

FOREWORD

1. "Speak truth to power" is sometimes thought to be a biblical quotation, but it originated with Milton Mayer and other Quakers, including Bayard Rustin, as they prepared a pamphlet challenging the behavior of the two antagonists of the Cold War. The pamphlet was published as *Speak Truth to Power: A Quaker Search for an Alternative to Violence* (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1955).
2. I emphasize the clarity of the narratives in this book. It is a sad truth that some authors and organizations have altered, edited, or reconstructed the stories told by freed slaves in an effort to make them more palatable, sensational, or sympathetic. In this book, the integrity of the stories of freed slaves has been preserved with great care. To do otherwise is to violate again the dignity of those who have been enslaved.
3. Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 95.

INTRODUCTION

1. These figures and definitions are drawn from Kevin Bales, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (Berkeley: University of California, 1999), 8–9. Because slavery is illegal everywhere, accurate numbers are not possible. Though Bales (a quantitative sociologist) admits that coming to a precise calculation of the number of enslaved people is impossible, his estimate stands as the most thoroughly researched, well-documented, and statistically

sound estimate we have. It has been academically vetted. In 2012, the International Labor Organization (ILO) released another thorough study that gives a conservative estimate of 20.9 million people in forced labor, a significant revision of the 2005 estimate of 12.3 million (ILO, *ILO Global Estimate of Forced Labour: Results and Methodology* [Geneva: ILO, 2012]). Both studies use conservative definitions of slavery or forced labor to ensure that their numbers are not inflated. These two studies provide a firm scholarly foundation for future research to determine the statistical prevalence of global slavery.

2. U.S. Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, "Introduction," in *2008 Trafficking in Persons Report* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 2008), <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2008/105376.htm>. It is important to note, however, that this number is also imprecise. The U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) questioned its accuracy in 2006, but it is still the best estimate the government has provided. See U.S. GAO, *Human Trafficking: Better Data, Strategy, and Reporting Needed to Enhance U.S. Antitrafficking Efforts Abroad* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GAO, 2006), <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/do6825.pdf>.
3. U.S. Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, "Country Narratives: United States," in *2011 Trafficking in Persons Report* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 2011), 372.
4. U.S. Department of Justice, *Attorney General's Annual Report to Congress on U.S. Government Activities to Combat Trafficking in Persons: Fiscal Year 2005* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, June 2006).
5. U.S. Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, "Country Narratives: United States," in *2011 Trafficking in Persons Report*, 373, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/164458.pdf>.
6. U.S. Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, "Country Narratives: Mauritania," in *2011 Trafficking in Persons Report*, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/164455.pdf>.
7. Louisa Waugh, *Selling Olga: Stories of Human Trafficking and Resistance* (London: Phoenix, 2007). See also chapter 3 for the first-person experiences of enslaved women and their traffickers in these regions.
8. For extended discussions of the harm done by conflating chosen sex work with forced sexual slavery, see Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema, eds., *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Laura Agustín, *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets, and the Rescue*

- Industry* (London: Zed Books, 2007); Jo Doezeema, *Sex Slaves and Discourse Masters: The Construction of Trafficking* (London: Zed Books, 2010).
9. ILO, *ILO Global Estimate of Forced Labour*, 14.
 10. *Ibid.*, 13–14.
 11. Sidonie Smith and Kay Schaffer, *Human Rights and Narrated Lives: The Ethics of Recognition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 27.
 12. *Ibid.*, 5–6.
 13. William L. Andrews, introduction to *African American Autobiography: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. William L. Andrews (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1993), 1.
 14. Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates Jr., “Introduction: The Language of Slavery,” in *The Slave’s Narrative*, ed. Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), xiii.
 15. See James Olney, “‘I Was Born’: Slave Narratives, Their Status as Autobiography and as Literature,” *Callaloo* 20 (Winter 1984), 48–49; and Frances Smith Foster, *Witnessing Slavery: The Development of Ante-bellum Slave Narratives*, 2nd ed. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994), 85.
 16. Paul E. Lovejoy, “Freedom Narratives of Transatlantic Slavery,” *Slavery and Abolition* 32, no. 1 (2011): 91–107.
 17. Bales, *Disposable People*, 5.
 18. *Ibid.*, 14.
 19. In this text, the word *trafficking* is often used interchangeably with *slavery* for the sake of language variation. Recent U.S. laws do not require the transportation or movement (international or otherwise) of a person to qualify as trafficking, though in the past movement was a legal characteristic of trafficking. The U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 defines trafficking as a “contemporary manifestation of slavery” and as the “recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion.” Transport is one means of trafficking, but simply obtaining a person for labor through force is sufficient. Thus, the word *trafficking* is synonymous with *slavery* as defined here. However, as this section describes, the word *slavery* has a particular political power and descriptive precision, whereas trafficking is often confused with illegal smuggling or as requiring the international transportation of victims, so the use of the term *slavery* is more effective and more precise. See Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, Public Law 106-386, October 28, 2000, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/10492.pdf>.

20. Joel Quirk, *The Anti-slavery Project: From the Slave Trade to Human Trafficking* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 243–247.
21. Segments of these news documentaries can be seen at docs.msnbc.com, search term: *sex slaves*.

1. THE ALLURE OF WORK

1. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey,” October 2009, <http://data.bls.gov/timeseries/LNS14000000>.
2. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition On Line*, ed. Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), table Ba470–477; Robert A. Margo, “Employment and Unemployment in the 1930s,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 2 (1993): 41–59.
3. *CIA World Factbook: Unemployment Rate* (Washington, D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency), <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2129rank.html>, accessed May 15, 2013.

2. SLAVES IN THE FAMILY

1. Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 205 n. 74.
2. *Ibid.*, 205.
3. The amount of money a pimp requires a woman in his “stable” to earn each day.
4. Fondasyon Limyè Lavi, an organization dedicated to ending *restavec* slavery in Haiti.

3. CASE STUDY: INTERVIEWS FROM A BROTHEL

1. Kevin Bales, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (Berkeley: University of California, 1999).
2. Kevin Bales, *Ending Slavery: How We Free Today's Slaves* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 160.
3. Nick Schwellenbach and Carol Leonnig, “U.S. Policy a Paper Tiger Against Sex Trade in War Zones,” *Washington Post*, July 18, 2010.

4. Podem is an underfunded shelter and detention center in Bulgaria for former sex workers who are minors. Ironically, the word *podem* means “economic boom” in Bulgarian.
5. Oral sex.

4. PAINFUL DEFIANCE AND CONTESTED FREEDOM

1. Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Boston: Published for the Author, 1861).
2. Ibid., 31.
3. Ibid., 294.
4. This quotation is from separate testimony given to the Protection Project; used with permission.
5. Laura Lederer, director of the Protection Project at the time.

5. COMMUNITY RESPONSE AND RESISTANCE

1. U.S. Department of Justice, *Attorney General's Annual Report to Congress on U.S. Government Activities to Combat Trafficking in Persons: Fiscal Year 2005* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, June 2006), 1. The Department of Justice admits that this number needs further investigation.
2. Oxfam America, *Like Machines in the Field: Workers Without Rights in American Agriculture* (Boston: Oxfam America, March 2004), 38–39, <http://www.oxfamamerica.org/files/like-machines-in-the-fields.pdf>.
3. U.S. Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, “Country Profiles: United States,” in *2011 Trafficking in Persons Report*, 372–378 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 2011), <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/164458.pdf>.

6. CASE STUDY: MINING UNITY

1. Kevin Bales, *Ending Slavery: How We Free Today's Slaves* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Peggy Callahan, dir., *The Silent Revolution: Sankalp and the Quarry Slaves* (Free the Slaves, 2008).
2. Kevin Bales and Zoe Trodd, eds., *To Plead Our Own Cause: Personal Stories by Today's Slaves* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008).

3. Callahan was collecting Ramphal's interview for a film documentary, so in this question she is attempting to get Ramphal to put together several of his responses in a succinct manner so that she can include it in the film. Her interview style is typically open-ended.
4. Sankalp estimates that there were 3,500 people at the demonstration.

7. THE VOICE AND THE SILENCE OF SLAVERY

1. William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Written by Himself* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1847).
2. William Wells Brown, "A Lecture Delivered Before the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Salem," in *William Wells Brown: A Reader*, ed. Ezra Greenspan (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 108.
3. Ibid.

8. BECOMING AN ACTIVIST

1. This quote comes from the same filming trip when Peggy Callahan interviewed Vann again, but this second interview is not included in this book.
2. Kevin Bales, *Ending Slavery: How We Free Today's Slaves* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 65.

9. CASE STUDY: COALITION AGAINST SLAVERY AND TRAFFICKING, SURVIVOR ADVISORY CAUCUS

1. See <http://www.castla.org/caucus-of-survivors>, accessed June 1, 2013.
2. Email from Vanessa Lanza, director of Partnerships, to the author, June 26, 2012.

APPENDIX B

1. Adapted in part from Free the Slaves' *Community Members Guide* (2008).

Note: page numbers followed by n refer to notes, with note number.

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