

SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF HUMAN-TRAFFICKING NETWORKS

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MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
General Studies

by

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF HUMAN-TRAFFICKING NETWORKS, by Major Darla L. Stencavage, 85 pages.

Globalization has provided many people around the world with increased prospects where they had been severely restricted from enhancing their economic plight in the past. Unfortunately, organized crime groups have used these new opportunities for personal gain by trafficking other humans. Although human trafficking is not a new phenomenon, globalization has increased competition and has intensified the demand for cheaper goods and services worldwide. Consequently, in the modern era of globalization and with the possibility for increased profits, it seems likely that human trafficking will continue to grow as a part of human existence. The United States must recognize any connections between the operations of human-trafficking networks and terrorist groups and the potential implications these networks can have on the security of the nation. This study looks at the connections that exist between human-trafficking networks and terrorist organizations in Kosovo. An analysis of the connections between the trafficking networks and terrorist groups in this area attempts to bring to light the need for further research of the connections between these types of operations and highlights the need to maintain both national security and human security in the United States.

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ACRONYMS

ARS	Alternative Remittance System
ATAU	Anti-Trafficking Assistance Unit (an office under the OSCE)
BBC	British Broadcasting Company
DoD	Department of Defense
FTO	Foreign Terrorist Organization
GAATW	Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women
GAO	Government Accountability Office
HLS	Homeland Security
IASOC	International Association for the Study of Organized Crime
ILO	International Labor Organization
INA	Immigration and Nationality Act
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LICUS	Low-Income Country under Stress, now designated as a fragile state
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NRM	National Referral Mechanism
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (an office under the OSCE)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PICUM	Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants, headquartered in Brussels, Belgium
SPMU	Special Police Matters Unit (an office under the OSCE)
TIP	Trafficking In Persons
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000
UN	United Nations

UNCICP	United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
U.S.	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the world has witnessed the growing importance of a set of opportunities and challenges that were addressed indirectly in National Security Strategy 2002: the national security implications of globalization.

Globalization presents many opportunities. Much of the world's prosperity and improved living standards in recent years derive from the expansion of global trade, investment, information, and technology. The United States has been a leader in promoting these developments, and we believe they have improved significantly the quality of life of the American people and people the world over. Other nations have embraced these opportunities and have likewise benefited. Globalization has also helped the advance of democracy by extending the marketplace of ideas and the ideals of liberty.

These new flows of trade, investment, information, and technology are transforming national security. Globalization has exposed us to new challenges and changed the way old challenges touch our interests and values, while also greatly enhancing our capacity to respond. Examples include: . . .

. . . *Illicit trade, whether in drugs, human beings, or sex, that exploits the modern era's greater ease of transport and exchange.* Such traffic corrodes social order; bolsters crime and corruption; undermines effective governance; facilitates the illicit transfer of WMD and advanced conventional weapons technology; and compromises traditional security and law enforcement. . . .

. . . These challenges are not traditional national security concerns, such as the conflict of arms or ideologies. But if left unaddressed they can threaten national security.¹

*United States National Security Strategy 2006, Chapter X.
Engage the Opportunities and Confront the Challenges of
Globalization*

Introduction to the Problem

Globalization has brought the chance for expanded economic opportunities to many citizens around the world. For the majority of these people globalization has provided them with increased prospects where they had been severely restricted from

enhancing their economic plight in the past. Unfortunately, these opportunities for increased profits have not meant that globalization has led to a better life for all involved. Organized crime groups have used these new opportunities for personal gain by trafficking other humans into situations where they are denied basic human rights in their search for a better life. Although human trafficking is not a new phenomenon, globalization has increased worldwide competition, which has intensified the demand for cheaper goods and services. The cost of the labor for the production of goods and for the provision of services needs to be driven down in order to keep prices low and to maximize profits. This demand has increased the need for the supply of low cost labor and has allowed human trafficking to become a profitable business for organized crime groups around the world.

Although the data on trafficking is quite limited and estimates may vary sharply, writers often cite the size of the trafficked population worldwide as 800,000 to 900,000 people annually.² Some calculations go as high as more than 27 million cases of human trafficking every year.³ The resulting worldwide profit estimates from human trafficking range from the most oft quoted \$5 to 7 billion⁴ all the way up to the International Labor Organization's (ILO) estimate of \$32 billion annually.⁵ Regardless of the true number of victims trafficked each year, organized crime and migration experts understand that human trafficking is a highly profitable business that entails very limited risk. This situation is of particular significance when taken together with Canadian intelligence reports, which have noted that drug traffickers and other criminal organizations are switching to human cargo to obtain greater profit with even less risk.⁶ Raimo Väyrynen in his article, "Illegal Immigration, Human Trafficking, and Organized Crime," seconds

this observation by noting that thus far, the penalties for human traffickers have varied between countries. Nonetheless, Väyrynen asserts that the mostly quite lenient penalties have drawn organized crime into the human-trafficking business, and in part away from drug trafficking for which penalties are higher.⁷ Whereas drugs can only be sold for profit once, human traffickers can resell an individual multiple times to maximize their profit. Furthermore, the intimidation and control of the victim ensure that prosecution of the trafficker is less likely. The likelihood of prosecution of traffickers is further reduced because the criminals involved in human trafficking usually prey on poorer people who are looking to make a better life for themselves and their families. These trafficking victims lack the ability to pay for the legal expenses required to prosecute fully the perpetrators of the trafficking.

Even if a perpetrator of a human trafficking is prosecuted, many of these organized crime groups have extensive networks and corrupt connections. The flexibility of their operations could allow them to switch easily to other types of smuggling should crackdowns on human trafficking make that enterprise less profitable. In fact, many traffickers are already involved in other forms of illegal activity. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs found that in 50 percent of human-trafficking cases studied, the perpetrators were also engaged in illegal trade in drugs or arms.⁸ These networks rely on corruption within the society and exploit those corruption-ridden areas to the fullest extent possible in order to capitalize on the profits that the criminals receive.

Why Does Human Trafficking Matter to United States National Security?

Recent attention to the issue of human security brings about a renewed emphasis on the human rights of individuals, which has led the United States and other countries to

take a “human-centric” focus to try to stop human trafficking. However, it is important to remember that the criminals who are responsible for human trafficking are opportunists who endeavor to increase their profits. These traffickers, with their organized criminal networks already positioned, could easily choose to spread their operations into other areas to expand their profits. The security implications of human-trafficking networks, therefore, should be cause for great concern over the safety of United States citizens both at home and abroad.

Research Questions

The primary research question for this thesis is: What are the implications of human-trafficking networks for the security of the United States? To answer this question it will be necessary to explain human trafficking and the operations of trafficking networks. Therefore, the secondary questions are: What is human trafficking? How is human trafficking carried out? How do criminal networks participate in human trafficking? The research also had to determine the key, contemporary threat to the security of the United States. Based on current literature this key threat appears to come from terrorism. The research had to examine human-trafficking operations--taking into account this modern threat- and answer the following question: Are there any correlations that can be drawn between terrorist groups and human-trafficking networks? Finally, this research drew on the results of this analysis to make conclusions on how the activities of these criminal networks could affect the security of the United States.

Limitations and Delimitations

This research will focus on the security implications of human-trafficking networks. Inherent in the concept of a human-trafficking network is the understanding that a human-trafficking network is a specific form of a transnational organized crime group. Thus, this research will only look at the security implications of human trafficking that occurs as the result of transnational organized crime. It does not include the implications of trafficking that occur within the borders of a country, and it does not include implications of those cases of trafficking that are not considered severe forms of human trafficking as per the definition provided in the United States *Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)* of 2000. However, to address the security implications of human trafficking for the United States it will be necessary to examine human trafficking as it occurs (both within a trafficking network and outside of trafficking networks) and the operations of trafficking networks worldwide. The research will also need to take into consideration the definitions of human trafficking that are used by other agencies and organizations. Given the complexity of the subject, the research will still consider operations that, while falling within the purview of other definitions, still conform to the elements of the *TVPA* definition for severe forms of human trafficking.

Literature about the operations of human-trafficking networks is limited. Every attempt was made to secure information about the networks from a variety of sources, but the information gathered about the networks was extremely limited.

In regards to terrorist groups, this study will only look at the operations of international terrorist groups as defined by Title 22 of the *United States Code*. This research will focus on those terrorist groups that are ideologically motivated and will not

include in the definition of terrorist groups those organized crime groups that are profit motivated and use terror tactics to control the actions of others.

Assumptions

Trafficking specifically targets the trafficked person as an object of criminal exploitation.⁹ The purpose from the beginning of the trafficking enterprise is to profit from the exploitation of the victim.¹⁰ Based on the study of the human-trafficking networks, the research assumes that traffickers are mainly concerned with earning the greatest profits possible. A corollary assumption is that any increase in profits would be appealing to traffickers and could lead them to expand into other types of trafficking.

Although human trafficking in and of itself constitutes an important human rights concern, this research assumes that human trafficking does not constitute a significant national security concern for the United States. On the other hand, this research assumes that it is the human-trafficking networks, the exploitation of these networks, and the links between these networks and terrorist groups that carry implications for the national security of the United States. The research bases these possible national security implications on the flexibility of the human-trafficking network operations, their connections with corrupt law enforcement officials, and the assumption that those involved in trafficking in persons could switch over to other types of organized crime activities with minimal changes to the way that they normally operate.

Key Definitions

For the purpose of this research, the terms “human trafficking” and “trafficking in persons” are synonymous. There are, however, differing international definitions for

human trafficking. To determine the security implications of human trafficking for the United States this research will use the definition from the *United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)* of October 2000. Tables 1 and 2 show the TVPA’s definition of “severe forms of trafficking in persons” along with the definitions of other terms that are elements of the main definition. The term “trafficking” used in this research will only refer to those severe forms of trafficking in persons as defined in the TVPA.¹¹

Table 1. Definitions of Severe Forms of Trafficking in Persons

Definition of “Severe Forms of Trafficking in Persons”
The Act defines “severe form of trafficking in persons” as
(a) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or (b) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.
Definition of Terms Used in the Term “Severe Forms of Trafficking in Persons”:
“ Sex trafficking ” means the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act.
“ Commercial sex act ” means any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.
“ Involuntary servitude ” includes a condition of servitude induced by means of (A) any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that, if the person did not enter into or continue in such condition that person or another person would suffer serious harm or physical restraint; or (B) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process.
“ Debt bondage ” means the status or condition of a debtor arising from a pledge by the debtor of his or her personal services or of those of a person under his or her control as a security for debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied toward the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined.
“ Coercion ” means (A) threats of serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; (B) any scheme, plan or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that failure to perform an act would result in serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; or (C) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process.

Source: United States, *Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000* (Washington, DC: US GPO, Supt. of Docs., 2000).

Table 2. Other Trafficking-Related Definitions

“Force” involves the use of rape, beatings and confinement to control victims. Forceful violence is used especially during the early stages of victimization, known as the ‘seasoning process’, which is used to break victim’s resistance to make them easier to control. “Fraud” often involves false offers that induce people into trafficking situations. For example, women and children will reply to advertisements promising jobs as waitresses, maids and dancers in other countries and are then trafficked for purposes of prostitution once they arrive at their destinations. “Labor Trafficking” is the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery.

Source: Fact Sheet: *Human Trafficking, Rescue, and Restore Victims of Human Trafficking*, United States Department of Health and Human Services.

Human trafficking, according to the definition of severe forms of trafficking from the *U.S. TVPA*, does not require the crossing of an international border.¹² However, trafficking often includes an element of smuggling, specifically, the illegal crossing of a border.¹³ To clarify the differences between “human smuggling” and “human trafficking,” this research will use the definition of the former term and the differences between the two terms from the United States Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center as shown below and in table 3. The United States Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center definition states that:

Human smuggling is the facilitation, transportation, attempted transportation or illegal entry of a person(s) across an international border, in violation of one or more countries laws, either clandestinely or through deception, such as the use of fraudulent documents. Often, human smuggling is conducted in order to obtain a financial or other material benefit for the smuggler, although financial gain or material benefit are not necessarily elements of the crime. Human smuggling is generally with the consent of the person(s) being smuggled, who often pay large sums of money. Once in the country of their final destination they will generally be left to their own devices.¹⁴

Table 3. Differences between Human Smuggling and Human Trafficking

<u>TRAFFICKING</u>	<u>SMUGGLING</u>
Must Contain an Element of Force, Fraud, or Coercion (actual, perceived or implied), unless under 18 years of age involved in commercial sex acts.	The person being smuggled is generally cooperating.
Forced Labor and/or Exploitation.	There is no actual or implied coercion.
Persons trafficked are victims.	Persons smuggled are violating the law. They are not victims.
Enslaved, subjected to limited movement or isolation, or had documents confiscated.	Persons are free to leave, change jobs, etc.
Need not involve the actual movement of the victim.	Facilitates the illegal entry of person(s) from one country into another.
No requirement to cross an international border.	Smuggling always crosses an international border.
Person must be involved in labor/services or commercial sex acts, i.e., must be “working”.	Person must only be in country or attempting entry illegally.

Source: Fact Sheet: *Distinctions between Human Smuggling and Human Trafficking* from the Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, April 2006.

Although this research will use the definition of severe forms of trafficking from the *United States TVPA*, many articles and international documents refer to the definition of human trafficking from the *United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (UN Protocol)*. This definition is the only internationally recognized definition and is the basis of the majority of trafficking definitions worldwide.

The UN Protocol defines human trafficking as:

(a) “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments

or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;

(d) “Child” shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.¹⁵

This UN Protocol is an Annex to the *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*. The definition from the UN Protocol is intended to include a range of cases in which organized crime groups exploit human beings, where there is an element of duress involved and a transnational aspect, such as the movement of people across borders or their exploitation within a country by a transnational organized crime group.¹⁶ Accordingly, central to this understanding of human trafficking is the fact that an organized criminal group accomplishes the trafficking. This research uses the definition of an *organized criminal group* as written in the United Nations Convention. This definition states that an:

“Organized criminal group” shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit.¹⁷

This study will use the definitions of terrorism, international terrorism and terrorist groups, contained in Title 22 of the *United States Code*, Section 2656f(d):

—The term “terrorism” means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.

—The term “international terrorism” means terrorism involving the territory or the citizens of more than one country.

—The term “terrorist group” means any group that practices, or has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism.¹⁸

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice stated that weak and failing states serve as global pathways that facilitate the spread of pandemics, the movement of criminals and terrorists, and the proliferation of the world's most dangerous weapons.¹⁹ Consistent with this statement and to narrow the focus of research, this study will select a case to examine after limiting the scope of the study to instances in which terrorist activities occur and human-trafficking networks operate in fragile state areas. As defined by the World Bank, a “fragile state,” formerly termed a “low-income country under stress” (LICUS), is characterized by weak policies, institutions, and governance.²⁰

In addition to looking at the “national security” implications of human-trafficking networks, this study will also consider their “human security” implications. The United Nations Commission on Human Security defines human security as:

the protection of “the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and fulfillment”. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that, when combined, give people the building blocks for survival, livelihood and dignity.

Human security is far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance and access to economic opportunity, education and health care. It is a concept that comprehensively addresses both “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want”.²¹

Other Definitions

Destination Country: The country that is the destination for people who are trafficked

Security: A state or feeling that provides a sense of protection against attack or subversion

Source Country: A country that serves as a source of people who are then trafficked to destination countries

Transit Country: A country that is along the trafficking route but is neither a source country nor a destination country.

Significance of the Study

Human trafficking is not a recent phenomenon. Some of man's earliest writings recounted events that one would characterize as trafficking in persons. A look back through history shows that the movement of people for the purposes of slavery and other forms of exploitation has been around for centuries. Yet, the human trafficking of today is typically of a more complicated nature than the slavery of old. Notwithstanding these modern complexities, in this contemporary era of globalization and with the possibility for increased profits, it seems likely that human trafficking will continue to remain and grow as a part of human existence. Crackdowns to prevent humans from being trafficked could lead to human-trafficking networks involvement in other criminal activities. The key criminal activities of concern for the security of the United States are those associated with the operations of terrorist groups. Hence, it is of vital importance that the United States recognizes any connections between the operations of human-trafficking networks and terrorist groups.

Furthermore, in the context of globalization and a more global perspective on security, the United States needs to take a broader approach to security. This broader approach requires that the nation must now look at not only the collective security of the nation as a whole, but must also consider the security of each individual citizen. This approach will require the United States also to consider the impacts of human-trafficking

networks in the context of human security. Only with a comprehensive understanding of the threats to security can the United States take proactive steps to mitigate the threats. This study attempts to bring to light the need for further research in this area and highlights the need for more information to focus on the need to maintain both national security and human security in the United States.

¹United States White House National Security website; available from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/sectionX.html>; accessed on 24 March 2007.

²Frank Laczko, "Data and Research on Human Trafficking," *International Migration* 43, no. 1/2 (2005), 12.

³Dan Burton and Chairman, "Slavery and Human Trafficking," *FDCH Congressional Testimony*.

⁴Galma Jahic and James O. Finckenauer, "Representations and Misrepresentations of Human Trafficking," *Trends in Organized Crime* 8, no. 3 (2005), 29.

⁵Sally Bolton, "The Inhumanity of Human Trafficking," *UN Chronicle* 42, no. 4; 4 (12 December 2005 - February 2006), 78.

⁶Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada website, available from http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/internationalcrime/human_trafficking-en.asp/, Internet, 27 February 2007.

⁷Raimo Väyrynen and World Institute for Development Economics Research, *Illegal Immigration, Human Trafficking, and Organized Crime* (Helsinki: United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research, 2003), 10.

⁸Ambassador William Hill, Head of the OSCE Mission to Moldova, speech titled "Trafficking in Human Beings: Who Does It Hurt, and Why Should We Care?" given in Chisinau, Moldova, 17 November 2003. From Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Mission to Moldova website, available from <http://www.osce.org/moldova/>, Internet, accessed 20 November 2006.

⁹Fact Sheet: *Distinctions between Human Smuggling and Human Trafficking* from the Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, April 2006.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹"Trafficking in Persons Report," *Trends in Organized Crime* 6, no. 2 (2000), 32.

¹²Fact Sheet: *Distinctions between Human Smuggling and Human Trafficking* from the Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, April 2006.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children*, supplementing the United Nations *Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*, Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 55/25 of 15 November 2000 (not in force).

¹⁶Summary of the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons*; available from http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/trafficking_protocol.html/, Internet, 20 November 2006.

¹⁷UN General Assembly (55th sess.: 2000-2001), “Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime,” 2002.

¹⁸Terrorism Frequently Asked Questions from Central Intelligence Agency webpage; available from <https://www.cia.gov/terrorism/faqs.html/>, Internet, accessed 9 March 2007.

¹⁹Karen DeYoung, “World Bank Lists Failing Nations That Can Breed Global Terrorism,” *Washington Post*, Friday, September 15, 2006; A13.

²⁰Which Countries are LICUS? World Bank website; available from http://www.worldbank.org/ieg/licus/licus06_map.html/, Internet, accessed 12 March 2007.

²¹United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Human Security website; available from <http://ochaonline.un.org/webpage.asp?Site=hsu>, accessed 27 March 2007.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the current literature on the themes of human-trafficking definitions, the causes of human trafficking, the responses to human trafficking, human-trafficking networks, and the conduct of human trafficking. The literature review also covers terrorist groups and human security issues in order to gain a full understanding of where connections and security implications for human-trafficking networks may arise. This review of literature was extensive, but focused on the aspects of the human-trafficking networks that relate to the methods of operation, their links with terrorist organizations and their implications for the security of the United States.

A large portion of the literature on human trafficking concentrates on the associated human rights issues. Although human rights of the victims are of concern for the United States, they were not a focus of this research. Only the literature that specifically spoke to the definitions of human security and that literature which had human security implications for the future of nation-states were reviewed for this research.

Human-Trafficking Definitions in Literature

Human trafficking has become a sensitive issue in the international arena, and consequently, the topic of extensive writing by many governmental agencies, nongovernmental agencies and experts. The literature reflects many points of disagreement on aspects of the topic, the most basic of which centers around the very definition of human trafficking. Salt and Hogarth in their study, “Migrant Trafficking and

Human Smuggling in Europe: A Review of the Evidence”, noted that a factor contributing to the confusion on the definition of human trafficking is the use by different competent institutions (governments) of a wide range of descriptive terms for the phenomenon such as:

- alien smuggling
- trafficking of aliens
- illegal immigrant smuggling
- human trafficking
- trade of human beings¹

Although many of the terms may sound similar and the definitions may only vary slightly, Salt and Hogarth make the important distinction that the potential differences of approach to dealing with trafficking depend on how terms are used.² Their review of the definitions and verbiage is quite extensive and they observe that other authors agree that the lack of a unified legal definition of the crime of trafficking makes it very difficult to achieve an analysis of the phenomenon and thus develop a uniform preventative and punitive policy.³ Salt and Hogarth commented that a United Nations ad hoc committee had been set up to work on the issue of trafficking, however, they were unable to include the international recognition of the new UN definition because they concluded their study before the adoption of the *UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children* (hereafter known as the UN Protocol). The UN General Assembly adopted the UN Protocol in November 2000 and thereby codified the first internationally recognized definition for human trafficking. Nonetheless, recent literature still demonstrates that despite the adoption of this internationally recognized definition, countries and organizations continue to draw on divergent definitions of human trafficking to direct their counter-trafficking and response efforts.

Salt and Hogarth concede this measure of disagreement and confusion, but they believe that most definitions also share many common points.⁴ The most oft-cited definitions emphasize that human trafficking occurs when an individual transports another person over an international border and then forces the person to work under exploitive conditions until the time when the person can either escape from the situation or pay to be released from the situation. Yet, a review of the literature shows that even these basic points about human trafficking are not universally shared. Some organizations such as the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services on their *Human Trafficking Fact Sheet* stress that human trafficking can occur within a country and without ever crossing an international border. Some countries and organizations use a definition that highlight that the victim's understanding of the situation should factor into definitions about human trafficking. This distinction is important for these entities because it guides the distribution of their restricted assistance to the victims. Moreover, as brought forward in the U.S. State Department's 2006 *Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report*, some governments and law enforcement agencies mistakenly focus on the voluntary nature of a person's transnational movement, and fail to identify the more important element of compelled service or forced labor that can occur after someone moves (albeit ostensibly voluntarily) for employment.⁵ In these instances of trafficking, when the person knows that he or she will be entering a country illegally, then some governments first consider these people as criminals or illegal immigrants since they knowingly entered into a criminal act regardless of the outcome of the situation. Such groups assert that prior knowledge that the victim will be engaged in illegal activity should absolve the perpetrators of the crimes, i.e. these actions should fall under the purview of human

smuggling or other illegal activity, but should not be included in the determination of human trafficking.

Despite these ostensible contradictions, Salt and Hogarth state that it is generally agreed that trafficking in human beings involves elements of coercion, deception, violence and physical or psychological abuse and that it often implies the involvement of networks or syndicates of organized crime.⁶ In accordance with this understanding of the involvement of organized crime, the UN developed the UN Protocol to supplement the 1998 UN *Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*. Additionally, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) affirms that trafficking in human beings is a multinational crime problem of ever-growing proportions, increasingly perpetrated by organized and sophisticated criminal enterprises.⁷

Causes of Human Trafficking

Much of the human-trafficking literature focuses on the causes of human trafficking. Many of these conditions, although determined from a human rights perspective, are still useful in understanding the underlying factors that place traffickers and victims into trafficking situations. In the literature, the conditions that create an environment that drives an individual into a desire to leave a particular area, and into a possible trafficking situation, are *push factors*. The conditions that draw an individual to the trafficking situation are *pull factors*.

Push Factors

According to the U.S. Department of State, extreme poverty, lack of economic opportunities, civil unrest, and political uncertainty, are all factors that contribute to an

environment that encourages trafficking in persons.⁸ Amnesty International adds that family financial obligations, lack of access to education, chronic unemployment, gender discrimination, racism, and homelessness are also some of the main contributing factors that place men, women and children in vulnerable positions to be trafficked.⁹ The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) cites globalization as an additional push factor. UNICEF claims that in many countries, globalization has increased unemployment and reduced wages and social spending, plunging more families into poverty, thus increasing the set of possible trafficking victims.¹⁰ UNICEF also joins others who indicate that an additional push factor comes from the effects of abuse on children, which may contribute to the children's entry into commercial sexual exploitation.¹¹

Pull Factors

One common pull factor of human trafficking that appears in the current literature is the fact that some countries have made it harder to immigrate legally for work in the wake of the terrorist strikes in the United States on 11 September 2001. Olga Pyshchulina in her article, "An Evaluation of Ukrainian Legislation to Counter and Criminalize Human Trafficking," wrote that because most Western countries have imposed strict limits on the numbers of legal migrants who can enter their territories, many women must accept the service of traffickers if they wish to migrate.¹² Other authors, like Janie Chuang in the article, "Beyond a Snapshot: Preventing Human Trafficking in the Global Economy," explain that human trafficking is a migratory response to current globalizing socioeconomic trends.¹³ Chuang and others stress that globalization has bred an ever-widening wealth gap that has created a spate of "survival migrants" who seek employment opportunities abroad as a means of survival as jobs disappear in their

countries of origin.¹⁴ Amnesty International reiterates that economic or political instability, in addition to the desire for a better life, tend to produce a desire to migrate for work, which often coincides with incidences of trafficking.¹⁵

Responses to Human Trafficking

Another large portion of the literature on human trafficking focuses on the plight of the victims and the governmental responses to protect them. Current literature concentrates on a “victim-centered” response that aims to identify victims and their situations while trying to prevent retraumatizing the victims and ensure their reintegration into society. The literature draws attention to the ways that victims are further victimized throughout the process and how this can be prevented and victims assisted. There is discussion about increasing the prosecution rates of the perpetrators of human trafficking, with the proviso that the safety and security of the victims often takes precedence over the prosecution of the perpetrators of human trafficking. Consequently, the prosecution rates for those involved in human trafficking remains low and there appears to be a high likelihood that the criminals involved will become repeat offenders and the victims may be retrafficked.

Along with the concern about how to respond to human trafficking itself, the literature takes up the need to respond to the mental and physical effects of the trafficking. Current literature emphasizes that there are numerous mental and physical health dangers for the victims of human trafficking. Amnesty International states that the deleterious health effects on trafficking victims can include exposure to deadly diseases such as human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), injuries or illnesses from working conditions, or depression and exhaustion.¹⁶

The literature stresses that sex trafficking and trafficking for organ “donations” can lead to the spread of harmful diseases, such as HIV, in both the victims and those who are exposed to the victims. Furthermore, the literature stresses the long-term mental health issues that may arise as the result of the abuses that the victims encounter during the trafficking processes.

Human-Trafficking Networks

Literature about the operations of human-trafficking networks is limited because of the clandestine nature of the operations and the victims’ reluctance to provide law enforcement officials with details about the networks. Much of the information written about human-trafficking networks comes from the victims’ stories and studies on organized crime groups. The majority of this literature points out that organized crime activities are increasing as a result of globalization. Canadian officials assert that the role of transnational organized crime in the trafficking of people and the smuggling of migrants is growing.¹⁷ More specifically, Interpol stresses that criminal networks, which smuggle and traffic in human beings for financial gain increasingly control the flow of migrants across borders.¹⁸ The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) emphasizes that as globalization has expanded international trade, so too has the range of organized crime activities broadened and diversified.¹⁹

Literature about the changing organizational structure of organized crime also highlights the fact that organized crime groups are not always the huge monoliths of the past. As a result of globalization, these groups have had to increase their areas of operations. Consequently, according to the UNODC, the traditional hierarchical forms of organized crime groups have diminished, to be replaced by loose networks that work

together in order to exploit new market opportunities.²⁰ Additionally, the structures of the organizations appear to change based on the types of trafficking they perpetrate and the regions of origin of the leaders of the networks. These network types are considered further in chapter 3.

Terrorist Groups

Numerous articles covering a wide range of definitions are written daily about terrorists, their motivations and their activities. To cover fully all of this literature on terrorists would be beyond the scope of this study. However, literature that related to the definitions of terrorism and the types of terrorists was reviewed for this study to ensure that this research considered the current prevailing concepts.

The definitions of what constitutes terrorism and who is a terrorist are difficult to identify. As with the numerous problems surrounding the defining of the phrase *human trafficking* so too are there abundant, emotionally charged issues associated with efforts to define the terms, *terrorism* and *terrorist*.

A review of the literature indicates that an internationally acceptable definition of terrorism does not exist. The truth of the matter, as stated by the UNODC, is that the question of a definition of terrorism has dogged the debate among states for decades and even today, UN Member States still have not agreed upon one.²¹ Nonetheless, Peter Weiss in his article, "Terrorism, Counterterrorism and International Law," identifies an attempt at an international definition of terrorism in the *International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism* (1999).²² Fundamental to this attempt at a definition is the acceptance that terrorism has two principal characteristics:

(1) It is intended to inflict death or seriously bodily harm upon civilians or other persons (presumably military personnel) not taking part in hostilities, and

(2) Its purpose is to intimidate a population or persuade a government or international organization to adopt a certain policy.²³

Despite these characteristics, Weiss points out that the wording of the first clause leaves open the question whether terrorism can be committed by states or only by non-state actors.²⁴ To further cloud the issue over who can commit terrorism, the U.S. Department of State Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism definition presumes that terrorism cannot be inflicted by a state. Yet, the same definition asserts that state sponsors of terrorism provide critical support to non-state terrorist groups.²⁵ The Department of State further explains that without state sponsors, terrorist groups would have much more difficulty obtaining the funds, weapons, materials, and secure areas they require to plan and conduct operations.²⁶ To add to the confusion, the Department of State notes in the *Country Reports on Terrorism 2005* that the definition for terrorism that it uses from the *United States Code* (22 USC 2656f(d)) is but one of many found in U.S. statutes and international legal instruments that concern terrorism and acts of violence, many of which use definitions for terrorism and related terms that are different from those used in the report.²⁷ Consequently, it is not surprising that an internationally agreed upon definition for terrorism would be difficult to imagine when the U.S. government cannot even agree upon a national definition for terrorism.

In light of the preceding review of the difficulty in attempting to define the term terrorism, it will come as no surprise that the definitions for the types of terrorists are equally as vague. The U.S. Department of State's definition simply indicates that a terrorist group is a group or subgroup that conducts international terrorism. This

definition then refers to the international terrorism definition, which, in turn, refers the researcher back to the U.S. Department of State's basic definition of terrorism.²⁸ Finally, this definition of terrorism highlights the political motivation of the violence. Brian Whitaker, in his article, "The Definition of Terrorism," echoes this aspect of the State Department's characterization of terrorism and concludes that the key point about terrorism, on which almost everyone agrees, is that it is politically motivated.²⁹ However, this foundation in political motivation then raises the issue of how to differentiate between a terrorist and a freedom fighter. Weiss suggests that this differentiation can be difficult. He suggests that Nelson Mandela, Menachem Begin and Yasser Arafat were once regarded as terrorists, but have made the transition to being recognized as statesmen and peacemakers, all of which have even been awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize.³⁰ Michael Jordan elaborates on the political difficulty of making this distinction between definitions of terrorists. Jordan states that some critics describe that aim for a definition of terrorism is an effort to distinguish between "good" terrorists and "bad" terrorists.³¹ Whitaker reinforces that there is a great amount of political complexity involved in defining the terms terrorist and terrorism. Ultimately, Whitaker claims that any classification of terrorist groups is fundamentally motivated by self-interest and comes down to the basic definition that terrorism is committed by those we disapprove of.³²

Human Security

The concept of human security is relevant to an examination of the security implications of human trafficking and therefore bears consideration in this literature review. The United Nations Development Program, in the *Human Development Report 1994*, formally declared that the concept of security has for too long been interpreted

narrowly.³³ This pivotal report called for researchers to broaden their basic understanding of security to include the developing concept of “human security.” The Commission on Human Security advanced this call in their report, *Human Security Now*.³⁴ The Commission stated that in the twenty-first century, both the challenges to security and its protectors have become more complex and that is why attention must now shift from the security of states to the security of the people--to human security.³⁵ The Commission noted that today’s global flows of goods, services, finance, people and images spotlight the many linkages in the security of all people.³⁶ The Commission underscored the need to look at security more broadly, because the demands of human security involve a broad range of interconnected issues.³⁷ Echoing the theme that security has traditionally been viewed as pertaining more to nation-states than to people, the UN makes it clear in the 1994 *Human Development Report*, that human security is not concerned with weapons--it is concerned with human life and dignity.³⁸ Sabrina Alkire in the working paper, *A Conceptual Framework for Human Security*, explains that human security is “people-centered.”³⁹ This emphasis on human beings distinguishes human security from security policies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, whose dominant objective was to protect state territories.⁴⁰ On the other hand, Alkire advises that human security neither obviates state security, nor does it encompass all of the security agenda.⁴¹ Rather, human security sketches out how national governments can reorient their own security policies, providing the same rigor and force, but with a somewhat different emphasis.⁴²

Based on this background information, the review of the literature endeavored to discover a comprehensive definition for human security. Yet again, the research determined that the international community has not adopted a definition. Sara Edson, in

Human Security: An Extended and Annotated International Bibliography, determined that “human security” is still being defined.⁴³ Edson thoroughly examines the history and evolving understanding of human security. She explains that the issue of human security came to the fore as intra-state conflicts and attendant trans-border population displacement and large-scale humanitarian crises came to be seen in the context of security issues of import to the international community.⁴⁴ With this understanding of the rising concerns to the international community, it becomes clearer to see the increasing need for a method of studying non-traditional security concerns that could affect a nation while occurring outside the nation’s border. Human security, according to the Commission on Human Security, thus broadens the focus from the security of borders to the lives of people and communities inside and across these borders.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, the UN report, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, puts forward a new vision of collective security, one that addresses all of the major threats to international peace and security felt around the world.⁴⁶ Particularly important in this report is its insistence that today’s threats to security are all interconnected.⁴⁷ As a result, the UN has combined the ideas of human security and state security into a new vision of collective security, which addresses all of the major threats to international peace and security around the world.⁴⁸ As UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan points out,

Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment - these are the interrelated building blocks of human, and therefore national, security.⁴⁹

Gaps in Literature

One large gap noted in the review of the literature was a lack of articles that tied the threats of human-trafficking networks to the security concerns of the United States. A few articles mention that traffickers are also often engaged in other forms of illegal activities that could be of concern to federal law enforcement officials and some articles noted the links between human trafficking and the funding of terrorism. However, there is a gap in a comprehensive examination of human-trafficking networks and their associated security implications. This research will try to fill this gap in the literature by addressing the specific national security concerns of terrorism and human security and identifying the risk human-trafficking networks could have in relation to those security concerns.

Background

How is Human Trafficking Carried Out?

While trafficking victims are often found in sweatshops, domestic work, restaurant work, agricultural labor, prostitution, and sex entertainment, they may be found anywhere in the United States doing almost anything profitable to their handlers.⁵⁰ Human-trafficking operations generally vary based on the form of exploitation that guides each trafficking network. Consequently, in order to understand how networks carry out human-trafficking operations, this study must first examine the basic forms of human trafficking. The starting point for this understanding is Article 3 of the *United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons*, which identifies seven forms of trafficking:

1. Trafficking for the exploitation of prostitution of others.
2. Trafficking for other forms of sexual exploitation.
3. Trafficking for forced labor.
4. Trafficking to place someone in a condition of servitude.
5. Trafficking for the purpose of enslavement of someone.
6. Trafficking for purposes similar to slavery.
7. Trafficking for organs, or the removal of organs from human beings.⁵¹

The first form of human trafficking consists of trafficking of women and children for prostitution. It is the most prevalent form of human trafficking that occurs worldwide today. “Trafficking in women and children” is the term most often used to describe this form of human trafficking. The demand for women and children is constantly growing. This growing demand has created a market for sex tourism. The supply for the sex tourism market can now be more easily met because the greater movement of people and goods occurring as a result of globalization has made it much easier for traffickers to transport children across borders and has increased the number of destinations where pedophiles can seek sex with children.⁵² This form of human trafficking is particularly difficult to combat because, in many countries, the sex industry fuels the expansion of the tourist industry and is a significant source of foreign exchange earnings.⁵³ UNICEF has reported the exploitation of millions of children throughout the world for commercial sex.⁵⁴ The mechanics of this form of trafficking work in such a way that the victims are sold and resold multiple times.⁵⁵ In fact, Liubovi Revenko from the International Organization for Migration reported that the maximum times a woman from Moldova, who was trafficked in the Balkan area, has been sold and resold is believed to be fifty times.⁵⁶

The second form of human trafficking is trafficking for sexual exploitation other than prostitution. This form of trafficking often takes the form of exploitation of a

trafficked victim for nightclub dancing and pornography. The increase in access and usage of the internet has increased demand for internet pornography. Frequently this internet pornography involves child or pedopornography. This type of trafficking is also considered a form of trafficking in women and children.

The third form of human trafficking is for forced labor. This type of trafficking is often found in agricultural labor, the production of goods (typically called sweatshops) and construction labor. This form exploits the labor of the trafficked individual in order to minimize labor costs and maximize profits. Globalization has significantly affected this form of trafficking, because worldwide competition for goods and services drives businesses to try to reduce the cost of their labor in an effort to compete better in the global market.

The fourth, fifth and sixth forms of human trafficking are hard to differentiate, so these three forms are combined here to provide a basis for understanding the nature of the forms of human trafficking while avoiding lengthy analysis that falls outside the scope of this thesis. These forms are human trafficking to place a person in a condition of servitude, for the purpose of enslavement of someone, and for purposes similar to slavery. Indentured servitude, peonage or debt bondage are instances of one of these forms of trafficking. Although slavery in its traditional form survives in many parts of the world, debt slavery of this kind, with variations, is the most common form of servitude today.⁵⁷ According to a *National Geographic* article from the September 2003 issue, entitled “21st Century Slaves,” two-thirds of the world’s captive laborers, 15-20 million people, are debt slaves.⁵⁸ To put this large amount into better perspective, the *National Geographic* article notes that there are more slaves today than were seized from Africa in

four centuries of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.⁵⁹ The legal definition to explain these modern instances of debt slavery or debt bondage is:

The status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt; often the value of those services, as reasonably assessed, is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined.⁶⁰

According to this definition, an individual who is trafficked into indentured servitude may have willingly asked to be trafficked. However, an exploitation issue arises from the fact that the victim is often misled in regards to the amount of money that would be required to purchase his or her freedom or the amount of income he or she would receive after having been trafficked. The Chairman of the United States House of Representatives Government Reform Committee on Human Rights and Wellness, Congressman Dan Burton, noted that these indentured servants could spend whole lifetimes repaying debts as little as 36 United States dollars because of outrageous rates of interest placed on the loans.⁶¹ Congressman Burton also indicated that if the debt was large enough, it could take two or three generations of indentured family members to repay the loan.⁶² Compounding the difficulty of loan repayment even more is the frequent resale of some trafficked individuals to other persons before their debt can be repaid to the first person. This initiates a new cycle of debt repayment wherein the victim is then forced to pay for a new debt to a different owner. Finally, some of these forms of servitude trafficking are often a component of other forms of human trafficking when they are used as a means to keep the trafficked victim under the control of the exploiter.

Another type of these forms of trafficking could be for the purpose of serfdom. Serfdom is the condition or status of a tenant who is by law, custom or agreement bound

to live and labor on land belonging to another person and to render some determinate service to such other person, whether for reward or not, and is not free to change his status.⁶³

The seventh form of human trafficking is for the removal of organs from human beings. According the World Health Organization (WHO), demand for human organ transplants far exceeds supply, fuelling a growth in “transplant tourism” to developing countries where organs can be bought.⁶⁴ According to officials at the United Network for Organ Sharing (UNOS, transplant tourism is potentially exploitive because living organ donors might be paid for the transplant of the organ.⁶⁵ This is predominantly the case with the transplant of kidneys. Because a person can live with only one kidney, people in poor countries might be lured into selling one.⁶⁶ The exploitive nature of the transaction arises from the fact that despite the poor individual’s agreement to donate a kidney, these individuals are often further exploited through minimal payment for the organ and a lack of medical care after the procedure. Dr. Farhat Moazam of Pakistan reported that Pakistani donors are offered 2,500 U.S. dollars for a kidney but receive only about half that because middlemen take so much.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, the incidents of kidney selling by the poor are on the rise.⁶⁸ Dr. Moazam notes that in Pakistan, 40 percent to 50 percent of the residents of some villages have only one kidney because they have sold the other for a transplant into a wealthy person, probably from another country.⁶⁹ Likewise, there is the very famous village of Mindjire in Moldova where half of the population has sold their kidneys.⁷⁰

Regardless of the form of human trafficking, trafficking operations can usually be broken down into the phases of recruitment, transportation, harboring and exploitation. A

review of the literature concerning these phases shows that they do not always occur sequentially and not all phases are required for human-trafficking networks to operate.

The recruitment phase of human trafficking starts when the network agents draw the victim into the trafficking situation and ends with the transportation or harboring of the victim. Although available information about the operations of the trafficking networks is limited, the methods of recruiting individuals for trafficking are better documented, especially because nongovernmental organizations publish numerous articles warning potential victims about the common methods of recruitment. Traffickers employ a number of different techniques to coerce, deceive, and force people into trafficking.⁷¹ The recruitment methods range from simple deception in the form of deceptive advertisements all the way to bringing an individual into the network through forcible methods depending on the desired purpose or form of trafficking. The Association of Albanian Girls and Women maintain that in Albania, the most common form of deception typically occurs when a teenaged Albanian girl becomes the prey of a young man who feigns falling in love with her, proposes, and whisks her off to what she believes will be a fairytale life in a Western country.⁷² This tactic, along with the tactic of solicitation for young women through fallacious advertisements requesting models, dancers and waitresses, appears to be the most common method of recruiting young women into sex trafficking. In these scenarios, women are duped into thinking that they have been hired for legitimate jobs in a western European country only to have their passports and official documents seized while they are sold and resold from one organized crime syndicate to another.⁷³ Amnesty International claims that one of the most common methods of recruitment for all forms of trafficking is through community

members, friends or past victims of trafficking themselves.⁷⁴ Despite the community-centered nature of this form of recruitment, it is still linked to organized crime. Raimo Väyrynen noted in his article, “Illegal Immigration, Human Trafficking, and Organized Crime,” that criminal networks become especially relevant in the recruitment process in which the trafficker needs local contacts to find, either personally or through media, new victims for the business.⁷⁵ Väyrynen noted that it is the social access to the local communities and their willingness to provide human raw material for trafficking that is important in the recruitment phase of human trafficking.⁷⁶ In many instances of recruitment, this social access develops through personal relationships that allow the recruiters to convince victims that they have their best interest in mind. This social access may even be based upon a position of trust. One can find an example of this situation on the Thai-Burmese border, which is dotted by refugee camps, where the traffickers conspire with the Thai border police who coerce camp dwellers to recruit young girls.⁷⁷ Väyrynen introduces additional factors that complicate the task of defining the recruitment phase of human trafficking. First, the business of human trafficking takes place increasingly with the help of the internet.⁷⁸ Second, some victims of trafficking may be kidnapped or even sold by their own families for money.⁷⁹

The transportation phase of human-trafficking operations includes all activities that involve the movement of the individual to a determined location for exploitation. As previously noted, human trafficking, according to the definition of severe forms of trafficking from the U.S. *TVPA*, does not require the crossing of an international border.⁸⁰ For this reason, movement of a victim within a country’s borders also falls under the transportation phase. Nonetheless, this review of this phase of the network operations will

limit itself to the movement of victims across international borders. A challenge inherent in the review of writings about these operations is that authors usually examine them under the purview of human smuggling. During this phase, the victim may believe her or she is being smuggled, and not trafficked, unaware of his or her impending fate.⁸¹ In one example, the British Broadcasting Company reported that the Security Service of Ukraine captured victims of a human-trafficking ring at an airport in Kiev. These victims said that they had been offered jobs in advertising and fashion. However, law enforcement agencies said that sexual exploitation at private villas was in store for the female Ukrainian citizens upon their arrival in an Arab country.⁸² In this case, these agencies were able to discern the true fate awaiting these people, but often the reality of their destiny eludes law enforcement officials, who may not recognize that individuals are being trafficked and can only officially determine that they are being smuggled.

The transportation of the individual victims typically occurs along prearranged, specific routes. However, trafficking networks must constantly work to evade detection and capture while continuing to maximize the profit of the scheme. Hence, flexibility is one of main characteristics of transportation and the choice of routes.⁸³ The time between departure and arrival during the transportation phase may vary from a few days to several months or even years.⁸⁴ The transportation phase of the operation may also be recur with each subsequent selling of the victim

The harboring phase of human-trafficking operations occurs in between the other phases. During this phase of the operation, the victim is under the trafficker's control, but is not exploited for the trafficker's gain. Even though the victim is not being exploited during this phase, he or she may still be subject to abuse. Most frequently, the traffickers

will exploit a victim's fear to keep him or her from leaving or going to the police.⁸⁵ Also during this phase, especially when it occurs in the early stages of victimization, traffickers may subject the victim to extensive intimidation and forceful violence. This violence often includes sexual assault and is known as the 'seasoning process', in which the traffickers break the victim's resistance to make him or her easier to control.⁸⁶

The exploitation phase includes the time from which the victim is delivered or sold to the owner, who exploits the victim for the owner's personal gain, up to that time when the victim is able to escape from the exploitative situation. It is during this time when the most significant amounts of abuse occur. In addition to the mental and physical abuse the victims endure during this phase, many traffickers also intentionally addict their victims to drugs to maintain control of the individual.⁸⁷

¹Frank Laczko, David Thompson, and International Organization for Migration, *Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling in Europe: A Review of the Evidence with Case Studies from Hungary, Poland and Ukraine* (Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2000), 19.

²Ibid., 19.

³Ibid., 19.

⁴Ibid., 18.

⁵ Ibid, 10.

⁶Ibid., 21.

⁷Ibid., 3.

⁸Fact Sheet: *Distinctions between Human Smuggling and Human Trafficking* from the Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, April 2006.

⁹Amnesty International Firefly Project, About Human Trafficking from the program, *No One Signs Up To Become a Slave*, Fall 2005; available from website: http://www.aifirefly.org/trafficking/about_human_trafficking.htm, Internet, accessed 3 May 2007.

¹⁰UNICEF, *Profiting from Abuse : An Investigation into the Sexual Exploitation of our Children*, (New York, N.Y: UNICEF, Division of Communication, 2001) 17.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 6.

¹²Olga Pyshchulina, “An Evaluation of Ukrainian Legislation to Counter and Criminalize Human Trafficking,” *Demokratizatsiya* 11, no. 3 (2003), p.403.

¹³Janie Chuang, “Beyond a Snapshot: Preventing Human Trafficking in the Global Economy,” *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 13, no. 1 (2006), p.137.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 138.

¹⁵Amnesty International Firefly Project, About Human Trafficking from the program, *No One Signs Up To Become a Slave*, Fall 2005; available from website: http://www.aifirefly.org/trafficking/about_human_trafficking.htm, Internet, accessed 3 May 2007.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada website; available from http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/internationalcrime/human_trafficking-en.asp, Internet, accessed 27 February 2007.

¹⁸Interpol website; available from <http://www.interpol.int/Public/THB/default.asp>, Internet, 27 February 2007.

¹⁹United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime website; available from http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/organized_crime.html, Internet, accessed 27 February 2007.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*

²²Peter Weiss, “Terrorism, Counterterrorism and International Law,” *Arab Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 2; 2 (2002): 12.

²³*Ibid.*, 12-13.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 13.

²⁵United States Department of State Office of Counterterrorism website; available from <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2005/64337.htm>, Internet, accessed 12 March 2007.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷United States Department of State Office of Counterterrorism, Country Reports on Terrorism 2005, United States Department of State Publication 11324, April 2006, 9.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Brian Whitaker, "The Definition of Terrorism", *The Guardian*, Middle East Dispatch, May 7, 2001; available from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/elsewhere/journalist/story/0,7792,487098,00.html>, Internet, 7 May 2007.

³⁰Peter Weiss, "Terrorism, Counterterrorism and International Law," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 2; 2 (2002): 11.

³¹Michael Jordan, "Terrorism's Slippery Definition Eludes UN Diplomats." *Christian Science Monitor* 2002. 4 February; available from <http://www.csmonitor.com/2002/0204/p07s02-wogi.htm>, Internet, accessed 7 May 2007.

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³⁴At the 2000 UN Millennium Summit, an idea of an independent Commission for Human Security was launched and the Government of Japan took the initiative to develop a commission with the support and encouragement of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, Prime Ministers of Japan and other UN officials.

³⁵Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now* (New York: 2003) 2.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Ibid.*, iv.

³⁸United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994* (New York: Oxford University Press for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1994), 22.

³⁹Sabrina Alkire, "A Conceptual Framework for Human Security, Working Paper 2" (Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, CRISE, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 2003), 3.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 3.

- ⁴¹Ibid., 4.
- ⁴²Ibid., 4.
- ⁴³Sarah Edson, “Human Security: An Extended and Annotated International Bibliography” (Cambridge: King’s College, University of Cambridge, 2001), 4.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., 4.
- ⁴⁵Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now* (New York: 2003), 6.
- ⁴⁶Report of the High-level panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility* (New York: United Nations, A/59/565, 2 December 2004), xi.
- ⁴⁷Ibid., vii.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., xi.
- ⁴⁹Kofi Annan, “Secretary-General Salutes International Workshop on Human Security in Mongolia.” Two-Day Session in Ulaanbaatar, 8-10 May 2000, Press Release SG/SM/7382; available from <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20000508.sgsm7382.doc.html>, Internet, accessed 7 March 2007.
- ⁵⁰Fact Sheet: *Distinctions between Human Smuggling and Human Trafficking* from the Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, April 2006.
- ⁵¹*Trafficking in Persons*, Mohamed Y. Mattar, S.J.D; available from <http://www.protectionproject.org/mattar9-14.htm>, Internet, accessed 8 March 2007.
- ⁵²UNICEF, “Profiting from Abuse : An Investigation into the Sexual Exploitation of our Children,” 17.
- ⁵³Ibid., 1.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., Foreword.
- ⁵⁵“Crushing Crime in South East Europe a Struggle of Domestic, Regional and European Dimensions,” in Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management, National Defence Academy, Vienna [database online]. Panel II: “Are Crime And Corruption Jeopardizing Political Reform And Democratisation In South East Europe? – Selected Country Studies,” 59; available from <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/jup03/jup03c.pdf>, Internet, accessed 8 March 2007.
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⁵⁹Andrew Cockburn, “21st Century Slaves,” *National Geographic* 204 (September 2003): 2.

⁶⁰David Weissbrodt and Anti-Slavery International, *Abolishing Slavery and its Contemporary Forms*, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2002) p.6.

⁶¹Dan Burton and Chairman, “Slavery and Human Trafficking,” *FDCH Congressional Testimony*.

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⁶³David Weissbrodt and Anti-Slavery International, *Abolishing Slavery and its Contemporary Forms*, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2002), p.6.

⁶⁴“‘Transplant Tourism’ Developing; Demand for Organs Exceeds Supply: WHO,” *The Gazette* (31 March 2007): A.22.

⁶⁵Luis Fabregas, “Transplant ‘Tourism’ Questioned at Medical Centers in Colombia,” *Knight Ridder Tribune Business News* (18 February 2007): 1.

⁶⁶“‘Transplant Tourism’ Developing; Demand for Organs Exceeds Supply: WHO,” *The Gazette* (31 March 2007): A.22.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸“‘Kidney ‘Transplant Tourism’ Booming in Pakistan,” *The Hindustan Times* (16 April 2006).

⁶⁹“‘Transplant Tourism’ Developing; Demand for Organs Exceeds Supply: WHO,” *The Gazette* (31 March 2007): A.22.

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⁷²*Created by and for Victims of Human Trafficking*, Association of Albanian Girls and Women; available from <http://www.aagw.org/TheProblem.html>, Internet, accessed 8 March 2007.

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴Amnesty International Firefly Project, About Human Trafficking from the program, *No One Signs Up To Become a Slave*, Fall 2005; available from http://www.aifirefly.org/trafficking/about_human_trafficking.htm, Internet, accessed 3 May 2007.

⁷⁵Raimo Väyrynen and World Institute for Development Economics Research, *Illegal Immigration, Human Trafficking, and Organized Crime*, (Helsinki: United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research, 2003): 7.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 7.

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⁸⁰Fact Sheet: *Distinctions between Human Smuggling and Human Trafficking* from the Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, April 2006.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

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⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Amnesty International Firefly Project, About Human Trafficking from the program, *No One Signs Up To Become a Slave*, Fall 2005; available from http://www.aifirefly.org/trafficking/about_human_trafficking.htm, Internet, accessed 3 May 2007.

⁸⁶United States Department of Health and Human Services, Fact Sheet: *Human Trafficking, Rescue & Restore Victims of Human Trafficking*.

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CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodology type

This study will use a qualitative research methodology. Analysis of the research is based on a structured, focused comparison of operations of human-trafficking networks and operations of international terrorist organizations. The research will report and interpret the variables of the two cases to determine if there are correlations between the operations of each group and what implications these operations have on the security of United States.

The case study model proposed by Stephen Van Evera in his book, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* form the foundation of this study. Van Evera suggests that the first step is the development of a theory. For this research, the theory came about based on Van Evera's sixth method of theory development that suggests that theories can often be inferred from policy debates.¹ Van Evera suggests proponents of given policies frame specific cause-effect statements as general theories.² This research inferred a theory from a policy statement in the *National Security Strategy of the United States*. Addressing, "Illicit trade, whether in drugs, human beings, or sex, that exploits the modern era's greater ease of transport and exchange," the *National Security Strategy of the United States* declares that:

Such traffic corrodes social order; bolsters crime and corruption; undermines effective governance; facilitates the illicit transfer of WMD and advanced conventional weapons technology; and compromises traditional security and law enforcement.

These challenges are not traditional national security concerns, such as the conflict of arms or ideologies. But if left unaddressed they can threaten national security.³

From this policy statement, the research framed the theory that security implications may result from the relationships between the phenomena of human trafficking and terrorism with a focus on the types of operations and the networks used in the operations. Having framed a theory, researchers who follow Van Evera methodology must look at the relationships between the phenomena and determine if those relationships are causal.⁴ This research first determined the causal relationships among the organizations based on the typology of the organized crime organization and the human-trafficking network. It then used typologies to infer the security implications of the relationships the human-trafficking networks have with the terrorist organizations. Finally, Van Evera recommends that the research ask, “Of what more general causal law is this specific cause-effect process an example?”⁵ This research looked at the typology of human-trafficking networks that were also considered terrorist organizations and compared these organizations to the U.S. definition of a terrorist organization and the U.S. lists of those organizations that are considered to pose the most significant threat to the security of the United States. The research also evaluated the cause-effect process of these organizations on the human security fundamentals of protection and empowerment of people.

Design of the Study

The first step in the research was to develop a theory about the security implications of human trafficking. The theory is that human-trafficking networks have connections with terrorist organizations that, in turn, have security implications for the United States. This theory was based upon current U.S. policies and previous readings

about human trafficking that focused on the human rights issues and the circumstances that created conditions favorable for human-trafficking operations. For that reason, it is important to understand the context and the environment within which human trafficking has developed so rapidly in some countries. Conditions in a country that create an environment favorable for human trafficking are either push factors or pull factors. Some common push factors for human trafficking are widespread poverty, a weak state government, and a high level of corruption in the country. These common factors are the same as the threat factors mentioned by President George W. Bush in his introduction to the 2002 *National Security Strategy*, in which he claimed that poverty, weak institutions, and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders.⁶ The similarities between the aforementioned instigating conditions for human trafficking and the vulnerability to terrorist networks led to the theory that the operations of human-trafficking networks carried possible security implications for the United States.

The next step was the selection of the cases to be studied. Selection of the cases was based on contemporary readings about security concerns for the United States. From a survey of these readings, it is clear that international terrorist organizations currently pose the most significant threat to the security of the United States. Therefore, cases were selected based on the probability of finding links between human-trafficking networks and terrorist organizations in areas of the world where poverty, a weak government and corruption came together. After case selection and the development of causal predictions, research questions that answered matters related to cases were developed. The

formulation of these research questions about the operations of human trafficking and terrorist organizations aimed to develop the two cases for comparison.

The next step for the research was the collection of data about each of the cases with a focus on the locations and methods of operations for the trafficking and terrorist organizations. Data about the operations of the networks and organizations was often incomplete, because of the surreptitious nature of the operations. Therefore, data collection from multiple sources and close scrutiny to ensure accuracy were *sines qua non* for this research.

Analysis of the collected data aimed towards identifying trends in each of the cases. The trends in the human-trafficking networks' motives, method of trafficking operations and other criminal activities determined the variables to be used to compare the structures of the two cases. This comparison rested on a test to determine if there were any correlations between the operations of the human-trafficking networks and the international terrorist organizations. Based on the analysis of the correlations, the research concluded with interpretations about the risk to the security of the United States.

Sources of Data

The majority of the data about human-trafficking networks and international terrorist organizations came from scholarly articles, reports from non-governmental organizations and government documents. Owing to varying definitions of human trafficking and terrorist organizations, conflicts in the data arose. In instances where contradictory information appeared in different documents, data that came from United States governmental agencies received preference in order to assist in the maintenance of accuracy and continuity of the information.

Data Collection Procedures and Techniques

Data was collected about the typical method of operation for both human-trafficking networks and international terrorist organizations. To gain an understanding of the worldwide nature and threat of human trafficking and terrorist organizations, the data collection included information about these cases throughout the world and then sorted the information according to the region of the world where the activity occurred. Because of the transnational nature of the problem, much of the data about the operations crossed multiple regions. In those instances, the data was included in the analysis of each of the regions with an emphasis on the source countries. During data collection, the most recent governmental information received preference over other sources.

Data Analysis Plan

The information about human trafficking was analyzed in relation to the information about security concerns of the United States. The research determined that the most critical security concern for the United States is the threat of terrorism. The study then had to determine if there are areas of the world where human trafficking occurs and there is a threat of terrorist activity. Using Secretary of State Rice's statement that weak and failing states serve as global pathways that facilitate the spread of pandemics, the movement of criminals and terrorists, and the proliferation of the world's most dangerous weapons, the study determined that it would be most likely to find links between human-trafficking networks and terrorist organizations in fragile states.⁷ Therefore, as shown in figure 1, the research looked at the documented human-trafficking routes and compared those to the fragile state areas to identify those countries that were both human-trafficking origin states and fragile states. Of the states that met both criteria,

the research selected one area as a target state for more study to determine if there were any known links between human-trafficking networks and terrorist groups. To determine instances of known human-trafficking network operations and terrorist group operations in the target area, the study applied a thorough review of literature to the areas. The instances of human-trafficking network operations and terrorist group activity in the target area were plotted on the chart shown at figure 2. After the connections between terrorist organizations and human-trafficking groups were determined, the study compared the organizations that were ascertained to have identified human-trafficking network operations and acknowledged terrorist group activities against those groups that present the greatest known threat to the security of the United States. The U.S. Department of State designates those groups it determines present the greatest threat to the United States and its citizens. When reviewing potential targets for designation, the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism in the State Department looks not only at the actual terrorist attacks that a group has carried out, but also at whether the group has engaged in planning and preparations for possible future acts of terrorism or retains the capability and intent to carry out such acts.⁸ The State Department then places these groups on either the list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations or the list of other selected terrorist organizations as shown in tables 4 and 5. The study inferred the implications of human trafficking for the security of the United States based on the correspondence of the human-trafficking networks to international terrorist organizations that threaten the United States security. The study also made suggestions for further research.

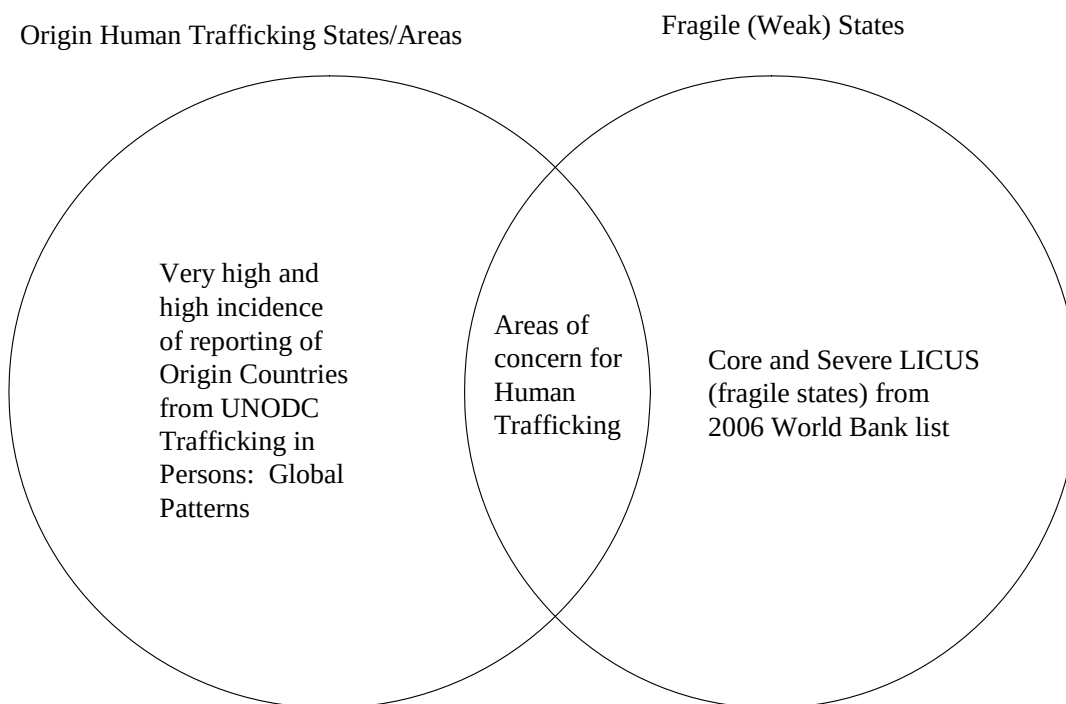


Figure 1. Diagram Used to Analyze Geographical Areas of Concern for Human Trafficking

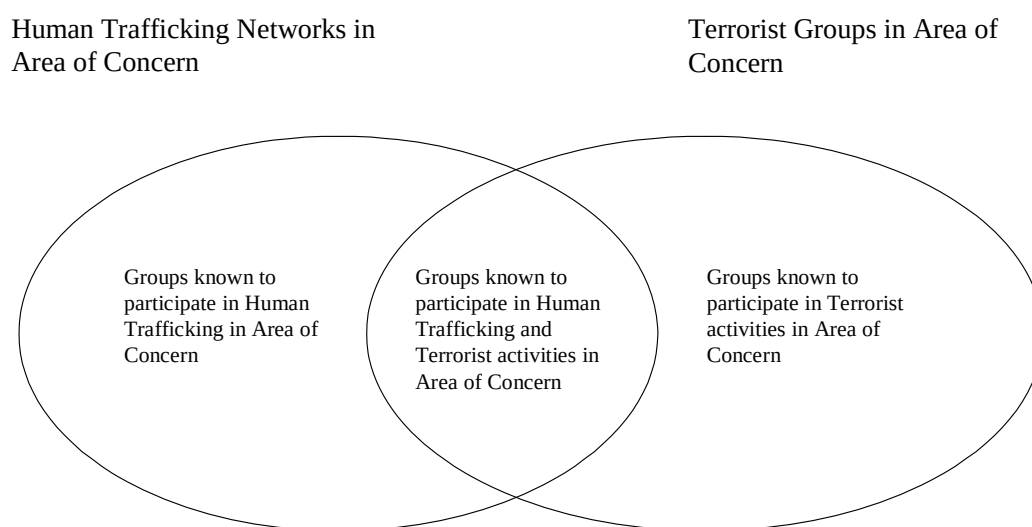


Figure 2. Diagram Used to Analyze Groups Known to Participate in Human Trafficking and Terrorist Activities in the Identified Area of Concern

Table 4. Department of State List of Foreign Terrorist Organizations

Foreign Terrorist Organizations 17 November Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade Ansar al-Islam (AI) Armed Islamic Group (GIA) Asbat al-Ansar Aum Shinrikyo (Aum) Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) Communist Party of Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA) Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA) Gama'a al-Islamiyya (IG) HAMAS Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM) Hizballah Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM) Jemaah Islamiya Organization (JI) Al-Jihad (AJ) Kahane Chai (Kach) Kongra-Gel (KGK) Lashkar e-Tayyiba (LT) Lashkar i Jhangvi (LJ) Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK) National Liberation Army (ELN) Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) Al-Qa'ida Real IRA (RIRA) Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) Revolutionary Nuclei (RN) Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C) Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC) Shining Path (SL) Tanzim Qa'idat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn (QJBR) United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC)
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Source: United States Department of State, Office of Counterterrorism website; available from <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/fs/37191.htm/>; Internet; accessed 12 March 2007.

Table 5. Department of State List of Select Terrorist Organizations

Other Selected Terrorist Organizations
Al-Badhr Mujahedin (al-Badr)
Al-Ittihad al-Islami (AIAI)
Alex Boncayao Brigade (ABB)
Anti-Imperialist Territorial Nuclei (NTA)
Cambodian Freedom Fighters (CFF)
Communist Party of India (Maoist)
Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)
Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR)
East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM)
First of October Antifascist Resistance Group (GRAPO)
Harakat ul-Jihad-I-Islami (HUJI)
Harakat ul-Jihad-I-Islami/Bangladesh (HUJI-B)
Hizb-I Islami Gulbuddin (HIG)
Hizbul-Mujahedin (HM)
Irish National Liberation Army (INLA)
Irish Republican Army (IRA)
Islamic Army of Aden (IAA)
Islamic Great East Raiders–Front (IBDA-C)
Islamic International Peacekeeping Brigade (IIPB)
Islamic Jihad Group (IJG)
Jamiat ul-Mujahedin (JUM)
Japanese Red Army (JRA)
Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM)
Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA)
Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF)
Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM)
New Red Brigades/Communist Combatant Party (BR/PCC)
People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD)
Red Hand Defenders (RHD)
Revolutionary Proletarian Initiative Nuclei (NIPR)
Revolutionary Struggle (RS)
Riyadus-Salikhin Reconnaissance and Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs (RSRSBCM)
Sipah-I-Sahaba/Pakistan (SSP)
Special Purpose Islamic Regiment (SPIR)
Tunisian Combatant Group (TCG)
Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)
Turkish Hizballah
Ulster Defense Association/Ulster Freedom Fighters (UDA/UFF)
Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)
United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)

Source: United States Department of State, Office of Counterterrorism website; available from <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/fs/37191.htm/>; Internet; accessed 12 March 2007.

¹Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 26.

²Ibid, 26.

³United States White House, *United States National Security Strategy 2006*, Chapter X, “Engage the Opportunities and Confront the Challenges of Globalization;” National Security website: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/sectionX.html/>; Internet; accessed 24 March 2007.

⁴Van Evera, .22.

⁵Ibid.

⁶George W. Bush, Introduction to National Security Strategy, September 17, 2002; available from The White House website: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssintro.html>, Internet, accessed 12 March 2007.

⁷Karen DeYoung, “World Bank Lists Failing Nations That Can Breed Global Terrorism,” *Washington Post*, Friday, 15 September 2006, A13.

⁸United States Department of State, Office of Counterterrorism website; available from <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/fs/37191.htm/>; Internet; accessed 12 March 2007.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

This chapter will analyze the theory that human-trafficking networks have connections with terrorist organizations that have security implications for the United States. This analysis will start with the selection of the case based on areas of concern for possible convergence of human-trafficking organizations and terrorist groups. The analysis will then cover the specific conditions within the country selected that have allowed human trafficking to develop. Next, the analysis will consider the way that criminal networks participate in human trafficking and look at the specific trends of operations for the country selected. Finally, the analysis will assess these trends to determine any correlations between terrorist groups and human-trafficking networks, which operate in the country selected.

The Case Selection

An analysis of the areas of concern for possible convergence of human-trafficking organizations and terrorist groups produced lists of countries of origin for trafficking and fragile weak states. A graphic comparison of the two lists depicts areas of possible convergence as shown in figure 3. This analysis identified four areas of possible concern. The areas identified were Cambodia, the territory of Kosovo, Myanmar and Nigeria. Each of these entities warrants research for possible connections between human-trafficking networks and terrorist organizations. However, to research each of these areas would exceed the limited parameters of this research. Therefore, the research could only focus on one specific entity. The area chosen from this list was the territory of Kosovo.

This researcher chose this territory because of the availability of documents from that area thanks to the longstanding United Nations administration in the area and the researcher's interest in European and Eurasian area studies.

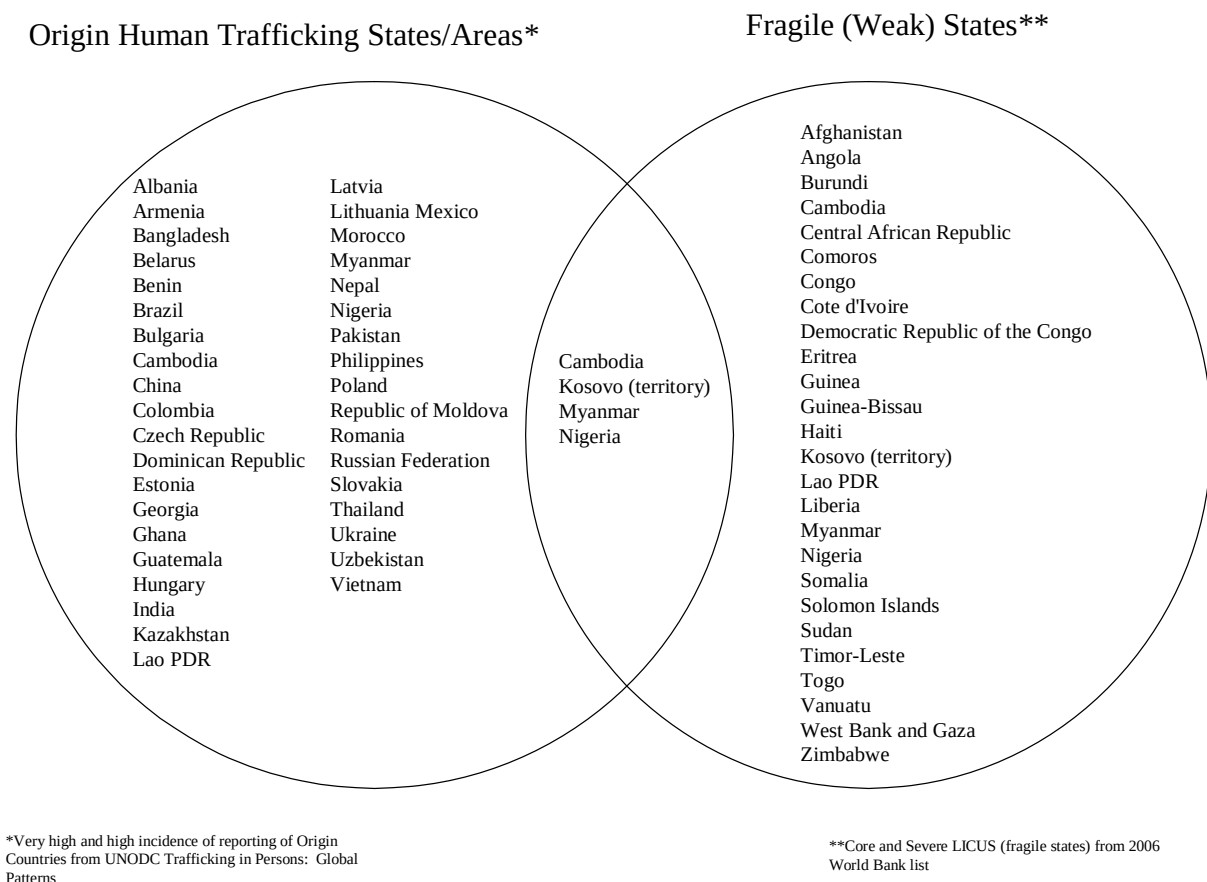


Figure 3. Areas of Concern for Possible Convergence of Human-Trafficking Organizations and Terrorist Groups

Sources: Kristiina Kangaspunta, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, and Global Programme Against Trafficking in Human Beings, *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns* (Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006), Appendix 3. "Which Countries are LICUS?" World Bank website: available from http://www.worldbank.org/ieg/licus/licus06_map.html/, Internet, accessed 12 March 2007.

The Kosovo Case

A review of the situation in the territory of Kosovo reveals the presence of many of the push and pull factors that contribute to human trafficking. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Mission in Kosovo has identified these factors as: situations of poverty; vulnerable living conditions, including limited education, abusive living conditions, gender discrimination in employment, in the home and community; demand for cheap, exploitable, particularly young female labor; demand for sex workers and the small risk to traffickers in comparison to very large financial rewards.¹ The U.S. Department of State's 2006 *Country Report for Human Rights* for the Kosovo territory points out that there were problems in some human rights areas, particularly relating to minority populations.² Some of these areas could also be considered factors that contribute to the development of the trafficking situation in Kosovo and should be taken into account concerning the possibility of terrorist activities.

The most serious of these were

- cases of politically and ethnically motivated killings;
- lengthy pretrial detention and lack of judicial due process;
- corruption and government interference in the judiciary;
- societal antipathy against Serbs and the Serbian Orthodox Church;
- lack of progress in returning internally displaced persons to their homes;
- corruption in the provisional institutions of self-government (PISG);
- violence and discrimination against women;
- societal violence, abuse, and discrimination against minority communities;
- and child labor in the informal sector.³

These problems indicate that although the overall security situation in Kosovo is calm, tension is palpable in the ethnic Albanian majority province of Serbia that the United Nations has administered since 1999.⁴ Therefore, this study indicates that there may be

convergence of human-trafficking networks and terrorist organizations that bears further examination.

How do Criminal Networks Participate in Human Trafficking?

Criminal networks are involved in every phase of human trafficking. However, the level of participation by the networks varies based on the type of criminal groups that are involved and their standard method of operations. As shown in table 6, the UN analysis of the types of human-trafficking networks identifies five basic types of organized crime networks. The figure shows how these UN typologies correlate to the five human-trafficking network types identified by Louise Shelley. Both of the models show that often it is possible to categorize the type of criminal group that operates in an area based on the origin country of the organization and the purpose of the trafficking. These models provide the research with a framework to determine the possible motivations behind the trafficking networks and, consequently, the likelihood of their threat to the security of the United States. Although all human trafficking is a threat for human security, these models can also provide information on the degree of human security threat that exists.

Although table 6 puts each network into a specific category, it is important to note that human trafficking is not always so neatly organized and conducted. Trafficking networks of different types may collaborate to conduct operations and networks may change operations to meet the demands of the environment to ensure continued operations and maximum profit. Therefore, separate individuals or criminal groups that work together to form a human-trafficking network may operate during various phases in some forms of human-trafficking operations. The distinction of the type of network

involved may indicate the preferred mode of operation, but may not dictate the operation in actual practice.

Criminal Networks in Kosovo

The illegal, organized and clandestine nature of trafficking, along with the silencing of trafficked women through coercion, violence and fear, make it impossible to estimate completely the full extent of the trafficking industry in Kosovo.⁵ However, to determine the type of trafficking that occurs in the territory of Kosovo, this research considered the documents that set out specifics of the Kosovo cases of human trafficking.

According to the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), human trafficking is one of the most prevalent problems in Kosovo and more and more young people are victims of human trafficking in Kosovo and across the region.⁶ A high level of organized crime involvement characterizes this increase in trafficking in Kosovo and the region. The Deputy Director of the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) Center and Head of the Operational Support Department, General Ferenc Banfi, states that

it is very obvious that the criminals have established a high quality of cooperation on an international level. They have a division of labor on the international level. The globalization of this type of crime is established.⁷

A Macedonian liaison officer to the SECI Center, Zan Jovanovski, also stresses that human-trafficking operations in the Southeastern Europe include the involvement of organized crime. He states that

We can talk about the relation between organized crime and trafficking in human beings as one chain. We can talk about the involvement of criminal activities in all three phases--recruitment, transportation, and exploitation.

In all three of those phases, you can find a very large variety of criminal activities. . . . We can talk about the use of forged documents, possession of

Table 6. Two Typologies of Organized Crime/Human Trafficking Networks

UN Drugs and Crime Typology Organized Crime	Louise Shelley Typology Human trafficking
Standard Hierarchy (most common – China and Eastern Europe) ▪ Single leader ▪ Clear hierarchy ▪ Internal discipline ▪ Named group ▪ Social/ethnic identity ▪ Violence integral ▪ Influence/control over particular territory Regional hierarchy (Japan and Italy) ▪ Single leader ▪ Line of command ▪ Some regional autonomy ▪ Geographical reach ▪ Multiple activities ▪ Often social/ethnic identity ▪ Violence integral	Natural Resource Model (post-Soviet organized crime) ▪ Primarily trafficking in women ▪ Use like natural resource ▪ Sell to near trading partners ▪ High violence and human rights abuses ▪ Often “break” women before leave country of origin Trade and Development (China) ▪ Mainly smuggling of men for labour exploitation, 10 per cent women ▪ Control all stages to maximize profit ▪ Some profit invested in legitimate entrepreneurship in Thailand and China ▪ Less abuse and violence as have investment in continued profit
Clustered hierarchy (least common) ▪ Number of groups ▪ Stronger as network ▪ System of governance ▪ Some autonomy ▪ Link to a social/historical context	Supermarket – low cost, high volume (Mexico) ▪ Facilitate illegal entry across border ▪ Small fees, large numbers ▪ Extent of failures, need for multiple attempts keeps fees low ▪ Investment patterns similar to those of migrants – into land and property
Core group (3 in western Europe) ▪ Core group surrounded by loose network ▪ Limited numbers ▪ Tight, flat structure	Violent Entrepreneurs (Balkans) ▪ Almost all trafficking in women ▪ Middlemen for Russian organized crime ▪ Increasingly integrated as take over sex businesses in destination countries ▪ Involvement of top level law enforcement in own countries ▪ Use profits to finance other illegal activities, and invest in property and business elsewhere ▪ Considerable violence
Criminal network ▪ Linking activities of individuals ▪ Position by virtue of networks and skills ▪ Personal loyalties ▪ Alliances around projects ▪ Low public profile	Traditional slavery with modern technology (Nigeria and West Africa) ▪ Multi-faceted crime groups ▪ Use female recruiters and trade in girls and young women into street prostitution ▪ Small amounts returned to local operators and families to maintain flow

Reprinted by permission of Liz Kelly, ““You can Find Anything You Want”: A Critical Reflection on Research on Trafficking in Persons within and into Europe,” *International Migration* 43, no. 1/2 (2005): 259.

narcotics and drugs. We are facing on a daily basis a relationship between trafficking in human beings and other forms of organized crime.⁸

UNMIK echoes this sentiment and has recognized, from the outset of its mission, both the organized crime and human rights dimensions of the problem of human trafficking in Kosovo.⁹ UNMIK defines the criminal organization of the operations in Kosovo in the following manner:

There are two levels of organized crime activities relating to the trafficking of women in Kosovo. The first is the informal networks, which traditionally exist in the form of small groups of individuals within families and ethnic communities. Strong family ties and 'codes of silence' make it difficult for police to gather intelligence information on their activities.

The second are the formal organized crime groups that control every aspect of trafficking from recruitment and transport to the management of the premises where exploitation takes place. These larger scale crime groups are linked to other organized criminals through South East and Eastern Europe. Using efficient lines of interaction and communication, they have developed areas of responsibility and mutual cooperation. As trafficking is a global business, these clandestine criminal groups are tightly structured typically along clan or family lines, hard to infiltrate, enduring and are usually involved in other forms of organized crime.¹⁰

UNMIK also reports that within this organized group of traffickers, the offenders are both Albanian and Serbian and cooperate well in this kind of criminal activity.¹¹

Analysis of Typologies in Kosovo

Although it is important to understand all of the types of organizations that are operating in Kosovo, analysis of the organized crime networks, based on the limitations of this research, will focus only on the second type of group, the formal organized crime groups as identified by UNMIK and as described in the aforementioned accounts of operations in Kosovo. This analysis is an examination of the information about operations in Kosovo to determine the typology of the majority of the operations of the human-trafficking networks in terms of both the UN Crime Typology for Organized

Crime and the Louise Shelley Typology for Human Trafficking (as shown in table 6).

This analysis has determined that the human-trafficking networks involved in human-trafficking operations in Kosovo appear to follow the typology of a standard hierarchy organized crime organization and a natural resource model human-trafficking organization. Research of the trends in migration in the Balkans area to include the territory of Kosovo by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) supports this analysis. The IOM research looked at the recruitment, transportation, harboring and exploitation phases of human trafficking and reviewed the types of trafficking that traffickers conduct in Kosovo and throughout their areas of operations. The IOM determined that:

Trade in persons in Kosovo is made possible by the availability of an inexhaustible quantity of false documents, by the number of bases and vehicles, and large sums of money that the criminals possess. Furthermore, high-level organizations have established a dense network of corrupt officials at all levels in the region, thus facilitating the issue of visas for travel to the Schengen area and other countries.

These organizations are well structured internally, with a clear breakdown of roles: there are people to recruit or kidnap the victims, to control the victims in transit, to find accommodation, to supervise their work and to collect the proceeds. They move their victims continuously from one country to another, both to avoid identification in investigations by law enforcement agencies and to make it more difficult for their victims to escape.¹²

The IOM further discovered that

Traffickers and bar owners have found ways of disguising their trade in forced prostitution by a legitimate front, such as bringing victims legally by air or land using real (or apparently real) passports, visas and invitation letters, producing “legal” work contracts for the women, and even registering the women as employees (waitresses or dancers) for municipal bodies and maintaining a health file for them, as required for all employees in the food services industry in Kosovo.¹³

The analysis of these preceding indicators of the operations in Kosovo coincides with the UN Crime Typology for Organized Crime of the standard hierarchy and the

Louise Shelley natural resource model. These organizations appear to follow a clear hierarchy with violence as an integral part of the operations, which they conduct over a particular territory. Additionally, this case shows that the human-trafficking networks conduct operations primarily in women with high incidences of violence and human rights abuses.

However, the IOM also indicated that the networks in Kosovo generally reinvested the lucrative profits from their operations in even more profitable illegal activities, such as trafficking in drugs, arms and explosives.¹⁴ UNICEF also asserts that in Southeastern Europe, women and children are often trafficked through the same routes used to smuggle drugs and arms.¹⁵ The inclusion of these trends indicates the presence of some elements of the Louise Shelley violent entrepreneur model of organization.

Are There Any Correlations That Can Be Drawn Between Terrorist Groups and Human-Trafficking Networks?

The research of the known operations in Kosovo identified one documented instance of correlation between terrorist groups and human-trafficking networks. Legal proceedings verified this instance of the documented participation of a terrorist in human-trafficking operations. The case involved a member of the terrorist organization, the Albanian National Army (ANA) that operated in Kosovo, and who also participated in human trafficking. A Macedonian court convicted Dilaver Bojku on charges of enslaving dozens of young women from Ukraine, Romania and Moldova.¹⁶ The Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT) lists Bojku as a key leader of the ANA and lists numerous attacks that the organization committed in Kosovo.¹⁷

However, other allegations of terrorist involvement in human-trafficking networks have surfaced but, as of yet, cannot be officially documented. One particular allegation concerns the possible involvement of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) in human trafficking. There are reports alleging that the KLA raised money by abducting girls from refugee camps to then be trafficked to Italy or Greece and forced into prostitution.¹⁸ MIPT noted that accusations of ties to drug-running, foreign terrorism, and organized crime have also surfaced.¹⁹ These allegations are noteworthy when taken together with reports of the KLA's connections with members of al-Qaeda. Specifically, Assistant Director of Interpol's Criminal Intelligence Directorate, Ralf Mutschke confirmed that Osama bin Laden sent one of his top military commanders to Kosovo to lead "an elite KLA unit during the Kosovo conflict."²⁰ Washington Times investigative reporter, Jerry Seper, alleged that some members of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), which has financed its war effort through the sale of heroin, were trained in terrorist camps run by international fugitive Osama bin Laden.²¹ What is of even further concern is the *Defense and Foreign Affairs Daily* allegation that the man at the center of the provision of the explosives in the July 2005 London bombings and the March 2004 Madrid bombings was an Albanian, operating mostly out of Kosovo (with links into Bosnia) who is a second-ranking leader in the Kosovo Liberation Army.²²

Human Trafficking Networks in
Kosovo

Terrorist Groups in Area of Concern

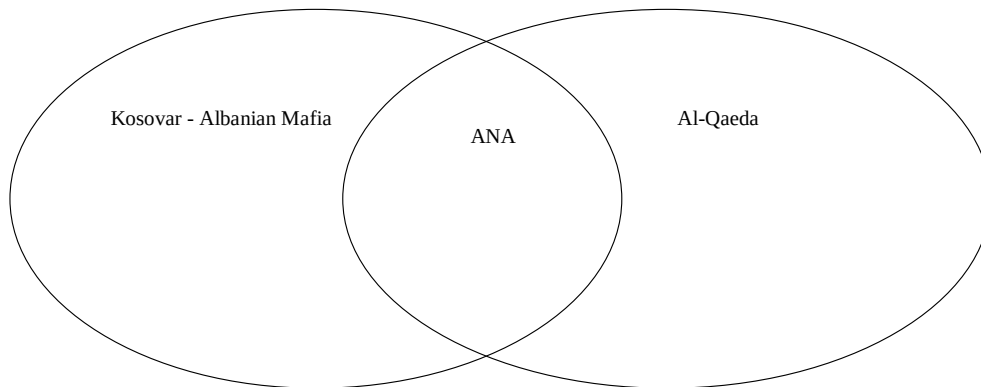


Figure 4. Instances of Connections between Human-Trafficking Groups and Terrorist Groups in Kosovo

¹OSCE Mission in Kosovo, Background Report, *Combatting Trafficking in Kosovo*, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Vienna, Austria, 5 June 2001, 2.

²*Country Report on Human Rights*, 2006 available from <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78837.htm#kosovo>, Internet, accessed 12 March 2007.

³*Ibid.*

⁴United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, *Security Council told that Kosovo remains calm but tense*, May 10, 2007; available from UNMiK website: <http://www.unmikonline.org/news.htm#1005>, Internet, accessed 23 May 2007.

⁵Amnesty International, Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro) “So does it mean that we have the rights?” *Protecting the human rights of women and girls trafficked for force prostitution in Kosovo*, May 6, 2004, 2; available from <http://web.amnesty.org/library/index/ENGEUR700102004>, Internet, accessed 23 May 2007.

⁶Tihana Leko and Bronwyn Jones, “Not For Sale” campaign, *Focus Kosovo, Law, Justice and Public Safety, Anti-Trafficking*; available from UNMIK website: <http://www.unmikonline.org/pub/focuskos/jan06/focusklaw3.htm>, Internet, accessed 23 May 2007.

⁷Charlene Porter, “European Alliance Combats Human Trafficking, An Interview with General Ferenc Banfi and Zan Jovanovski from the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative Center,” *Global Issues, An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State*, June 2003 Volume 8, Number 2, 27; available from Department of State website: <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itgic/0603/ijge/ijge0603.pdf>, Internet, accessed 23 May 2007.

⁸*Ibid.*, 25.

⁹United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, *Combating Human Trafficking in Kosovo, Strategy & Commitment*, May 2004, 6.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 5.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 3.

¹²International Organization for Migration, *Changing Patterns and Trends of Trafficking In Persons in the Balkan Region*, July 2004, 67.

¹³*Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁵UNICEF, *Profiting from Abuse : An Investigation into the Sexual Exploitation of our Children*, (New York, N.Y: UNICEF, Division of Communication, 2001) 7.

¹⁶“Macedonian Guilty of Slavery Charges,” *New York Times* (7 December 2003), 1.24.

¹⁷Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT) website on Dilaver Bojku; available from <http://www.tkb.org/KeyLeader.jsp?memID=6044>, Internet, accessed 13 March 2007.

¹⁸Marko Hajdinjak, *Smuggling in Southeast Europe : The Yugoslav Wars and the Development of Regional Criminal Networks in the Balkans*, (Sofia: Center for the Study of Democracy, 2002) 28.

¹⁹Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT) website on the Kosovo Liberation Army; available from <http://www.tkb.org/Group.jsp?groupID=3517>, Internet, accessed 13 March 2007.

²⁰*Independence: Kosovo Albanian Criminal Enterprise*, available from <http://www.serbianna.com/columns/mb/053.shtml>, Internet, accessed 13 March 2007.

²¹The Washington Times, “Beware Kosovo Independence,” *Washington Times* (16 June 2006), A.18.

²² Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Thirteenth Amendment to U.S. Constitution

Conclusions

How Might the Activities of These Criminal Networks Affect the Security of the United States?

Based on the research of the human-trafficking network operations in Kosovo, it appears that a direct threat to the national security of the United States from the known human-trafficking networks is limited. The terrorists involved in human-trafficking operations in and around Kosovo appear to follow the typology of a standard hierarchy organized crime organization and a natural resource model human-trafficking organization. These organized crime organizations and human-trafficking networks are organized in a manner to maximize profits while maintaining control of the organization. Furthermore, the terrorist organizations that have been shown to engage in human-trafficking activities within the territory of Kosovo do not appear on the lists of terrorists that present the largest known threat to the security of the United States as shown in tables 4 and 5. Although the ANA does meet the description of a terrorist organization, the Department of State has determined that it falls under the category of a criminal extremist group rather than foreign terrorist organization as stated in the Department's response to the question of the ANA's terrorist status that follows:

The Albanian National Army is a loosely organized criminal extremist group that has claimed responsibility for a handful of acts of violence in Macedonia and elsewhere in the Western Balkans in the past year. Its purported violent goals pose a threat to peace and stability in the region. This organization, however, does not have popular support, because its goals are recognizably antithetical to the true interests of the region's ethnic Albanians.

The Albanian National Army (ANA) has not been designated a foreign terrorist organization (FTO) under section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), as amended. In May 2003, however, President Bush issued Executive Order 13304 to take additional steps with respect to the continuing, widespread, and illicit actions in the Western Balkans. The Albanian National Army, which poses a threat to peace and stability in the Western Balkans, was designated in the Annex to that Executive Order. Executive Order 13304 blocks the assets of the Albanian National Army in the United States, or in the possession or control of U.S. persons. It further prohibits U.S. persons from engaging in most transactions or dealings with individuals and entities, including the Albanian National Army, designated in or pursuant to the Order.¹

Human-trafficking networks under organized crime groups and terrorist groups have two differing goals. Organized crime's business is business.² The less attention brought to their lucrative enterprises, the better. The goal of terrorism is quite the opposite.³ Therefore, the direct effects on the national security of the United States are also limited given that organized crime groups must hide any connections with terrorist groups in order to remain profitable and viable businesses. Furthermore, terrorist groups would be equally opposed to remaining hidden from the public view and tied to the business of human-trafficking operations.

Conclusions about Exploitation of Human-Trafficking Networks for Terrorists

In light of the preceding observations about the motivations of human-trafficking networks and the motivations of terrorist groups, the research concludes that the greatest security implication for U.S. national security would be the exploitation of the human-trafficking networks by the terrorist groups. The experts from the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and

Development also raised this concern. They found that despite the non-financial aim of terrorism, little difference is apparent between the sources of funding of terrorist and organized crime groups.⁴ Further taking into consideration the alleged connections between the exploitation of the human-trafficking networks associated with the KLA and the possible financing of al-Qaeda training and operations, the possibility of exploitation causes even greater concern for the security of the United States.

Conclusion about “Human Security” Issues

Apart from the extent of the impact of the human-trafficking networks on the national security of the United States, this research is also concerned with the human security implications. This research and others have revealed that in some countries corrupt law and immigration officials themselves continue to participate in the trafficking of humans or turn a blind eye to the problem in return for financial compensation.⁵ This corruption is as much of a concern for human security as it is for national security given the fact that human security requires strong and stable institutions.⁶ Thus, in the Global War on Terror, the United States must keep in mind that any effort to stop the spread of terrorism must not simply treat the crime of human trafficking as a threat to national security. Future research must also consider the human security need for strong institutions while balancing this with the understanding that migration is vital to protect and attain human security.⁷ The United States must therefore balance both human security and national security concerns that arise from trafficking in persons.

Further Complexities of the Kosovo Case

Because of the clandestine nature of the human-trafficking operations and the terrorist activities in Kosovo, there are many complexities about the operations in Kosovo that cannot be fully captured through this analysis. In particular, the first type of criminal network that UNMIK identifies as working in Kosovo may be classified under the typology of a violent entrepreneur group and may carry additional security implications. However, the information about operations of this type of network is severely limited. UNMIK notes that, in addressing organized crime, some of the biggest challenges for police are understanding the structure of organized crime groups, mapping the scope of the problem, identifying the regional criminal networks and then integrating the regional and cultural factors into the problem-solving process.⁸ In order to gain a more complete understanding of the full extent of the possible security implications of these types of human-trafficking networks will require the collection of more data on all forms of the network operations and further analysis of the linkages between these networks and terrorist groups.

Recommendations

The events of the eleventh of September have clearly demonstrated that there are linkages and nexuses between drugs, money laundering, arms trafficking, terrorism and the financing of terrorism.⁹ Further research is needed to determine the extent of the exploitation of human trafficking for the funding of terrorist activities. In particular, Interpol research has shown that criminals use the Alternative Remittance System (ARS) to hide the illicit proceeds from trafficking in human beings, which are then laundered in the Asia-Pacific area.¹⁰ As Asia continues as a source of illegal immigrants as well as a

destination that supports sexual tourism, this system of remittances is especially problematic as it facilitates both drug trafficking activities as well as terrorism.¹¹

Further research is also needed about the possibility of connections between human-trafficking networks and terrorism in those other areas of overlap between origin human-trafficking states and fragile states. In particular, the countries of Cambodia, Myanmar and Nigeria present other areas of possible security implications for the United States.

Although the research did not identify the countries of North Africa as areas of concern for possible convergence of human-trafficking organizations and terrorist groups, the need for further studies of these countries is appropriate since recent media reporting indicates that human-trafficking networks may have been involved in the transport of North African suicide bombers into Iraq.¹² More information on this topic could be critical for the U.S. Global War on Terror as it is being fought in Iraq since senior military officials in Europe believe that approximately twenty percent of all fighters in Iraq have come from northern Africa.¹³ U.S. military officials fear that the terrorist organization, al-Qaeda, is using North Africa as a staging ground for training and attacks and intelligence officials say that fighters being trained in the region are being sent to Iraq, and possibly elsewhere.¹⁴

¹U.S. Department of State, "Status of Albanian National Army (Taken Question)," Office of the Spokesman, Washington, DC, 14 November 2003; available from Department of State website: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/26231.htm>, Internet, accessed 3 May 2007.

²Frank Cilluffo, *The Threat Posed from the Convergence of Organized Crime, Drug Trafficking, and Terrorism*, before the U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime 13 December 2000, 1.

³Ibid.

⁴Ilias Bantekas, "The International Law of Terrorist Financing," *The American Journal of International Law* 97, no. 2 (April 2003): 320.

⁵Amnesty International Firefly Project. About Human Trafficking from the program, *No One Signs Up To Become a Slave*, Fall 2005, available from website: http://www.aifirefly.org/trafficking/about_human_trafficking.htm, Internet, accessed 3 May 2007.

⁶Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now* (New York: 2003) 6.

⁷Ibid., 41.

⁸United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, *Combating Human Trafficking in Kosovo, Strategy & Commitment*, May 2004, 6.

⁹Willy Deridder, Interpol General Secretariat, text of speech given February 18, 2002 at 17th Asian Regional Conference, Colombo, Sri Lanka, February 18-22, 2002; available from Interpol website: <http://www.interpol.com/public/ICPO/speeches/20020218.asp>, Internet, accessed 8 March 2007.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹²*National Public Radio Morning Edition* Interview "Moroccan Village Funnels Suicide Bombers to Iraq" April 25, 2007; available from the NPR website, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=9814476>, Internet, accessed 25 April 2007.

¹³Andy Eckardt, "Is North Africa an al-Qaida sanctuary?" April 14, 2007; available from the NBC News website, <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/18091667>, Internet, accessed 30 April 2007.

¹⁴ Ibid.

GLOSSARY

Empowerment. The human security term empowerment implies a bottom up approach. It aims at developing the capabilities of individuals and communities to make informed choices and to act on their own behalf.¹

Low-Income Country Under Stress (LICUS). The World Bank has used two criteria to define core and severe LICUS: per capita income within the threshold of International Development Association eligibility, and performance of 3.0 or less on both the overall Country Policy and Institutional Assessment rating and on the Country Policy and Institutional Assessment rating for Public Sector Management and Institutions. Some low-income countries without Country Policy and Institutional Assessment data are also included.

Depending on the income level and Country Policy and Institutional Assessment rating, a LICUS is classified in one of three subgroups: severe, core, or marginal. LICUS classified as “severe” have an overall and governance Country Policy and Institutional Assessment of 2.5 or less; LICUS classified as “core” have an overall and governance Country Policy and Institutional Assessment of 2.6–3.0; and LICUS classified as “marginal” have an overall and governance Country Policy and Institutional Assessment of 3.2. Marginal LICUS scores on the edge of what is considered a fragile state, and hence are identified by the Bank only for monitoring purposes (henceforth a LICUS refers to core and severe fragile states, not marginal LICUS).²

Protection. The human security term of protection refers to the norms, processes and institutions required to shield people from critical and pervasive threats. It implies a “top-down” approach. States have the primary responsibility to implement such a protective structure. However, international and regional organizations, civil society and non-governmental actors, and the private sector also play a pivotal role in shielding people from menaces.³

¹United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs; available from the Human Security website: <http://ochaonline.un.org/webpage.asp?Site=hsu>, Internet, accessed 27 March 2007.

²*Which Countries are LICUS?* World Bank website: available from http://www.worldbank.org/ieg/licus/licus06_map.html/, Internet, accessed 12 March 2007.

³United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs; available from the Human Security website: <http://ochaonline.un.org/webpage.asp?Site=hsu>, Internet, accessed 27 March 2007.

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