comply with what they have signed up to.

Momentum against trafficking in persons is building spurring people in government to act. This event is a manifestation of the vibrancy of the movement. Therefore, before closing I have two specific requests to submit.

#### IV. Global Conference

First, next March a global conference will take place in Abu Dhabi. I know what you will perhaps think at this point that people are raped, exploited and victimized, and all this guy does is invite us to a luxurious conference in the Gulf. Well, that is not exactly the case. There have been conferences that have changed the world's view on development—in Beijing on the condition of women and in Cancun on the danger of the AIDS pandemic. I urge you to attend and propose concrete initiatives to make the Abu Dhabi meeting the anti-slavery counterpart of these successful events.

## V. Measuring the Problem

The second recommendation or request is that I urge you to help us improve the ways and means to measure the extent of human trafficking. We don't really know and cannot fathom the severity of the problem. We cannot touch it. Obviously, it is illegal. That is part of the complication, but still we need international comparable data in order to ensure that policy is evidence-based. At the moment, we are in a statistical fog, and we urge you to help us so that we can eventually start making this object emerge.

I hope that in the near future we will commemorate the UN International Day for the Abolition of Slavery as an anniversary rather than a taking stock of the problem today or a call to action to end the problem that is still with us. Let us work together to make slavery history so that everyone can live in freedom and dignity.

# Introduction of Nicholas Kristof Emily Bishop

Center for Global Affairs Graduate Student and President, Global Affairs Graduate Society

#### I. Welcome

Good evening, and welcome to New York University. I am proud to represent the Center for Global Affairs, and as the president of the Global Affairs Graduate Society, I extend a special welcome to our friends and presenting partners at the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the Vital Voices Global Partnership.

Many of you no doubt know that this evening's event is representative of the Center's ongoing dialog with the public, which makes our graduate program in Global Affairs unique, informed and utterly pragmatic.

#### II. Introduction

Nicholas Kristof is no stranger to anyone here so you are quite aware of his considerable accomplishments including his two Pulitzer Prizes for his writing in *The New York Times*. Tonight we especially welcome and recognize Mr. Kristof for his insightful, compelling and engaging writing on the scourge of human trafficking around the world. Writing as he says, "To give voice to the voiceless," his

column regularly illuminates global issues in a way that makes me, and I presume many of you, squirm as I often recognize my own detachment from the voiceless among us. His work is an inspiration to me in my studies, and I value his call to action on behalf of our global neighbors in places like Darfur, Cambodia and Thailand.

By way of introduction, allow me to borrow Mr. Kristof's own words on human trafficking. "It's mostly a question of priorities. If say a hundred people in each Congressional district demanded that their representatives push this issue, sex trafficking would end up much higher on our foreign policy agenda, and the resulting ripple of concern around the globe would emancipate tens of thousands of girls. The shame lies not with the girls but with our own failure to respond as firmly to slavery today as our ancestors did in the 1860s." Ladies and gentlemen, please join me in welcoming to NYU Nicholas Kristof.

# Remarks and Introduction of Guests Nicholas Kristof

Pulitzer Prize-Winning Columnist, The New York Times

As I was listening backstage, it actually felt suspiciously like a eulogy so I was sort of pinching myself to make sure I hadn't wandered into my own funeral. I'm also just thrilled to see so many of you here today. The whole problem of trafficking has thrived largely because it doesn't get attention, and if I had a hat, I would take it off and really salute you for this incredible turnout and attention to an issue that if it can only get a little more attention that may be the first step to taking it away.

## I. Background

I would be the first to say that it is sort of a little strange for a columnist to go repeatedly to places like Cambodia or India to address this issue. Some of you know a few years ago I actually purchased two teenage girls in Cambodia, returned them to their village, and set them up with an NGO. It was extraordinary. I actually got receipts from the brothel for purchasing them, but periodically someone will come up to me when I'm walking my nine-year-old daughter around and say, are you the guy who bought those two girls? My daughter will look up at me, which does lead to awkwardness, but let me just explain how I did get so passionate about this issue.

In 1996, I was reporting on it from Cambodia, and I went into a brothel in Phnom Penh, the capital. I spent an afternoon talking to two girls, a 14-year-old and a 15-year-old. The 14-year-old had been sold by her stepfather. The 15-year-old had been kidnapped off the street, and just the previous week her mother after searching all over Cambodia for her had finally come to that brothel and found her. She had, of course, demanded that the brothel owner return her, but the brothel owner said, no, I paid good money for your daughter. These girls couldn't escape. They were in every way prisoners, and in every way it was slavery except that these are victims of slavery who never get beyond their early twenties because they are dead from AIDS.

## **II.** Losing Ground

I think that the issue resonated in me particularly partly because there are so many problems around the world that are actually getting better over time, but trafficking is one where we have lost ground. It seems to be worse today than it was ten years ago and worse than it was twenty years ago. The other point is that where in fact there have been major efforts to call attention to the problem and to address it, we have shown that we can make a lot of headway.

## III. Making Headway

Let me just leave you with one final example of that before we move to the next step. There is one young woman I got to know a little bit named Suri Wrot who is originally Cambodian. She wanted to improve her life and go to Thailand to work in a restaurant. She ended up being trafficked to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and if any of you have been there, you know it is an incredibly modern and terrific city. At that time, it had the tallest building in the world, but she ended up being locked inside a brothel there for about a year. She was never paid a penny. She was never allowed to use condoms. She was in every way completely a prisoner. She was locked in a room. Every night she and six other teenage girls spent the night in this room, and it was on the eleventh floor but had a balcony. One night, they were so desperate to leave that they took apart their laundry rack that they hung their clothes on to dry. They put together this incredibly fragile ladder to run from their balcony to a balcony on the next building over, which wasn't far off. Eleven floors up they scrambled across one by one to the next building and pounded on the window and were admitted. The person was probably a little bit surprised, but they marched through their apartment and went down and left. You see some real examples of incredible courage like that, and last year at about this time I was going to go back to Malaysia and find that particular brothel. It turned out that because of a crackdown in Malaysia because it had gotten attention, that brothel had been closed down. That kind of effect really can make a difference. This is one of those problems that is not intractable. I'll be talking more on the panel about how to address it.

#### IV. Film Introduction

Now, this is such a cool evening that we have a film for you. Actually, we have two films for you, and what I would like to introduce right now is a film prepared by Julia Ormond, who has been an actress of course but also the Goodwill Ambassador for the U.N. Julia has worked hard on the issue of trafficking, and we will view the film now.

#### **Discussion**

### Nicholas Kristof, Moderator

Please welcome the panel. I thought that instead of having long introductions, long opening statements and long closing statements, I would give very brief introductions, and we will then jump right into a discussion. I should say that one of the constraints of being a moderator here is that normally you like to have a panel where everybody is yelling at each other and disagreeing and so on. In fact, there is some danger we're all going to break into Kumbaya together or something. I have incredible respect for the people here.

#### I. Introduction of Panelists

On your far right, we have Ruchira Gupta, who is with Vital Voices, which you have already heard about and is based in Calcutta, one of the places with one of the biggest problems. Ruchira has worked tirelessly to raise the attention to the problem globally.

John Miller is the Ambassador who heads the Office of Trafficking in the U.S. State Department, and those of you who read my column know that I am not the biggest fan in the world of the Bush Administration's foreign policy. However, it seems to me that the area where the Administration has done the absolutely best job has been in its Trafficking office. That is Ambassador Miller, and I would like the record to show that a New York student audience applauded a member of the Bush Administration. If I ever get sent to Guantanamo, that is going to be part of my appeals process.

Julia Ormond, whose film you just saw, has been traveling around calling attention to the issue and has been a tireless ambassador for it.

Then we have Marilyn Carlson Nelson who has focused on the issue. She'll tell the story of how she became interested in it, and she has represented the best efforts of the business world to see how the business community can work with government and private organizations to try to address the issues of trafficking through her company but through also the larger world of the travel industry.

Then we have Congresswoman Carolyn Maloney who has been a huge advocate on this issue and in general on women's issues and gender issues of all kinds. One of the great things about this issue is that it's one where the left and right really have worked together, and Carolyn and John are great examples of that.

#### II. Overview

Now, let me try to see if I can generate some disagreement here. Maybe, John, you could start by giving us a little bit of an overview of the problem. You are going to be leaving this office soon, but as you leave, where is the problem worse and where have we made progress? Tell us a little about it globally; be comprehensive in thirty seconds.

#### **Ambassador John Miller**

Some of the figures were referred to in Julia's film. There are a lot of estimates, and they're guesstimates because the survivors don't stand in line and raise their hands to be counted. I think it's fair to say that there are millions in slavery today, and we believe that 80% are women or girls, which is not surprising since two of the biggest categories of slavery around the world are sex slavery and domestic servitude slavery. This goes on in every country of the world including the United States of America. I have not visited a country, and I have been to many in the last four years, that doesn't have this challenge. Now, the good and the bad—if you accept that every country has the challenge and get over the shock that even advanced nations have this challenge, Western Europe, the United States, Japan, Australia, and you look at where things are going well or poorly, I would say that we'll start where much more needs to be done. More needs to be done everywhere, but we'll start where much more needs to be done. If you look at our report, this clearly includes countries such as Saudi Arabia, Russia,

Mexico, India, and a country I just visited two weeks ago, Malaysia, as you mentioned, which is a wealthy country. The government isn't doing anything. If you look at these countries, you not only see large-scale slavery, but what is more important is the effort. You see a lack of effort in terms of prosecutions, convictions, shelters to care for people, prevention or education campaigns. I would say even in Western Europe I don't think things are going so well. Countries are not following the Swedish example in dealing with sex trafficking. They're not addressing demand. The problem seems to be growing in Western Europe.

## III. India/Nepal

#### Nicholas Kristof

One of the countries that you mentioned was India, and indeed India and the relationship between India and Nepal is one of those where the problems are most severe. Ruchira, I wonder if you could just give us a sense of the nature of the problem and what happens to these Nepali girls, for example? What does it look like to walk through the brothel district in Calcutta?

#### Ruchira Gupta

In Calcutta, Bombay or Delhi when you walk into the brothels, you see underage Nepali girls in each of the brothels. They could be nine-years-old. They could be twelve-years-old or thirteen-years-old. Recently, the age of those trafficked has come down even more, and in Calcutta the age is as young as seven, eight and nine now. These girls are duped, tricked, seduced, kidnapped or bought from relatives and trafficked across borders by unscrupulous agents who pay border guards, put them into trucks and trains, and bring them to the brothels of Calcutta, rape them repeatedly, season them as they call it, and prepare them for the buyers of prostituted sex who come into the brothels and ask for these young girls every night.

Sometimes these girls have to actually service up to nine or ten buyers every night. They pick up all kinds of diseases, skin diseases, HIV and AIDS, and mortality rates are really high in the brothels of Calcutta and Bombay. They have to go through repeated abortions. Women die by the time they are 30 or 35 having spent their lives inside small, dark rooms with little windows, with no outings, in slave-like conditions as John has mentioned being recycled again and again for buyers who want fair, young Nepali girls with Oriental features. They just exploit them. There is very little that is done to help these girls because they belong to a different country. They are foreigners so even when working with the police or the government trying to get these girls out, it's a long process to take them back home because very often the two countries sort of wrangle over the girls and they are kept in small homes or houses where they don't get enough support. When they go back home, again there are very few facilities to look after these girls. Nepal is one of the poorest countries in the world. Its per capita income is \$180 a year, and it's also been racked by insurgency. On top of that, the girls are disease-ridden. Many of them don't have homes or families to go back to, and if they do, they have to face stigma and are rejected by the very families who have sold them and live off their earnings. The conditions are really wretched for the Nepali girls who are taken away from their homes, lose their childhoods and are used as sex objects again and again.

#### **IV.** United States

#### Nicholas Kristof

A lot of the focus has tended to be on conditions abroad, but the reality is unfortunately that the best experts on trafficking in New York aren't there. They're probably not terribly far from here as girls who are out on the streets. Carolyn, I think that is how you initially got into this issue, and I wonder if you could talk a little bit about that and about the trafficking problem here in the U.S.

#### **Honorable Carolyn Maloney**

First of all, I want to thank everyone for coming and for your concern. When I talk to victims and those that have been so abused by this, they say no one cares, no one hears our story, and your being here is very important. I first became involved in it in 1999 when Equality Now came to my office and showed me brochures from the Big Apple Tour Business that was located in my district in Queens. They literally had on their website and in print in their brochures, come to Thailand, come to the Philippines. We can arrange any number of young girls or boys. It was blatantly advertised, which is illegal in our country and illegal in those countries. How were they getting away with this?

I said I'm going to crack down on this. I called Janet Reno and wrote her and wrote DAs in Manhattan and Queens, and they all came back and said we can't convict them. The laws are not strict enough. We can't prove intent. AG Eliot Spitzer went after them, hauled them into court, and it was thrown out with insufficient evidence. He has now gone back against them, and it's still in court. This shows how brazen they were. When I wrote my letters, they would put them up on their website and say look at this crazy Congresswoman who is going after us and criticizing us. She must hate men. What is her problem? This shows that they were sure that no one could touch them. At least they are off the internet and their brochures aren't out there, but they are still around. It shows that we need tougher laws here in New York State, and Equality Now and Dinowitz has a law before New York State, which we hope to pass this year.

On the federal level, and I want to put this in context. We have only acted on sex trafficking in the last six years. We have passed three very important federal laws raising the issue to national importance and defining it as a federal crime, increasing penalties and making it illegal to cross state and federal lines for the purpose of engaging in sex with a minor. This past year with Deborah Pryce, as we were both on the Financial Services Committee, we used our position as the Chair and ranking member to raise attention on it with a series of hearings based on the amount of illegal money involved. Sex trafficking is the third largest crime in our country and internationally, preceded only by guns and drugs. Unlike guns and drugs that are only sold once, you can sell a human body over, and over, and over again until the person dies.

This past year we passed a law called the End Demand for Sex Trafficking Act, which focused on the demand side and gave grants to the localities and states to start prosecuting and educating people about this crime. It's the same format that we had in the Violence Against Women Act that was passed back in 1994, which educated law enforcement to focus on it. It passed the House and the Senate, and it was signed into law by the President, but the funding only passed the House and it has not been funded. It also calls upon the Department of Justice to come out with an annual report on statistics so we can

understand what is happening in our country with this terrible, terrible crime. If you go to Ambassador Miller's website, it is really an outstanding website. By Congress, the State Department is required to come out with a report every year on what other countries are doing, whether they are making strides to improve it or falling behind. It allows the President to sanction them, and it's a wonderful website. We hope to have the same under the End Demand for Sex Trafficking Act. Nick Kristof called it the best office in government in one of his articles, and we thank him for raising consciousness with it too.

#### Nicholas Kristof

Let me push you on that a little bit more. In New York City, or in the state, or around the country, are you going to find girls who are in a situation comparable to those that Ruchira was talking about?

## **Honorable Carolyn Maloney**

The stories are just unbelievable, and in my years in Congress and in the City Council, women's issues were an area and children's and families' that I focused on. I was not aware of how horrible or widespread this is until the Polaris Project came to my office with victims. I'll never forget one of them, Tina Front. She finally testified before Congress, which was a very brave thing and raised it to a national level. Her story is similar to others. She was in foster care. Her foster care parents forced her and her foster brother into prostitution at around nine or ten. She saw her picture in magazines that promoted pedophiles. She went to school, and she told her teachers. She told her counselors, and no one would listen to her. It's such a terrible crime that people don't want to believe that it's true. When she came to my office the first time she told me her story, I kept interrupting her, which is not really my style. I usually listen, and I finally realized that as a former teacher, as a former person who advocated for foster care and programs for children, I literally could not bear to hear her story of how the system failed her in education, in the police, in counseling, and in absolutely every other area. She then ran away from home, and of the hundreds of thousands of young people who run away one out of three become prostitutes. She was picked up by an older man who forced her and beat her into prostitution. but the stories that come to my office on sex trafficking in the United States of America you cannot believe of warehouses with beds there, being thrown into ice bins to make them behave, being beaten and forced into it

It's just hard to believe, and I think one of the most telling stories was my colleague's who has worked with me on the other side of the aisle, Congresswoman Deborah Pryce from Ohio. She told me she was a judge for many years, and people would come to her courts. She would sit there and convict prostitutes one right after another. Then she finally stopped and started talking to them, and every one of them had a story of being forced into this slavery lifestyle and being forced to become a prostitute. We cannot do enough to end it. It is incredibly widespread. I believe the numbers are larger than the numbers even that Ambassador Miller and others have put out, and they are some of the most heartwrenching, devastating stories that you've ever heard. Many people don't want to hear it. They don't want to hear that this happens in America, and you can start telling another member of Congress. Well, listen I'm busy right now. You just can't bear to hear that in the land of the free and the home of the brave this type of exploitation and abuse is taking place in our city. It was announced several months ago that 59 Korean women were arrested that were sex slaves in Manhattan. The groups, ECPAT, Gems and Polaris can tell you literally where it is taking place, and it's still taking place here in our own city. It's terrible. We need to pass a strong state law, and we need to enforce our federal laws.

## V. Business Community/Travel Industry

#### Nicholas Kristof

Marilyn, Carolyn mentioned Big Apple Tours, and that's sort of an extreme example. Presumably, however, there are elements of the business community and the travel industry that do in a sense benefit from trafficking particularly abroad. There is certainly a connection to sort of the trafficking mafia. To what extent is that part of the problem, and what on the other hand can the business world do as the Carlson Companies, your company, has done to try to address that, fight it and become part of the solution rather than part of the problem?

#### Marilyn Carlson Nelson

I think, Nick, I should just go back a little bit. Carlson Companies has travel business, corporate travel and leisure travel, cruise lines, and hotels, Radisson, Regents, Country Inns and Suites, and so we originally backed into the problem or started as philanthropists. Our foundation was working with the Queen of Sweden who was quite enlightened on the subject, and we visited some projects with street children and children who had been abused in St. Petersburg. One of the things we discovered was that the little girls caught out after dark at night were actually taken to the prisons because they felt that it kept some of the violence in the prisons down if they could use these children for their sexual needs.

We co-founded the World Childhood Foundation with the Queen of Sweden and have now 70 projects in 11 countries that deal with those who are the most vulnerable. Then I started to connect the dots. That happened in 1999 as we were all becoming more aware of this issue, and I realized after reading your articles and being stimulated to think more broadly that business could be an extraordinary power for good. Also, globalization had such a powerful role to play in actually encouraging, the connectivity, the information flow, the travel, that was part of the causality of this growing issue. I suddenly realized that on the philanthropic side of our company we were trying to address some of the aftermath or the potential prevention issues but that it could be playing out. We could inadvertently be players in that our industry, the travel industry, obviously gets utilized to facilitate this. The hotels are often sites where this takes place. We're in the restaurant business. We own T.G.I Fridays restaurants in 60 countries now, and a lot of these young girls are even promised restaurant jobs. As I kept hearing this, I had this ah-ha. On the one hand, we're trying to deal with this philanthropically. On the other, we should redefine social responsibility. All of us in the corporate world who really believe that corporations can be a force for good know that by creating jobs we create some of the economic vitality that is a prevention, but also that each business needs to look at what the particular issues of responsibility are for its own industry.

We at that point were invited or encouraged to sign something called ECPAT, End Child Prostitution and Trafficking. It's an ECPAT code. I discovered as I looked into it that no other large American hotel or travel company had signed. There were a couple of small ones, and there were a couple of European ones. One always worries that if you stand for something that there is someone somewhere who would like to show your vulnerability. We checked with our lawyers and talked a lot to our people about what does it mean to sign up—that we would inform our employees around the world about what to watch for about the issue, that we would find ways to inform our customers, that we would actually put into all of our contracts with suppliers that we would use whatever power we had at hand, one of

which of course is our relationship with our suppliers. All of our contracts have statements that we've developed that make it clear that we do not do business with people who profit from the enslavement of children. We've created language, and one of the beautiful things is that this is not a beautiful subject, but the human response has been amazing. Some of our suppliers have asked how they can help and how they might make contributions. We have also developed training tools. We have something called a meeting in a box. This all happens in Spanish and is used in Mexico. It has everything from the card key for the hotels and just talks about how we care about the world's children. It has posters for the back of the house to inform the employees. The manager can train their personnel. The important thing that we need though is that we can't ask our people to be enforcers. It's important to us that our guests feel comfortable and have a beautiful time, but we have found that we can actually engage the guests in lovely ways because most people around the world respect organizations that stand for what's right and that want to protect the children.

One of the challenges though is actually that we need to collaborate because we need, for example, what the State Department has done with the list of the countries and the different tiers and how they are engaging because it's very hard for us to train people if they have no where to call or they don't trust the police. If the police or authorities are complicit, then our efforts could be confounded in many ways, and we certainly need the help and partnership that comes from our own federal government in terms of what is being done to actually inform people. We also need the help of each and every one who has any kind of a network. If you're an academic network, or a corporate network, you have friends and family, and as we raise this problem and call it to people's attention, those developing nations that don't want to be embarrassed and don't want the majority of travelers who are there for positive reasons, to do business or on pleasure, don't want to be perceived as a place that is dangerous or has a lot of crime or is complicit in this kind of problem.

#### VI. Prostitution

#### Nicholas Kristof

Julia, we're all sort of agreeing on the importance of the problem and so on. The nightmare of the moderator is everybody agreeing, but I think there is also a more skeptical viewpoint. I'm sure that there are some people here are at least thinking it, and that is, look, prostitution is the world's oldest profession. Whatever one tries to do, one finds it everywhere. It's a manifestation of poverty just as all kinds of problems are, and that's what one should be worrying about rather than all of the stuff about trafficking. That is a lob if you could just whack at it if you will.

#### Julia Ormond

Thank you for leading me straight into the thorny thicket of prostitution. The last year has been a year of discovery for me. The U.N. Office of Drugs and Crime, which is the office, which I am attached to as a goodwill ambassador has been extremely generous to me in allowing me to go and visit places around the world where I feel there have been success stories to get a sense of it and research it before I do probably the more traditional aspects of lots of media as a goodwill ambassador. For me also, the U.N.'s work in defining trafficking and coming up with an international definition of what trafficking is has opened up our perspective of what the real essence of the issue is.

For me even to talk about trafficking is really essentially to talk about slavery. Slavery is something that we think disappeared, and it hasn't ever disappeared. To me it's really shocking that I can't even living in Los Angeles walk into Whole Foods, for example, and I could pick any supermarket, and buy a lime and know that it wasn't picked by somebody who potentially was held at gunpoint in Florida. I find it really hard to get my brain around the fact that we live in that world and we're not doing enough to combat it.

Prostitution for me is definitely a huge part of it, and different member states have the right to interpret the Protocol in the way that they see culturally fits them. Different member states have different internal legislation that deals with it. I think what has happened is that one of the reasons that prostitution has emerged as the story is because the prostitute is visible. The prostitute is often on the street believe it or not. I always imagined these girls in rooms, but there are a number of trafficked women who are walking the streets. I met a victim who was a Romanian girl who had been trafficked into Italy, and I was like, okay, tell me why you didn't find a policeman. It seemed so logical. Go find a policeman and tell him your story. She said my first client was a policeman, and not only was he that, but he flashed his badge and expected it for free. Not only that, but when she was arrested and I think that is why we see the statistics pouring in for prostitutes is they're often arrested, it took her three months to trust enough to tell her story and come out with the fact that she was a trafficking victim. Even when she is in a safe enough haven, it takes time for that story to come out.

What is also interesting to me is that I feel it's incredibly sad that we don't also include the boys who are trapped such as the kid who floated for two days out at sea before being picked up. That a child of that age should be put in a position of risking his life in that way to me is extraordinary. Also, one of the things that I find in talking to victims is what kind of compounds the hidden nature of it is somebody who has been victimized by violence is very shut down when they talk about it. As an actress, that has been really revelatory because if I was given a script that I'm a rape victim, I was raped, and tears, and all the rest of it whereas you're much more likely to come across somebody who will just say and I was raped, and my sister was raped. They'll deliver it as if they're delivering a shopping list because they've disconnected from it. One of the things I discovered also while filming is that when victims talk about it, they fiddle with something. They'll pick their fingers. They'll play with cloth. They'll tell the story in a very monotone even way, not usually with breaking down emotionally, very unemotionally, but they'll fiddle like crazy. The girl that came to the U.N. to testify who you talked about she did this. It was very interesting to me how displaced people can become in order to deal with it, and I think that is one of the reasons it is still hidden.

I went to Lake Volta, which was a story that was also shown by *The New York Times* recently, and it was as difficult as booking a flight to Ghana, getting off the flight, getting into a bus, driving to Lake Volta, getting off, walking through the village and there it is—child slavery. I am also looking at it talking to the NGO who was made up of ex-traffickers who were working with them and helping them identify the new trafficking victims. I'm standing there saying, okay, I think I know what I'm looking at, but what am I really looking at? Can you tell me which are the trafficked children and which aren't? And they were looking for something as simple as children that didn't smile because the kids were so shut down. When you travel the world and you take photographs of children and take film of them, children goof around. They play, and they smile, and they all cram in to see the picture. These kids were just wary. That for them, for the NGO, was the first indication that something was potentially going on. They would come back and develop a relationship with those potential slave owners, potential traffickers and over time get them to admit and release the children. Then the NGO as a solution was providing an alternative livelihood not just to the parent that ended up selling the kid in the

first place, not to schooling for the child that was trafficked but an alternative livelihood for the trafficker because otherwise they are vulnerable to trafficking children again and you can't break the cycle.

Obviously, if somebody were to just hold onto those children who were enslaved, in time they would bring in police, they would be arrested, and they would be convicted, but their first approach was to give that person another economic opportunity.

## VII. Slavery

#### **Nicholas Kristof**

Let me push back on the issue of slavery if I can. I think that's how the issue increasingly is perceived, and in some extreme cases it looks rather like 19<sup>th</sup> century slavery. But there also an awful lot of cases that are more like the Romanian whom you described, women who are out on the streets or people who are promised a job in a restaurant somewhere, cross a border with that understanding, and then maybe the brothel owner keeps their passport, or it's a pimp who coerces them or threatens them with beating if they run away. It's not exactly like the 19<sup>th</sup>-century model of slavery where somebody has to go hundreds of miles and if a policeman sees them, they're not just going to have sex with them, they're going to arrest them. Is it really fair to call it neoslavery? How much of the problem is that much?

#### **Ambassador John Miller**

Wait a minute. Of course there are differences with historic slavery. The slavery of centuries ago was state-sanctioned. It was based on color. Look around today, and I'm not aware of any country that says slavery is legal. It's not primarily based on color, but it is the denial of freedom. The tricks of the slave masters are the same, deception, fraud, abuse, kidnapping, rape and beatings. It is slavery, and we can't shy away from it. Since you raised the subject of prostitution in the last question, I don't think we can shy away from that either. There are many kinds of slavery. Julia's film went into the fishing village child slavery. There are many kinds of slavery in this world, but when we talk about sex slavery, are we going to kid ourselves that it's not related to prostitution? Of course that's creating the market for sex trafficking victims, and we have to face that point.

Every once in a while I get a letter, and generally it's signed by academics. I've got to say that.

#### **Nicholas Kristof**

Usually from New York University, actually.

#### **Ambassador John Miller**

I don't know if it's New York University, but they send me a letter and say, now wait a minute, you've got to understand... they offer this Libertarian analysis. You have to understand this is the right to choose and all this. I ask myself, have the academics that signed this letter gone around the world and talked to the survivors as I have? Have they met with Katia after she got out of the brothel in

Amsterdam as I did, the first survivor I met with? Of course they haven't. Have they looked at the actual research on this that shows surveys showing that those engaged in prostitution, the vast majority, have experienced harassment, assault and rape? The people that believe that prostitution isn't related believe it's a form of work, sex work. Would they like their daughters or sisters to go into this? Now, the answer of course for most is no because intuitively they know that there is all of this violence and organized crime. If they don't want their own daughters to go into it, why should they want other people's daughters to go into it? Leaving aside religion, morals, and all of this, if we assume slavery is wrong as the denial of freedom and when we look at the different categories of slavery and sex slavery, we can't put our blinders on about prostitution.

## Marilyn Carlson Nelson

The children that we're worried about are picked up off the streets. One of the things that we did at Carlson after the tsunami is that we understood that many of the teens were going to be victims. You read about it and heard about it, and what we were concerned about is that some of the projects were trying to deal with housing and families and many of the teens were on the streets. Little children were being taken care of and bigger ones, but these junior twelve to fourteen-year-olds were kind of at risk. We started a project with World Childhood called Teens for Teens because immediately we heard about how many children were disappearing because the traffickers saw this as a great opportunity. That is not a choice. Those are young people who are being picked up off the streets who are in vulnerable positions and never see the light of day. They're drugged. Many of them actually in some cases even pay someone thinking that they're going to get a job and passage to the United States or to Europe, and then the traffickers pay for their trip and pocket the rest of the money and keep them in indentured servitude for the rest of their lives.

## VIII. Legalizing

#### Nicholas Kristof

I'd like to go to Ruchira actually because one of the issues that is so important is how one approaches prostitution. Some people advocate making it legal. Some people advocate tolerating but regulating, and you have a dispute even about terminology. Does one use the word "prostitute"? Does one use the term "sex worker"?

#### **Participant**

Victim.

#### **Nicholas Kristof**

Absolutely. India has several models of that. Calcutta is one, and I wonder if you could talk a little bit about how you see that coming from Calcutta.

#### Ruchira Gupta

Before I answer that, I want to add to the point John was making about slavery. There are certain other elements that are inherent to the conditions that victims of trafficking live in, which are very similar to slavery. One of them is the brothel madams actually breed the trafficked victims inside the brothels and make sure that they have children so that they can then use the children for intergenerational prostitution, which is very much like what happened to slaves on plantations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This is something that is really important to remember. Also, the victims are often kept in captivity inside the brothels, and that is exactly what John was talking about in terms of loss of freedom, loss of childhood, and no future to look forward to. It is ownership of one person by another person. These are all also part of trafficking for prostitution.

In Calcutta there is an NGO that is trying to lead a movement asking for the legalization of prostitution saying it would reduce the harm of prostitution by being able to regulate people, give them licenses and check if they are disease-free. The path they are following actually does not reduce the harm. It does not end HIV and AIDS, and what it does is it legitimizes state intervention in the lives of victims of trafficking because these women have to go to some licensing authority to ask for a license to continue practicing in prostitution or to live inside brothels. When they do, the licensing authority will always, always ask them for either free services or extort money from them. Also, what happens is that when they are inside the brothels, it is the brothel madams who make the decisions on their behalf and run these unions on their behalf. The third thing is that what they talk about when they talk about sex as work is without any element of exploitation, which is inherent to prostitution. One of the things that is inherent to prostitution is penetration, and this leads to certain diseases that cannot be legislated away such as sexually-transmitted diseases. Of course, they are subjected to repeated abortions plus HIV and AIDS.

What we in India are also arguing for as another model that we are trying to promote in different parts of India, which is being backed by women who are survivors or victims of trafficking, is the right of women not to be prostituted because while a model can be to legalize prostitution, it can only reduce the harm in a very limited way for a very short spell of time. What women really want is to live lives of dignity where they can have jobs that will offer them dignity and a future. That can only happen if they have the right not to be prostituted where they can get education, where they can get jobs, where they can live in homes with families and have a better future rather than dying of diseases by the time they are 30 or 35 or watching their daughters stand next to them in the red light areas offering their bodies for sale.

#### Nicholas Kristof

Let me just back that up in that at this point I am kind of agnostic on the question of legalization or not. I started off sympathetic to legalizing and regulating, but one of the things that moved me away from that at least into the agnostic camp was an experience in Cambodia. When I first went, there was a little town, which was really a brothel village dedicated to having young girls, eight-year-old and nine-year-old girls, and Doctors without Borders, which is just one of the best aid organizations around for which I have great admiration for had a program there where they sent a doctor who treated these girls twice a week to address venereal diseases and that kind of thing, sexually-transmitted diseases. It seemed like in this terrible situation that was about all one could do, and then in fact a couple of other groups, one was

International Justice Mission in Washington, and one was John Miller and his office, just jumped up and down and said this is absolutely intolerable that you have these brothels that are selling eight-year-old girls right on display. Today, those eight-year-olds are largely gone. There is still something going on underground, but it turned out that there really was much more one could do to not just manage the problem but make at least the worst aspects of it go away. I sure learned a lesson from that.

#### IX. Swedish Model

One of the approaches that I think has gathered a lot of interest from people who worry about this has been the approach of Sweden, and in fact just as it was remarkable to have a New York student audience applaud a person in the Bush Administration, once John Miller amazed me by saying nice things about the Swedish model. Maybe you or somebody else wants to talk about whether that is a good model and what the limits of it are.

#### **Ambassador John Miller**

Sweden took a different approach. They decriminalized the conduct of the woman engaged in prostitution and criminalized the conduct not just of the trafficker, the brothel owner, and the pimp but the buyer. Now, it is interesting how the buyer has been ignored in history. It's always the women, but even the regulatory schemes ignore the buyer. When people talk about how we are going to inspect the women, nobody talks about inspecting the men. Sweden decided to go this route. Now, has trafficking disappeared from Sweden? No. Has prostitution disappeared from Sweden? No, and Sweden's problem is mainly the sex-trafficking kind of trafficking, but the number of trafficking victims has gone significantly down.

What is interesting in the world is other countries are starting to think about this. In the United States where we have traditionally just prosecuted the women, now you have local and state authorities starting to prosecute the men, and leaders like Congresswoman Maloney getting legislation passed in the Congress to work on the demand side to encourage state and local prosecutions of the buyers, to provide education to try to change the attitudes of the buyers. We're starting to move toward a Swedish model. South Korea started to prosecute the men. India is debating, but at least it's being discussed. Maybe it shouldn't just be the women that are always the ones suffering. Yes, I am sympathetic to the Swedish model. We're watching it very closely. It's an effort that bears watching.

#### Marilyn Carlson Nelson

There is also the fact that those who travel abroad to take advantage of the children can be incarcerated once they get home, which is a big step. We have similar cases here in the United States, do we not?

#### **Ambassador John Miller**

Yes, of course.

#### **Marilyn Carlson Nelson**

I think you should explain that because I think that's a big step forward as one of the things that's happened in the trafficking.

## **Ambassador John Miller**

I think the Congresswoman should explain the legislation that the United States has to try to get at the demand side.

#### Marilyn Carlson Nelson

This is one of the things that have allowed us to tell a story that is how we can be part of the solution.

#### Nicholas Kristof

If you could talk about that and also maybe address the whole question of whether we should be thinking about the Swedish model of decriminalization and moving more on the demand side.

#### **Honorable Carolyn Maloney**

We've already done that in federal legislation in that we passed last year, the End Demand for Sex Trafficking Act that Deborah Pryce and I co-authored, which puts the focus on the demand and gives grants to states, localities, police and prosecutors to go after the demand side and educates them that that is where the problem is. But you have to really go after the attitudes in this country. When the Academy Awards came out and the best song of the year was, "My Life as a Pimp," which was all about how he exploited girls and that kind of thing with even pimp balls where they all get together, it's just outrageous. We have to really crack down on this attitude and the pimps, traffickers, and johns. I have a new approach and a new bill that hasn't been passed yet. This is a great one. I love this bill, and it doesn't even cost money. This bill is built on the Al Capone model. That is how we finally convicted Al Capone on tax evasion. Do you think the pimps and traffickers pay their tax bills? Do you think they pay them? With Senator Grassley we put in a bill that creates a special unit in the IRS that goes after the pimps and the traffickers and goes after them for not paying their taxes. We have a whistle-blower protection that protects the victims and those who have been exploited and gives them a percentage of the ill-gotten gains. We'll be working on passing that bill when we get back to Congress.

On the whole question on prostitution, why in the world would you ever legalize the terrible treatment of a person? If you ever talk to a victim or a prostitute, they will tell you the most horrific stories of how they have been abused, exploited, tricked and beaten, and anyone who would ever want to make such inhumane treatment legal is beyond belief.

## X. Action

#### Nicholas Kristof

We have some questions from the audience. We're running out of time, but a bunch of the questions raise a common question that I will throw out here. People are looking for something positive, models that work, things that they can do, ways that we can actually address this problem.

#### Marilyn Carlson Nelson

I could explain a little bit about this doll. It's a small thing, but I think sometimes we look for big things. There are those who have levers that they can pull that are big things, but each of us has ways, whether we find a place to volunteer with shelters or where people are being rehabilitated or we can volunteer to inform people or we just have opportunities. This little doll came to my attention because at one of our large meetings where we had just brought people's attention to this issue one of the hotel managers there was from San Paulo. He was so moved because this problem just grabs you by the heart because you think of children that he went back and not only did he convince people to sign on to ECPAT in Brazil and begin to work on the problem, but then he created some small NGOs. They took the young women, and this little doll has a smile that they are making with those nervous fingers and their inability to articulate what has happened to them—dolls and happy young people. We have partnered with Visa, and when people use a Visa card, they get a little doll. We are selling the dolls and the money goes back. It's small, but it's an effort. I think rather than so often looking outside of ourselves and saying if only they would do something about it—who are "they" who do these things? We all have more ways that we can impact if we just begin thinking what do I do? Where do I go? Who do I know? We can find ways, and we can be very creative about it. I think together we can address this. Carl Menninger said, "What we do to our children they will do to the world." We are all invested in this issue.

#### Nicholas Kristof

What advice do you have for people here?

#### **Honorable Carolyn Maloney**

I have a new initiative that we can all be part of. Coming here tonight inspired me to fire off a letter to the President of the United States requesting that in his upcoming speech on the state of the union he highlight sex trafficking. This is not a political issue. It's a human issue that we can all work together on, and he has been good on this issue, signed our bills into law and spoken out on it. Our End Demand for Sex Trafficking Act that puts the focus on the johns and the users was not funded. We're calling on him to fund it. We funded it in the house. It was not funded in the Senate so it's not funded, but by the executive branch he can fund it. We're calling on him to fund the Act and to raise sex trafficking as a bipartisan issue raising national focus on it through his speech as an issue that we can all work together on. I bet you if all of you write him a letter and ask him to include it in his state of the union, we will get it in. We have a lobbying effort right here so help me get it in. Help us help the victims.

#### **Nicholas Kristof**

We are really about out of time so you will have to be incredibly comprehensive in about 25 seconds this time.

#### **Ambassador John Miller**

You go first.

#### Julia Ormond

I would just like to say that all of have an expertise. All of us are connected to this, and all of us have an expertise. I work in the film industry so what I use as the tool to fight it is film because it's what I do well. In the hotel business, use whatever that tool is. Internet porn is being fought by initiatives of Microsoft, AOL and Google coming together saying, okay, this is our industry and therefore the dark side of it is our problem. We are the ones and not the U.N. necessarily to help solve the problem. They have made a commitment by 2008 to eradicate child internet porn of which there are some 100,000 sites apparently, or there have been.

#### Ambassador John Miller

I've got to get in on this. I'm sorry.

#### Julia Ormond

Go.

#### Ambassador John Miller

We've got Vital Voices, the great organization that has sponsored this. They're doing work with Ruchira Gupta in India. People can go to their churches, civic groups, and other groups—you've mentioned Polaris, International Justice Mission, etcetera, and talk in your community about what is being done to help survivors. Are there organizations? You mentioned Gems in New York that you could help. What about sensitizing the police, talking to the local police? There are many things that people can do.

Ruchira, you're out on the front lines in India, and you've been working for so many years in Nepal and India. Julia, you've done a film on this. Nicholas, you've written articles. Carolyn, you were the Chairman of President Bush's National Businesswoman's Council and decided to take the lead on this issue. Carolyn in the Congress has taken the lead. I'm just sort of a State Department diplomat. Everybody has a role, and we look back at the 19<sup>th</sup> century and there was an abolitionist movement. We need a 21<sup>st</sup> century abolitionist movement, and everybody here should be part of it.

#### Marilyn Carlson Nelson

Not a lot of conflict, but we did get a lot of passion.

#### **Nicholas Kristof**

Marilyn just said not a lot of conflict, but we did get a lot of passion. On that note, please don't start leaving. We're still going to watch the second part of Julia's film, but at this point I would like to thank the panelists so much for joining us here.

## Closing Remarks and Call to Action Melanne Verveer

Co-Founder and Chairman of the Board, Vital Voices Global Partnership

For all of us, I want to thank Julia for bringing such passion and commitment to a cause that when listening to her is hard to ignore, and I want to thank all of you for your commitment to addressing this challenge of modern day slavery. I know your commitment by virtue of it being symbolized in your presence here tonight.

## I. Summary

Human trafficking, as you've heard, is a global scourge, and it often seems so far away, so overwhelming in its scope, and it was said earlier that sometimes we're going backwards and not forwards in terms of making progress. As you have also heard, however, it is a scourge that touches us here in New York in our neighborhoods and in our communities across this State. New York is one of the top destinations of victims trafficked to the United States. Victims of trafficking can be as close as the maid next door who had been forced into domestic servitude or the young boy selling trinkets at the subway stop who is one of dozens of deaf children coerced to work on the streets with their IDs being taken away by their traffickers, or the frightened foreign woman who unbeknownst to us is living a nightmare of unspeakable terror as part of a global sex trade. She knows her family will be threatened at home if she doesn't cooperate.

## II. Anti-Trafficking Law

You may ask yourself even after all of the things you've heard tonight and all of the advice you've gotten what you can do—what truly can I do? Well, despite the magnitude of this problem and the dimensions of human problems, New York State has yet to pass an anti-trafficking law, which is something that 22 other states have already done. For starters, you can be an advocate for legislative action. You can raise awareness to garner greater support. You can support all of Congresswoman Maloney's initiatives, and you can become those 21<sup>st</sup> century abolitionists. Many trafficking cases, in fact, are reported to law enforcement by good Samaritans. You can contribute your time, your skills, and your resources to organizations working to combat trafficking. You can follow the example of the panelists all of whom have used their positions to make a difference, and you can do that whether you're a student or retired.

## III. Strategy

Tomorrow, as part of this observance, there will be a roundtable discussion with practitioners, policymakers and law enforcement representatives to develop strategies to gain passage of a state law here in New York. To help take action, we have prepared for you a list of things you can do for your reflection and for your use. We hope you will all take a copy when you leave tonight.

Don't ever under-estimate the power of one person to make a difference, and now on behalf of all of us, I want to thank the panel each of whom by their own actions has demonstrated that this transnational crime, this egregious violation of human rights requires the engagement of all sectors, government on all levels, federal, state and local and multilateral institutions like the U.N. and regional pacts. It takes business, which has increasing power and influence in this ever-growing global economy. It takes civil society—that's all of us. When I was in government working on these kinds of issues, it was citizens coming to us who said, something has to be done. I'm here in Indiana. I'm here in Illinois, and there are women frightened to death that they're going to be sent home and punished for breaking the immigration laws. They were brought here, coerced here, by someone else. The someone-elses aren't being punished, and something has to be done. In Eastern Europe, women were literally crying and saying, we've gone to law enforcement officials in our countries. Our neighbors are disappearing. Our sisters are disappearing. Nobody will do anything. Something has to be done. In time, because of people like those on this stage, we passed the first anti-trafficking law. It became law in 2000 in the United States, and it has been re-authorized twice since and improved along the way.

It takes the media to expose the problem, to make the public aware and hopefully to move us to act. It takes all of us, all of the stakeholders. Marilyn, we thank you for demonstrating what a business leader can do, for making your company a model and for calling on your industry and going from the board rooms to the world economic forum to say we should join this cause. Ruchira, thank you for your work with victims in so many places and for shining the light on this problem through your film and for sharing with us the power of a citizen and what we all can do. Congresswoman Maloney, I hope you never run out of bills to bring forward. You have been steadfast on this issue and so many other human rights issues, and we thank you for all of your efforts. To Ambassador Miller who has become my friend who in a few days will step down as head of the U.S. Anti-Trafficking Office, he has been the face of America's determination to combat trafficking. He has traveled tirelessly, and he has cajoled governments to act. John, we wish you God speed, and we thank you for all that you've done. To our moderator, what can one say to thank Nicholas Kristof? I know I speak for all of us when I say how grateful we are for the columns you pen, for the light you shine in those dark places of human suffering around the globe, for appealing to our consciences on behalf of those who can't appeal themselves and for reminding us of the perils of indifference.

Now, very briefly I would like to call on some of America's future leaders.

#### **Presentation of Gifts**

#### Jordana Alter Confino

Hello, my name is Jordana Alter Confino and I am the co-founder of Girls Learn International, which is an organization of over 1,000 American middle and high school girls who are dedicated to working on behalf of human rights of girls around the world. Human trafficking, especially sex trafficking of girls

and young women, is perhaps the most horrific violation of those human rights. At Girls Learn International, we are committed to getting girls into school and to getting and keeping girls out of the brothels. The future of girls around the world is our future. We would like to thank each of tonight's panelists for their heroic work to bring an end to human trafficking. As a result of your efforts, we believe that the world will be a safer and more humanitarian place. It is with great pleasure that we present you each with a Girls Learn International Leader Award in recognition of your work on behalf of the human rights of women and girls. Thank you.

#### Melanne Verveer

Before I say good night, I want to thank the people who made this possible. It just doesn't happen automatically. Here at the NYU Center for Global Affairs, to Vera Jelinek, Rick Gove, and Richard Steeves and the army of helpers, thank you so much, and to Director Costa, Simone Monasebian and Lucie Hrbkova of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. For us at Vital Voices, I want to thank especially my colleagues, Wenchi Yu Perkins, Roberta Cooper and Alexis Rodriguez. Thank you all so much. Thank you for being with us, and please don't let this be the last thing you inform yourself of when it comes to human trafficking. There is much to do.