

SLAVERY NO MORE 2012 GLOBAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING CONFERENCE
August 10-11 ~ LOS ANGELES, CA

PANEL: Human Trafficking Legislation and its Impact

Jocelyn White: We are going to move onto our government police and political, economic leverage panel. When I think about our private investigators and the violence that they face, and law enforcement and the fear that our survivors face, this inspires me to step into those places that are hard and difficult, and if it means talking to our policy makers, are we willing to do it? Are you willing to take the time to make a phone call? To sign a postcard? To vote on an initiative? It's a very challenging question that was posed to me, but we have that ability and that is part of our power. When we take that power and take it away from the oppressor and use that power to encourage those who have greater power than us to support and to give voice to the voiceless, I think that's a very important role that we have.

Sandy Morgan is going to be moderating our next panel. Holly Burkhalter from International Justice Mission is going to continue on, and we have Stephanie Richard from the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking and Cynthia Brielh from World Vision. We are so honored to have Congressman Berman with us. He is an example of someone who has used his power and his influence for years to support human trafficking legislation. We are so grateful that he took time in his schedule to be here with us. Please join me in welcoming Congressman Berman as well as the rest of our panelists.

Sandra Morgan: What an illustrious panel. I feel really privileged to be the moderator. Let's dig right into this, and let's start with you Congressman Berman. We are so privileged to have you here. You serve in a very distinguished role as the ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Your work on human trafficking has a lot of impact, and I'd like to have you tell us a little bit about the status of the *Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization*. I hate to put you on the spot, but we want to know.

Howard Berman: Thank you again for inviting me, for the work you do. A little illustration of the difficulty of focusing attention in some of the comments. I've been sitting here for about an hour and ten minutes listening to some of the work that's being done and some of what's happening is the largest amount of time I've spent focused on the issues of human trafficking, the victims, the different forms it takes. I spend more time than most of my colleagues on the issues, so thank you very much for doing this. Everything we do back there is built on the shoulders of what is going on in Senae and in Los Angeles and in Cambodia and the ability to get those stories to us and to our staffs.

When I walked in I think Holly in other capacities many times testified in front of our committee, mentioned how do we replicate that formula that got the PEPFAR program and the support for the global fund, a Conservative Republican President, Democrats in the Congress, Republicans in the Congress, putting aside all of the different reasons it could have the program fall apart and actually create and massively expand, reform a program that's I think fair to say saved the lives of millions of people.

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How could we replicate that here? In some ways it has been replicated in that there truly is a bipartisan consensus on the issue of human trafficking. How could there not be? I mean the stories you talk about here, and the ones we read about, truly shock the conscious and the problem is keeping that from being a fleeting emotion and transforming it into action back there. We've come into a bit of a log jam. We created the legislation. It should be better funded. We've reauthorized the legislation. Some critical staff members in the Congress and my staff and the Senate staff played a very useful role by the way. It was interesting, because maybe the hope for this year and that was it was in a lame duck session in 2008 that one staffer, in particular, who then left the staff to work fulltime on these issues, a guy named David Abromowitz. It's hard to be angry with somebody who's gone from that to committing his life to working on these issues. It was in that lame duck session in 2008. A new president coming in that sort of quietly but forcefully focused that and we got consensus.

The problem here is we have a reauthorization bill. It does some good things. We passed out of the house foreign affairs committee on a bipartisan basis a somewhat different version but easily reconcilable legislation passed out of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Then then politics that you read about all the time in the context of Washington got into it in a reaction against a grant decision made by the administration. The administration that has focused and has a very, very committed person as the special leader of anti-human trafficking and protecting of the victims of human trafficking in there, but they made a grant decision which got some of the Republicans very angry. We ended up in that intractable paralysis where that legislation is stalled in the financial services committee. Not because even so much of that committee but the general gets back into the conscious clause. The same kinds of things that came up at the last moment in the context. Not the last moment but almost killed the legislation at the moment on the Affordable Health Care Act.

An issue that we have managed, and I can tell some interesting stories about that, but I don't know if you have the time. We avoided, in the context of the global HIV, AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis issues of who can get money? What are they allowed to do? How do we stay away from the family planning abortion issue in a fashion that doesn't get sides clashing on that? That's sort of what has messed things up. There are things that even in the legislation we passed I would like to see it that our intent in it, my own personal experience in this area comes less on the sexual slavery side and more on the coerced labor side because of my interest in migrant farm workers and seeing what's happened with sweat shops here in Los Angeles not in Bangladesh but in California in the Central Valley. You mentioned Florida practices. There are some things that we could be doing there with a focus on contractors and other provisions that we need to move ahead on and the issue of the money. We are caught up right now most immediately in the stalemate over that grant decision and the reaction to it. My hope is that once the election is passed, we can go back to putting that issue aside and trying to move forward.

Sandra Morgan: Can you clarify for people just so they know that they are very clear when they are speaking to their constituencies. I've had people call me and say the 2008

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law's going to expire. They have the concept that means all of our ant trafficking work is going to go away.

Howard Berman: The 2008 law has expired. I think we should have reauthorized this last year. It expired at the end of last year, but the appropriations level in effect keeps it going. We need the reauthorization to create the stability, forward planning, and a mark on what kind of money and resources we want to put into this. And to make the structural improvements in what we're doing, so the reauthorization is very important. The work that is coming from some of these grants will not just end, because the bill expired.

Sandra Morgan: That's great. So we're still against slavery in America. Stephanie from the perspective of CAST and then Holly I'm going to come back to you. Stephanie can you talk about the TVPRA from a domestic perspective?

Stephanie Richard: First I want to give Congressman Berman more credit than he was giving himself. I've heard from multiple sources having been involved in the reauthorization of the *Trafficking Victim's Protection Act of 2008* that he was the driving force and one of the reasons that it was reauthorized. I think that reauthorization was the strongest since the bill was originally passed in 2000. We have a real champion from California on this issue. We definitely need his help again.

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act is the most important piece of legislation on human trafficking. Actually no standalone bill on human trafficking has been passed in our Congress, so the *Trafficking Victim's Protection Act* has always kind of brought in lots of different ideas, lots of different bills to be a larger piece of legislation. It's been reauthorized consistently every three years, because we are a growing and learning movement. We really need to make those changes although we have a really good framework to start from.

As Congressman Berman discussed the House introduced a really good initial draft of the *Trafficking Victim's Protection Act* that had significant victim's protections, including in one of my favorites which were foreign labor recruiter protections that looked at regulation of foreign labor recruiters. On different durations those provisions were removed, and the House version became problematic and not bipartisan. *CAST* and other coalition members have instead turned our attention supporting the Senate version of the bill that also has very good domestic protection provisions.

This the bill that reauthorizes all of the funding for victim services in the United States both from the Department of Justice as well as the Department of Health and Human Services. It also funds all of our law enforcement task forces, so right now the Los Angeles Task Force is one of the hosts of this event. That task force funding has expired, and we would hope that funding will be renewed. It does look at our law enforcement efforts as well.

New provisions that we're looking at to really strengthen the laws that we have on the book that are really important from the domestic perspective. There's a bunch of them. I'm just going to cover three. The first one really has to do with increasing loopholes in our law

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under the *Protect Act*, so if you are a person from the United States is in child sex tourism; there are loopholes for you not to be prosecuted under that. The Senate version of the law fixes that. There's also important provisions that look at having trafficking added as a predicate act. This helps both criminal and civil prosecutions of human trafficking. What that is really racketeering and foreign influence corrupt practices. It brings in a whole new area of penalties in this area just by adding as a listed criminal provision.

Finally, in 2008 there was a new crime created that really looked at what's called *Fraud and Foreign Labor Contracting*, so it's not quite rising to the level of human trafficking? People are lied to about the terms of their contracts brought to the United States and then exploited. What we see is this makes people particularly vulnerable to trafficking, so it's a very important new criminal provision that was enacted in 2008. There is an immigration relief then for someone who comes forward, reports that fraud and foreign labor contracting. It's a very victim centered approach and will help criminal prosecutions in that area. The money and then lots of improvements in our criminal and domestic framework for combatting trafficking in the United States.

Sandra Morgan: When you're talking about the money does that impact CAST?

Stephanie Richard: Yes so we do receive federal funding from both the Department of Justice grant as well as Department of Health and Human Services. Just so people are aware; the levels of funding through the Department of Human Services for survivors of trafficking have not increased since the original enactment. There has been a 273% increase in the numbers of victims served as certified. That doesn't include the victims that are served that don't end up being certified. We're seeing much, much less funds for each victim, and there was never enough.

The Department of Justice has seen very limited increases and that money goes both to funding our task forces as well as our victim services. One of the reasons you're still hearing that there's no shelters for clients, no specialized services, no legal services for survivors of trafficking in the United States is because the funding just isn't there. Our experience has been that there's a lot of good programs that you can utilize the resources and a lot of organizations are interested in working on it, but you really do need those specialized service providers who can provide that technical consult both from a legal context as well as social service provision. I actually think that the United States is doing worse than maybe places like India or Cambodia where there seem to be much larger social service programs available.

Sandra Morgan: So from the international perspective with the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act* Holly.

Holly Burkhalter: We campaign right along beside CAST, and Stephanie and I have been at about 150 meetings. She never lets me talk...No really the role that CAST plays in managing these highly technical but hugely important reforms that grow right out their

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client care and their casework is an inestimable contribution to the slavery eradication movement. You ought to be very proud of CAST and of this gal, in particular.

Just as the crime of trafficking and slavery is morphing, and it moves and changes to keep up with pressures on it and as it chases the dollar, we in the eradication movement need to keep our tools very sharp. This is the bill that does that as Stephanie mentioned. It was a good bill to begin with, but there are new changes and improvements that are needed. The ones that we look at particularly on the international side are we would love to see the Trafficking in Person's Office which has grown over the years, but it has not grown commensurate with the growth of international slavery. We'd love to see them have more resources, particularly to have the ability to respond very quickly in emergency settings. Either natural disasters or postwar or conflict settings where there's a risk of labor or sex trafficking, and we'd love for them to have the ability to get out into the field quicker to have experts at their beck and call, so they can offer assistance to governments that are in trouble with an emerging trafficking situation.

Another provision that's in the Senate bill that is very important to me. It's kind of the tiny mini, mini *PEPFAR* for slavery. As you know *PEPFAR* was the *President's Emergency Plan to Fight AIDS*, the core of that legislation which Congress Berman was the author of in the House. One of the core features of this effort to eradicate global AIDS and to provide global treatment to millions of people in poor countries was to select 15 focus countries. I think the genius behind that is that the public health community, governments, and service providers didn't actually know how to put millions of people onto anti-retroviral treatment. We know how to do it in Los Angeles. We don't know how to do it in the Philippines or in India or in China. Most especially people didn't know how to do it in Sub Sarah Africa which is where most of the people without access to treatment live.

The bill basically authorized the United States government to figure out how to do that. It's not unlike President Kennedy saying I want to put a man on the moon. We don't know how to do that. Go figure it out and do it, and they did. That's what *PEPFAR* did for HIV/AIDS. There were only about 30,000 people on HIV treatment in Sub Sarah Africa at the time that bill passed and within about five years there were two million. Nobody knew at the beginning how to do that, how to make crappy health systems responsive, how to move the product, how to reach the poorest of the poor, how to get Nevirapine into the hands of mothers about to deliver. It was figured out in the context of putting large resources and a long term commitment to these 15 countries. It's that model that I think has so much promise for slavery eradication. Okay slavery looks very different in different countries.

There are different kinds, but we need a whole bunch of successful models. We need the data. We need the client outcomes and the victim outcomes. We need the services. We need to figure out how best to do this in all kinds of areas. Getting the Ghanaian boys out of those boats on Lake Volta looks very different than freeing a woman in domestic servitude from Indonesia who's in Malaysia. We need to figure out how, learn from it, measure it, replicate

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the successes, and I think a focus country approach would be great and the *TVPR* in the Senate does authorize the TIP office to initiate a modest handful of focus country initiatives.

Sandra Morgan: Cynthia you gave us some examples earlier of what *World Vision* is doing. Can you tell us how many countries you're in first?

Cynthia Brielh: 100.

Sandra Morgan: 100. How do you from your experience I've heard you talk about root causes in other conferences. How do you see policy and partnering with the government as an effective tool in addressing those root causes?

Cynthia Brielh: I think partnering with government is critical. We know that we can't as NGO's be there and continue to provide intervention. Countries have to be able to take off and stand on their own two feet. It has to be a partnership with government. I think it's really important that the work we do in abolition is also in partnership with governments. It's an incredibly touchy subject as we all who are working there know. I think it's important we do that. One of the things I like about the TIP report, and I've heard from my colleagues in the field is that countries are paying attention to that. This is another reason I think it's so important that we get this bill passed.

Even if we don't do anything the fact that we are shaming so to speak, because we are categorizing countries has an impact. I can say this firsthand from being in different place. I tell you anytime we go into Bangladesh or Cambodia or other places, and we even have anything that says human trafficking on it, their antenna goes way up. What are you going to take pictures of? What story are you going to tell? They care, and I think that's a really important piece of this legislation.

I think from a government standpoint, we absolutely have to partner with other people. The other thing I think this reauthorization will do is tighten up some of those laws of Westerners, U.S. citizens that are perpetrators. I know we had a case where we brought a girl over to witness from one our field offices. She was supposed to go to court, but by the loopholes, the perpetrator was able to keep putting the case off. This is really tough when you're trying to bring a foreign witness, child who's willing to actually witness, and you can't get that case moving forward. This is another area that I think we need to be looking at. We also often say that this is all far, far away, but the second biggest sex destination is Costa Rica right now after Thailand I think that's the case, and it's in our backyard. We've got a lot of work to do, and I'm hoping that our legislation will help with that.

Sandra Morgan: So as long as we're talking about pending and creative legislation is there any expectation of tougher sentences or any other innovative approaches to deterring trafficking Congressman?

Congressman Berman: Having the leaders of the trafficking operations identified and required to register as sex offenders is sort of an extrapolation of the name and shame

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concept that you talked about. It is interesting how governments of countries get furious if they are rated at a high tier in terms of not dealing with trafficking. You could have an embargo on them, you could have all kinds of big political fights, and they get more upset about the trafficking designation which again says there's something in this that if we can mobilize it can effect changes because people are so averse to being labeled as tolerating it.

One other issue in terms of the legislation is we talked about partnerships. Holly gave about a 90 second explanation in the context of trafficking and what we do with *PEPFAR* that if we did that with all of our foreign assistance, I mean it's the model for foreign assistance reform effort. Imposing reasonable obligations on businesses in the same sense with where we tried to do and got frank with conflict minerals on what they're doing to investigate their supply chains. A number of major companies are now willing to play that role, because from a company that we all know and appreciate and have admiration for what they're doing. When you start getting further and further down that supply chain, you can find practices that are really just horrific. Getting them more invested in having to tell the shareholders and the public what they're doing to make sure that doesn't happen I think is a useful provision that's a separate bill. It also was part of the original reauthorization bill.

Sandra Morgan: So that's HR 2759 right?

Congressman Berman: Right.

Sandra Morgan: And it mirrors the California SB 657.

Congressman Berman: Right California has done....

Sandra Morgan: What's the outlook as long as you've brought that up?

Congressman Berman: This is the place where you can do these things in the context of one bill make a series of important changes. That bill needs to get some more co-sponsors. I think the financial services committee members should be pushed on that legislation, but in the end, my hope and I hope it's not a fantasy is that sometime between the November election and January 1st that and other things that have been mentioned here can be put together in a reauthorization package and that become the vehicle for many of the ideas we're discussing now.

Sandra Morgan: So we should let our legislators know.

Congressman Berman: There's one other that will never be part of this. In the context of the United States, comprehensive immigration reform while it looks like it may have nothing to do with any of this. When you talk about vulnerable populations, the notion that people are living in total fear of being picked up and deported even though their lives have been made here. Without that kind of status adjustment for the people who might qualify in this kind of legislation becomes a tremendously helpful tool in getting with witnesses to cooperate, report these incidents, giving law enforcement a better opportunity

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to break these kinds of things. That undocumented status makes that population very vulnerable to other kinds of activities.

Sandra Morgan: I want to thank you for saying that. My personal experience. I live in a community that has a very high immigrant population, and when I talked to a little girl who was 12 years old about why she had been recruited by a group that used her for commercial sexual exploitation the reason was not because she was born here. She didn't have a problem. They said they were going to turn my uncle in, and I would never see him again. This is a push factor.

Cynthia Brielh: On the *TVPPRA* as far as what we can do, I think we're at 49 Senate co-sponsors right now. We'd like to push to get 60 co-sponsors, but we really need Republicans. Of course the state of California, you're covered in spades here. So is Washington state where I'm from, we have women democratic senators. They're just great about this. We do need more senators. If we can get to 60 I think we could actually get to a tipping point even if they're not Republican.

Holly Burkhalter: I'm sure my friend didn't mean to leave the impression that it was the senate bill was overwhelmingly Democrat. We have 11 Republican co-sponsors, and some of them are quite conservative and in the Republican leadership. It is a very safe bill. It has a good head of steam behind it, and we would love to see either by the House passing that Senate bill if the Senate bill passes or people coming to their senses in the house and returning to the bill that Congressman Berman out of his committee. We really have to get the job done.

I guess I have a question myself if you don't mind me grabbing the moderator role. Congressman do you think that in a new administration or a second term for President Obama there might be particularly as we're in the 150th of the Emancipation Proclamation and a growing head of steam I think across 50 states. Is there the potential for political will to do something even bigger? It's a tough question. We can't even pass the *TVPPRA*, but is there a future for a kind of PEPFAR to irradiate slavery at home and abroad? Not in one year perhaps but over a course of the next four?

Congressman Berman: The answer is I do think there is the potential, because the Rwandan genocide occurred and finished before you could keep reminding people that they couldn't think about it then go to somewhere else. Just some of the stories told here, the things we read in the papers, domestically and obviously in the foreign affairs, I think does have the potential. Let me just tell one story that demonstrates this. This should not be a Democrat, Republican issue. There are conservative Republicans who I disagree with on all kinds of issues but who feel...I've talked to these people...They consider this a supreme moral issue and are willing to create alliances and push for things including even money.

In 2008, go back to *PEPFAR* for example, we started to get in our committee into these fights with those issues, family planning issues, so reared a head that we've started a polarization. I can remember I called Josh Bolton who was George Bush's Chief of Staff. Philosophically,

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he had tremendous reach with conservative Republicans and Sam Brown who's not there anymore was the example of such a person. There are a number. John Bolton was the White House Chief of Staff. I reach him. He was on Air Force One coming back from Africa in early 2008. The president took a trip to Sub Sahara Africa and at that time a number of foreign policy things, George Bush was not being met in the streets by hundreds of thousands of admirers when he went to a foreign country.

The one exception was Sub-Saharan Africa where people had seen in their villages and in their town's lives being saved. They took a stand and pushed for money you would never expect a fairly conservative administration to agree to support. Josh Bolton said I'll come up to the Hill on Monday, and we'll take care of this. Then the thing just zipped right through. It was all over. The reason I think we could do it is, because this is an issue like that that can reach across party lines and affect people, have very different philosophies, be equally repulsed by what's happening now and what we need to do to change it.

Sandra Morgan: Stephanie you have been working with CAST. When did they start?

Stephanie Richard: CAST started in 1998, and I started in 2005.

Sandra Morgan: The steady climb if victims and survivors that you've served, does that indicate that trafficking is worse or just that we're better at finding it. What should we extrapolate from that trend?

Stephanie Richard: Data is a huge issue in the trafficking movement overall. We don't have good data, so the U.S. Department of State stopped publishing any kind of figure on how many people are trafficked inside the United States. In 2006, the initial figures they gave were between 40,000 and 50,000 people. Then that was reduced to about 14,000 to 17,000 people. That's just coming in, in one year. We never had a figure on how many are in the United States still in slavery. That only included foreign born individuals. We also have not great data about the amount of individuals who are trafficked domestically, but the figures are up to 100,000 children.

What we do know based on *CAST* experience is that this is a large problem. I can tell you at *CAST* we serve one of the largest case loads of human trafficking survivors in the country. We serve men, women, and children. We serve people from 22 countries around the world, including the United States. About 50% of our cases are sex trafficking, 50% are labor trafficking. When you're looking at our labor trafficking cases, they're in every industry that you can think of. Hair salons nail salons, restaurant work, factory work, domestic work, agricultural work, home health care, elder care, hotels, so we're seeing trafficking where we're looking for it. I do think that changes in migration and vulnerabilities have maybe increased for people to be trafficked across national, international boundaries. I think internally we've always had a problem with trafficking both in the United States and our own citizens as well as internationally.

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We see the largest numbers of people being trafficked within their own countries, so what the increased numbers you're seeing show us is that we've done a really bad job of addressing this problem which is why we're seeing these huge jumps in people we're serving. It's really from something really small to something else that's really small when we're comparing what really needs to be done. There's a great figure by Kevin Bales that says, "99.9% of murder cases are criminally prosecuted and less than 1% of trafficking cases are being criminally prosecuted now." When you think about what crime is taking away someone's dignity and taking away their personal liberty and their free will. Besides murdering somebody what could be worse? And we are just scratching the top of the iceberg in both identifying the victims that are falling prey to traffickers as well as preventing this from ever happening.

At CAST I'm sure all of us would like to put ourselves out of business and not have any more clients in the future. We are very, very far away from ever being able to do that right now. However on a more positive note, I do feel like we as activists can end slavery in our generation. I think you can't say that about a lot of issues, but I think you can say that about modern day slavery.

Sandra Morgan: Our time is really just speeding by, so I want to have one last question that everybody give us your best answer. In leading advocacy campaigns on human trafficking how can our constituents most effectively use their resources and their times? If you wouldn't mind being just a little transparent we've been hanging out together for two days. What are some of the things that we do in Congressmen feel free to chime in. What are some of the things we do with lots of good intentions that may not actually be very effective and could even be counterproductive?

Cynthia Brielh: A couple of things. One is I think we have to have patience and realize that we're in this for the long haul, and it's the long, slow journey and one campaign is not going to do it. If there's one thing I've learned it's that you have to build relationships. You have to keep at it over a long period of time. We don't always have that kind of patience in this generation of social media. We want things to be resolved really fast. I think it's a mindset of a long journey and to bring people along with you. I have to have a shout out to my *Women of Vision Program*. The *Women of Vision* who have really been sticking with it month after month after month. We have a timeline of all the things we've been doing around the *Trafficking Victim's Protection Act*, and you can really see some fun results of that.

It's a long process. There's maybe no silver bullet. We want to put our hope into legislation, but as we can already see with the laws on the books around the world, around slavery, but there are still slaves. We have to again, it's a partnership theme that we can have the legislation, but we have to build the systems around the legislation at all levels in the community civil society, government, religious faith communities, etcetera.

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Stephanie Richard: I'm going to give you guys some really concrete, immediate things that you can do. Monday there's a planning call for a national calling day to pass the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act* now. Actually my partners *International Justice Mission* and *World Vision* have been leading it, but I will also be on that call. It will give you the tools during that call to make the calls necessary to get those 11 co-sponsors we need to get up to 60 in the Senate. So that's number one.

Sandra Morgan: How do we get the information?

Stephanie Richard: The information is on the Alliance to End Slavery and Trafficking website, so go to www.atest.org. All that call-in information will be there. The second thing Karen [Bass] a *CAST* representative has introduced a great piece of legislation *HR 2730*. It's the *Child Welfare Protection Act* for child trafficking. This bill needs more co-sponsors, particularly we want to generate additional republican c-sponsors. We're at over 20 now but only 6 Republicans. There's no reason that there's not more Republicans, so *CAST* hopefully in the next week will be sending out an action alert to get all 14 of our California Republicans on this bill. Actually I wanted to do a shout out to Representative Lungren who has signed on. He's the single California Republican who signed on so please thank him for that.

Things that you shouldn't do. I don't like to discourage anyone, because I think doing something most of the time is better than doing nothing which is what you see happening a lot. People feel overwhelmed by this issue and think there's nothing that I personally can do about it. We do see a lot of legislation out there that will focus on a specific victim subpopulation group when there's actually no reason to do that. Human trafficking has a very clear federal definition. It includes men, women, and children, foreign nationals, and U.S. citizens. When you're vetting legislation to support ask yourself does this legislation so specialized that it should only be focused on children like the *Child Welfare Bill* I just talked about. Of course that focuses on children. It's a special need, great. If it doesn't have to be focused on children or just on women of just on U.S. citizens or just on foreign nationals, let's try to protect all victims in the legislation that we're pushing.

The other thing is we have a lot of legislation out there, especially at the state level. I think some of my colleagues have said that there was 400 pieces of legislation pending on human trafficking across the states this year. Let's be careful and use our political capital to enact good pieces of legislation, and let's implement the legislation that we get. Laws on the books don't do us any good if we don't have effective implementation.

Another thing that we in California can really is really make sure that *SB 657* on the *California Supply Chain and Transparency Act* is implemented correctly. I can tell you the California Tax Board has said that they will not release the list of companies that have to comply to the public which is a huge deal. It's supposed to be a bill that allows consumers to have the knowledge to vote with their feet. Also the attorney general's office has not issued

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the regulations that the companies need to fully comply with that. There's a lot we can do with implementing the good bills that we have.

Sandra Morgan: Just to add onto the foster care with Karen Bass, she is holding a listening tour, and if you go onto the website, you can find out if there's going to be one in your area. Go and be a voice.

Congressman Berman: Karen is tremendous. She is on the committee this legislation you mentioned is also parts are in the good reauthorization bill. She was doing this when she was in Sacramento. She was doing this before she was in public office. She's a tremendous ally. My advice is there are two games here if you want to refer to it that way. There's the outside game, the calls to action, the generating the postcards, the phone calls, and all this other stuff. Treat it also like an inside political game. Find the right minister, the right contributor, the right organization that has a long relationship with that member of Congress or that senator and where that phone call will be turned not just by the staff or by the summer intern but by the individual himself, because the person calling is so important to that member either at a personal level or a political level. He's both grateful or hopeful. It's called politics I guess.

Sandra Morgan: Thank you for that free lesson today. Write that down. Okay Holly.

Holly Burkhalter: John Bolton said yesterday, "*We have the government that we deserve.*" I'm not sure whether it was a compliment, but that is correct. We are enormously privileged to live in a democracy, and I have seen when a groundswell of Americans demand something. They get it. *International Justice Mission* would be quite horrified if they knew I was going to stand up here and talk about guns, but without revealing any personal views about guns, we have the gun laws in this country that we deserve. The people who want to have no limitations on guns have prevailed, and they have out organized and outspent and out vocalized those people who do not want to see the country awash in guns.

That is the way democracy works, and you can like that outcome or you can not like that outcome. I only use it as a way of saying that members of Congress and Senators who do not respond to a groundswell and a sustained long walk from their constituents. You don't have to be up on every single element of the trafficking issue. All you have to do is say I'm Holly Burkhalter. I'm from Ames, Iowa. I care about modern day slavery. What are you going to do about it? Honestly the most important words in that sentence are I am from Ames, Iowa. I actually am from Ames, Iowa as it turns out. It's a long walk in obedience to this cause to simply never go away and tell everyone you know about it and keep on asking. The bill numbers will change, the amendments will change but until slavery is eradicated that sentence, I care about slavery. I want my member of Congress to care about it too. What have you done this session of Congress? We just need to do that until it's done.

I would also say in terms of the money issue, because there's just no getting around it. We're going to have to put serious dollars into the anti-slavery fight. For those people who tell us that the United States Government does not have money to give us more than a measly \$25

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million or whatever it is for the TIP office grant programs. \$10 million or something for victim services here at home, I have three words for you. The Farm Bill. Again not an International Justice Mission issue, but for those people who want to see a large, large expenditure multibillions of dollars that dwarfs what we've done on slavery and trafficking at home and abroad a million times over. The Farm Bill. Do I like the Farm Bill? It doesn't matter whether I like the Farm Bill or not. I happen to be from Iowa, but it is an enormous amount of money that many people in Congress think is absolutely not needed and wasteful, etcetera, but year after year, it is enacted into law. There are enough people who organized and got to their members of Congress and said we have to have this. We can do as well as that can't we?

Sandra Morgan: Thank you Holly. Thank you all of you. I want to thank *Slavery No More*, because in your program you have a list of the California legislative agenda items and some summaries. You can also go and read the whole U.S. report that *Polaris Project* recently released I think on Thursday on every state and see that California made top tier there, so we're doing some good work. Thank you all.



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