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**AIDS Activism Today: Reigniting the Spark**  
**Kaiser Family Foundation**  
**July 26, 2012**

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[START RECORDING]

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** – today. Reigniting the Spark. My name is Terry McGovern. I'm the senior program officer in HIV and Human Rights at the Ford Foundation. We'd like to begin with a very short video just to show some clips of activism over the years.

[Video played]

Okay, as you can see from the video, people living with HIV their allies in social justice and human rights movement have been a vital and driving force behind the global AIDS response. That first clip, I bet some people are wondering why is somebody from the Ford Foundation moderating an activism session?

In fact, that first clip – when I was a lawyer in 1987 and HIV started hitting New York City, I worked in a poverty law office. People were coming and dying of AIDS. I was, unfortunately, the only lawyer in the office who would take the cases, and because I didn't understand what was happening, the clients were dying without qualifying for benefits, for Medicaid, for housing for people with AIDS.

Predominantly women, but also low-income people, people of color. I went and stood in the back of Act Up who were talking about the AIDS definition in the US excluding, only being based on certain populations.

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We ended up filing a lawsuit in conjunction with Act Up. That first clip was the demonstration that happened the day that we filed the lawsuit. I am actually in awe of activism and its impact through this epidemic.

Without activism, we would have never come as far as we have in getting access to treatment and prevention. We would have never seen governments, or even organizational leadership such as UNAIDS and the IAS talk about certain fights, talk about human rights, talk about structural discrimination that puts women, men who have sex with men, sex workers, prisoners, migrants at risk. United in Anger has shown – there's been lots and lots of different references to activism over the years. What want to talk about today is activism today and the future of activism.

Our panelists, who I will introduce momentarily, are organizing and mobilizing communities whose human rights are violated on a daily basis. From transgender sex workers in Malaysia to drug users in Russia to women affected by AIDS and Central Asia and Egypt, this brave panel are organizing and agitating over human rights. It's our hope that in spotlighting their work, we will be energized to bring their struggles to the center of all that we do.

We call this panel Reigniting the Spark because there's the sense that activism is kind of being marginalized or tokenized as funding becomes more scarce, and AIDS activists

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become AIDS professionals and manage events even such as this one. When the funds run low, I know better than anyone, the first thing that gets defunded in civil society is activism. As we'll hear today, activism is alive and well. Let's acknowledge that by acknowledging the thousands out on the street on Tuesday for the Weekend in AIDS mobilization [applause].

That march called for a tax on Wall Street and a stop to cuts to the global and domestic AIDS services. The Robin Hood income tax is an example of how AIDS movements are working with broader economic justice movement including Occupy Wall Street. It demanded to end AIDS in the U.S. with implementation of the national HIV/AIDS strategy, the AIDS housing, lift the ban on syringe exchange.

We need full access to AIDS and reproductive health services worldwide for women and LGBTQ people. We need accountability from big pharma and government officials around the world [applause]. We need to stop global criminalization of sex workers, drug users and people living with AIDS [applause]. Let's acknowledge the Sex Worker Freedom Festival in Calcutta - we'll hear from a speaker there in just a minute - and the Ensuring That Our Voice Is Heard preconference in Kiev. We'll also hear from Alexei about this. These two events happened because when sex worker and drug user activists realized that the U.S. government travel restrictions meant

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that they would not be able to attend the conference, they organized to make sure their voices got heard. That's activism.

Of course, we need to end the war against women, and once and for all, deal with violence against women [applause]. I want to thank the point person for this session, Juajita Chavez-El [misspelled?] and Julia Greenberg [applause], who really was instrumental in putting this together. Thank you.

We're going to start with Alexei Kurmanaevskii, a board member of the International Network of People Who Use Drugs. Alexei has been working in harm reduction and HIV for many years. He will talk about his advocacy on behalf of Russian people who use drugs, including the fight for substitution therapy. He's going to show a brief video clip from the Kiev Drug Users Hub. It is absolutely an honor to welcome him to the stage [applause].

**ALEXEI KURMANAEVSKII:** Thank you, all of you guys, that you're here. I'm so happy to be here and speak with you today. It's very appreciated. I'm proud of this because I see that people, which are sitting in this hall, know and are thinking in the same way like me.

Yesterday, I was thinking about this session, and I was thinking about whole days that I've spent in this conference and this big experience for me. First of all, I want to say a few words about my life in Russia and was going on to make sure

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that you understand what my motivation is to be an activist. I am 31 years old. I have two sons and family in Russia. I began to use drugs when I was 15. It's more than 15 years I'm using drugs, and I've lived with HIV more than 10 years.

The first experience in my life when someone came and gave me the hand of help, and I'm starting to be a part of the community of drug use, it was a harm reduction program which began work in my city in 1999. In this program, I was invited like a drug user, and the direction of program asked me. She needed to know how she could make her will to help people who use drugs in reality, asking me how I can talk with drug users, what they needed, and also talking about risks with HIV.

I'm here to present my work for today. I'm here trying to reignite a spark, and I'm here to make you understand that were together and we're moving in the same ways.

In Russia, we have lived in terrible country. For example, drug users in my country are still criminalization, and drug using is a crime in my country. This is a big problem because today we have all instruments, all tools to make HIV infections stopped, to make anything to help people to get access for treatment. The whole world has very good experience.

We have broken many rules. We have changed our laws in our countries, but unfortunately, in my country, it doesn't work. People are still dying. How we can mobilize our

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community of drug users for me is a question for today also. Of course, when I look at international experience, for example, International Network of People Who Use Drugs, when our I walked in today, I saw that the people can change their lives and can make their lives much happy and much safety and can say that what they want with open face.

In Russia, where I live, we have no access for substitution treatment to repair medication. Many people who were using drugs, they can get no access for any medications because of stigma and discrimination, and because they can be arrested only for the status of drug using.

Good examples of people who are trying to speak openly with the international society, with our authorities about their problems, for example [inaudible] you can see her face in the picture. Unfortunately, we are deeply concerned about consequences, what we have one we're trying to speak with our government. People are going to prison just for the - they're trying to be heard; they speak about the problems, and they get their problems again and again.

You can see the faces of our activists which are now in prison, and they also in prison are trying to fight for their rights. With big support of international community, we can get some influence for our government and try to mobilize our community of the drug users. I do believe that everyone, if

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you wish something inside the bottom of your heart, you believe in it, and you can achieve this result.

Unfortunately, in my country, many people cannot believe in life. They see every game and they don't have any rights, and this is but the reason why it is so hard to make people mobilize, to make people believe that there are still alive and they don't need to survive; they can live a full life. It's a big problem. With you guys, with international community, every year, every month, we've been touched, and we make our common actions – we make our movement together.

I just want to show a video [inaudible] from Kiev Hub where was a big meeting of drug users from all parts of USSR and how we're trying to create our network. I think that the time has come when the drug users can stand with the open face and say that they need to live. That wants to live, and they need to be happy [applause].

[Video played -]

[Applause] Thank you. When we were in Kiev, many members of our community made messages to participants of this conference. I do hope that you can see it in the different videos. Today, for me, it's important to understand one thing. Every human in the world has the right to be happy and the right to live their own life, the right to a personal life. I think that in our war with AIDS, a war with consequences from AIDS, if there are no activists, I think that this world can be

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without us. I do believe that every change can be only with our participation in this.

I want to say the words of thanks for all of us who are supporting us because today, for example, I hear there was an event on the radio, Voice of America, where one of the professional addictional doctor talking with one of our Russian authorities. They also brought the question about substitution therapy and why the Russians deny this medication, that people still made this. The answer from our authority was, I'm here just for two persons in Russia who are asking for substitution treatment. One of Alexei Kurmanaevskii's men, but you can see him in conference. That means that's alright with him.

Another one is [inaudible] which are also going to the European Court with her proposal. Now she's still in Ukraine, and he get the methadone treatment in Ukraine because he can't do it in Russia. He got deep consequences for this. I understand that we need to mobilize all people, get to believe that we can achieve results. For example, you can see on the slides what we're doing. Russia is still catching the rest of the people who are wanting to save all their programs.

This is the last message. [Video played]

[Applause] I think that's all of time. Thank you for being with me, and I wish you luck and love and happiness to your feminists [applause].

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**TERRY MCGOVERN:** Next, we'll hear from Khavtini Slamah from the Sex Worker Freedom Festival in Calcutta. Khavtini Slamah is a transgender sex worker, a long-time activist on transgender and sex worker rights, and has been working on HIV/AIDS for the last 23 years. She's a board member of the Global Network of Sex Worker Projects. She currently works with the Asia Pacific network of Sex Workers as coordination and networking officer, and she's based in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Please run the video.

[Video played]

**KHAVTINI SLAMAH:** Hi, good afternoon. I'm bringing to you live from Calcutta the Sex Workers Freedom Festival. You might be thinking why I'm in Calcutta. My name is Khavtini. I'm the board of directors of the Network of Sex Work Project. I'm also the staff of the Asia [inaudible] Network of Sex Workers, also, the founder and the working group of the Asia [inaudible] Transgender Network.

Why I'm in Calcutta and not Washington? As you all know, the restriction. The travel restriction in entering the U.S. We sex workers are been banned from entering the U.S. In violates my right. I've got the right to travel. That's why we should demand, we sex workers demand there should not be any restriction for sex workers to travel. We sex workers last year, in Kenya, over 2000 mobilized outside on the streets to demand for a law reform.

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We also, sex workers, large part of our also demand and advocate for treatment to keep the generic drugs in Asia low price. That is what we demand. We demand cheap drugs to be affordable for everyone who are HIV-positive. I think as you all know, we – in Washington, the sex workers, I don't think you can enjoy like us here in Calcutta. We had fun. We had parties. We had meetings. We had workshops [applause]. We love what we are doing here.

We all talk. We all discuss and language for us is not a barrier. I believe that all of you in Washington will miss us and Calcutta [applause]. We in Calcutta sent a message to the world to everyone who watch this that sex work is work. We demand equal rights [applause].

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** Thank you, Khavtini. Sounds good. I now have the pleasure of introducing Gina Brown. Gina Brown will bring the discussion back to the United States and talk about the southern region of the U.S. We're right at the tip of the southern region here.

And Gina Brown is a medical case manager at No AIDS Taskforce in New Orleans, Louisiana. Gina is also a woman living with HIV for 18 years. She's a mother, a grandmother, an activist; women's issues are her expertise, and she is, of course, a public speaker. Gina recently completed grad school. She holds a master's degree in social work. She advocates on a local and national level [applause], and mentors others so they

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can play a role in the fight for women's rights. Gina, please come up [applause].

**GINA BROWN:** Hello. How y'all doing? As Terry said, I am a woman living with HIV. I was diagnosed back in 1994 while I was pregnant with my daughter. I didn't get into this fight for me. I started this fight for my daughter and other girls like her who are affected but not infected.

When we talk about activism, you can talk about activism with them talking about the civil rights movement. We know that that was born in the south. Most people think about Martin Luther King when they hear about civil rights. I'm going to talk about some fierce women who were involved in this thing [applause].

I'll start off talking about Fannie Lou Hamer [applause]. Ms. Hamer was born in Mississippi in 1917. Growing up in Mississippi in the '20s, '30s, and '40s, she'd really had no rights. She demanded a place. She started the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party because at that time, the Democratic Party didn't have any black members.

What they did was they went to the 1964 convention and demanded a place there. You don't hear a lot about her. When you hear about civil rights, you think about Coretta Scott King. That was Martin Luther King's backbone. She was the one that held everything together really [applause]. Think about

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it. She had his kids; he went to jail. She had to make sure things still ran right. She was his backbone.

Another woman who was well-known in civil rights era is Rosa Parks. We know that Rosa one day got on a bus, and she sat down, and she refused to get up. They had take her to jail. Those three women were really instrumental in how activism with females look today, but not only them.

Also, Gloria Steinem. She was the mother of feminism. She had women burning their bras, being free. Someone told me yesterday a quote that she said. "We've become the men that we want to marry." That's amazing [applause]. That is amazing.

Another woman that I look to when I'm thinking about activism is Ms. Deon Haywood of New Orleans [applause]. I don't know how many people know about the work that this wonderful woman is doing with Women With A Vision. Not only does she go out there and be an activist and advocate for different things for women, but she opened her offices up to women. She made sure that we always had a safe space to meet. If you needed a meal, you could go there and get a snack. If you were homeless and you needed a change of clothes, you could go there and get that.

On May 25 of this year, somebody decided to kick in her door at her agency and set it on fire. On June 1 would have been the first day that they would've started giving the homeless women a place to come in and get a snack and change

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clothes, but all of that was gone. She didn't let that stop her, and that's what I love about her. She got on the news. She talked about it. She put it on Facebook. Everybody knew about it, and that's how it was supposed to be.

She also challenged the police because they act like she somehow did this to her own agency. She challenged them. We think it goes back to some work that she was doing for the last couple of years. In Louisiana, we have something called crime against nature laws. If a woman offers a guy a blowjob or anybody offers a blowjob or anal sex, you get crime against nature. When you go to court and you get convicted of it, you become a sex offender, and you have to register as if you did something to some woman or some little child. It goes on your ID or driver's license in red. You can't get a job.

She saw that there was a need to do something about this, and she started advocating for women. She went up and she challenged over governor, Bobby Jindal. This year, they had a real success. There is no longer any crime against nature. You don't have to register anymore [applause].

I'm a different kind of advocate. Deon is human rights. My focus is HIV in women [applause] because I can remember when I was diagnosed, the way I was given my diagnosis. I can remember that when I came into this thing, there weren't any women standing up that I know talking about it. I think all the time about if I kept my voice silent, how

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many more women would be affected? Sometimes we have to step out even we don't want to.

In my mind, when I'm thinking about advocating and activism, there's three groups that I know that I have to meet or leased get involved. That's other positive women – and I tell them all the time, if you don't want your face to be shown, pick up a phone and call your legislator. E-mail people. You don't have to show your face to become an activist.

Our affected children, especially our daughters. We have to train them so that they can stand side by side with us and do this work [applause]. More important than that, we have to involve the larger community. HIV is not something that just happens in little pockets. It affects a community. Why shouldn't the community be involved in activism?

When we're having health fairs, when we're having marches, whatever were doing, we get the community involved, and it will go on and on and on. I always tell people whenever I'm talking, especially to a group that's not like this, people who know about HIV, I say take what I've told you back to your community and tell somebody. Tell my story. I don't mind because we have to bring a face to this thing, and we have to bring a human touch to it. To me, that's what activism is.

I'm willing to keep doing what I'm doing, but I'm getting old, y'all. As Terry said, I have to have two

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grandbabies [laughter], but I have a 17-year-old daughter. I've taught her everything I know [applause], and I kicked her out there. Now she's doing it. We've got to keep this fight going until there's a cure.

Melanie who's with change told me the other day, "There's no place for discrimination in an AIDS-free generation." Remember that [applause].

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** I think I'm very lucky to be with this panel. I now have the pleasure of introducing Eman Said. Eman Said is with us from Egypt. She is a consultant with the UNAIDS Regional Office, she's the coordinator of Mina Rosa [misspelled?] and head of the board of the NGO Friends of Life which is the first NGO for people living with HIV in Egypt. Welcome, Eman [applause].

**EMAN SAID:** Also, I am HIV-positive from 11 years ago [applause]. Today, I don't talk about Egypt. But I need to talk about our region because our region, the same problem in each and every country in our region. From the first, I need to tell you about HIV in our region.

From a slow start, HIV is growing in the Middle East and North Africa region. Our region is one of only two regions in this world where the number of new infection and death from AIDS-related case is still [inaudible] women living with HIV [inaudible] 13-percent. The problem is women in our region, it's a high number for us.

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In this time, some women living with HIV, thinking about our problems, we need to do something for us because the man, he can get what he needs. The woman, no. At this time, my colleague, Rita, and I are thinking how to and do something for this woman. It's Mina Rosa. Mina Rosa, this is the first group four women living with HIV in the Middle East and North Africa [applause].

Mina Rosa, from where are we getting this name? This name, Rosa, it's the first lady in USA to fighting for the black [applause]. The second thing, Rosa, is a flower. Flowers, it's thick us the smell and [laughter].

We do things from the first beginning to Mina Rosa. We need to do the search. We're doing the searching for [inaudible] countries. This is the red countries. It's Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon, Iran, Yemen, Djibouti. This is all the country we make the research for women with living with HIV. The number we can get and make focused discussions with them is 140.

After we finished this researching, we're doing the first report, and we publish it now. We didn't get to bring it with us, but we have first of summary in this table if you needed to read it. You can also go on the web site with UNAIDS, because UNAIDS published it for us.

This is some quote from what the woman living with HIV telling us. I tell one from them. I think it's very good

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comment. The doctor tell me, you have got AIDS. This means you are not a good person. If I am HIV person, I am not good person. This is not true. I am the mother, and I am a wife. Why I am not good person?

This is what all of the people think and compare with us. We have a lot of recommendation. We need to do it after this report. Now we're going to work and this year to do a lot of things. We need to make a lot of workshops for women living with HIV to get how to prove them. We need to do a lot of things for these women to increasing, to fighting, to fight the disconnection, and I hope to do something in this Mina region, in our Mina region.

Finally, I would like to thank you and this Rosa to start to opening. We need all of the world to help us to do this [applause].

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** There are so many different examples of activism on behalf of men who have sex with men, on behalf of transgender people. All over the world, there's activism. We've tried to choose, and we've had many shifting – people unable to get in because of restrictions, visas, so we've had lots of shifts in who's speaking. We've tried to bring forward people that we don't usually hear who are really doing incredibly courageous work.

I want to thank Selbi Jumayeva for joining us relatively late in the day because we realized that we needed a

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young person on this panel, not that we're not all young [laughter], but we were looking – were still alive. Selbi is a 25-years-young feminist activist from Kyrgyzstan, Central Asia. She has served two terms as an elect board member of the LGBT organization. Her activism inspired her to undertake academic work in critical sexuality studies first at the Sociology Program of American University of Central Asia, and later, a master's of arts program in Human Rights at the University of Essex.

Selbi recently founded a new grassroots organization, the Bishkek Feminist Collective. Welcome, Selbi.

**SELBI JUMAYEVA:** Hi, everyone. I joined a little bit later than everyone, but I have to speak of youth-led activism. First of all, it's very important to say that Central Asia is also [inaudible] republic. It's a part of Eastern Europe and Central Asia region which now has the fastest growing epidemic HIV, and at the same time has governments that get more and more politically repressive, but more like a dictatorship where NGOs are getting criminalized so it's very hard to get registered and are particularly prosecuted.

While I'm speaking about youth-led activism, and we are often hearing at the conference here that young people are most affected; that is 50-percent of infections. I have to say in Eastern Europe and Central Asia's fastest growing epidemic, there is no age-segregated data on Central Asia or Eastern

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Europe. It's a very big problem, it's a problem also because all of this problematic or rather awful stigmatizing concepts of race groups have been taken so literally in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

Also taken into account, the Soviet legacies that were so apolitical, and then into apolitical community. We get those problematic public health concepts that double de-politicize our communities and then literally make them feel like they must act homogenically; put them into this mental framework. That's how we have problems, that the diversity and heterogeneity within our communities are not recognized.

The sex workers, my prince, people living with HIV, it's drug users; it's LGBT. While we're speaking of LGBT, I'm speaking on behalf of LGBT organization, LABRAS [misspelled?]. We were the first LGBT organization in the region. It was very important for us to be called LGBT. Not MSM, not HIV-prevention, youth-leading organization because we wanted to bring identity back in. We also wanted to talk about [applause].

While we were discussing a little bit before the session about [inaudible], right? We have to remember that although MSM but has been appropriated, and has been an entry point for many countries to criminalize homosexuality - it's not that I don't respect people who are MSM identified because people appropriated it. What we have to remember is that the

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first time this approach taken from a very homophobic, heteronormative perspective.

Take into concept this happening in Eastern Europe, Central Asia where before, homosexuality and was [inaudible] pathologized and criminalized. I know that the U.S. movement in the '70s had to fight to get rid of this burden within a body of LGBT communities. You had to get rid of the burden of illness, of crime, and then HIV put this burden back into these demographics, with public health, with all these concepts. In the late '90s, homosexuality was decriminalized and post-Soviet republics. Then we have this neoliberal approach of MSM just being imposed [inaudible]. That's why we didn't see the rise of LGBT movement as such in many other countries because but it was double burden, like out of one desocialization [misspelled?] back into marginalization [misspelled?] of LGBT bodies.

That's why for us it was very important to bring human rights and justice concepts back into the HIV response and place them as central. I have to say the LGBT group was started by young gay and young lesbian and bisexual women, and then transgender men [applause].

Again, talking about women and feminism are central in the response. It's very important. It gave a space for many young, and also the older generation of gay and bisexual men, transgender women to find the safe space where they could finally be not a source of infection and be [inaudible] imposed

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but why this public health outreach, but finally find where they can be themselves, and they can build relationships. Those were the feelings and aspirations. Emotions were also important to be themselves.

I have to the say that Kyrgyzstan is so far one of very few countries – Alexei will agree – that has harm reduction services. Still, although, it's always at the threat of being closed down. We have a very strong community of sex workers, at right now also have a drug users movement, and women and drug users movement has been very strong. They've started raising the issue of gender and sexuality, reproductive and sexual health, and also role of man in [inaudible] violence against women in the communities.

I'm an ally of young drug user, women drug users community and they're right now trying to raise awareness about age discrimination and all those issues of parental consent that doesn't allow them to access the services. We have to remember when we talk about youth-led activism, do actually young people have access to youth-led activism? Teenagers that [inaudible] because of parental consent, and also for women of an age of sexual consent, and it's a marriage. They don't have the agencies.

When we talk about young people we have to remember about agency. That's why we started feminist collective. With feminist collective, we wanted to politicize again the movement

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because you were right to have said that AIDS activists became professionals. To be professional is very important, but it's still de-politicized.

I understand why; because capitalism is on the rise, neoliberalism. Many activists didn't have access to jobs and the activist's identity has been stigmatized so much in the HIV movement that we have to become consultants. We have to become professionals.

We see how de-politicized our movement, and there is no noise made it all. There is no anymore this critical intervention. That's why we thought we need to bring feminism into our movement, so we start feminist collective [applause].

There's not any more of these critical interventions, so that's why we thought we need to bring feminists into our movement, so with our feminists collective, and so when we talk about human rights and discrimination, we really stress on prejudice and the importance of cultural interventions, especially in countries where rule of law doesn't work, because in Central Asia and Eastern Europe, rule of law doesn't work. Communities don't even trust and they don't believe that rule will rescue, yes, so rescue, that's why we wanted to focus on a cultural interventions and a political mobilization.

Political mobilization is not possible unless HIV movement will recognize the importance of building solidarity of LGBTQI, yeah? Because this MSM approach has been, like,

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it's just segmented our movement and we can see that while gay women have their own movement, like feminists and they address violence against women, police harassment, discrimination, hate crimes, the burden and responsibility of young, gay and bisexual men, MSM, is to do outreach, outreach all the time.

They say they are frustrated. They want to be together, they feel like these treatments are political power as a community. That's why we, it's important equal address all those people in LGBT community women, and men, transgender and intersex people.

We also focused on solidarity, agency, emancipation and ownership. Those are things that are key concepts that we have to remember in HIV movement and right now also discussing about funding, everyone says like, how to fund, we have to remember feminist ways of alternative resource mobilization without monitoring resources, but when we do talk about financial funding, it's impossible without services and services have been forgotten for many years.

We have very few shelters in Central Asia, very few peer harm reduction services and it's been very hard for the community to have evidence based advocacy without having the services, so we have to again and again remind those people who are in power and the decision makers that without primary services and without engaging the youth led community organizations, it will be impossible.

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I just wanted to say that. Thank you. [Applause].

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** We're going to actually turn to the audience in a second. I just wanted to ask a somewhat obvious question. We're hearing a lot throughout this conference about treatment as prevention, we can end this epidemic because we now can have treatment as prevention. Why is it that it's not as simple as just getting treatment to people? [Applause].

**GINA BROWN:** Think about it. People who are HIV positive are not always as adherent as they should be to their meds, so someone who was negative and had an option to take a certain drug, would they be as adherent? And then who's going to pay for it? So that's why I think it's not as simple as we say what we know it can't be done because women have proved it in 076 when we took AZT while we were pregnant and gave it to our babies and our babies are negative.

**SELBI JUMAYEVA:** I just want to add that adherence is impossible without human rights, just basic humans rights of people. All of our communities are blamed for not being adherent, but how can they be adherent when they're on the streets, they don't have housing? They cannot have [interposing applause].

**ALEXEI KURMANAEVSKII:** I think that we get shot for epidemic of HIV. All that we need is [inaudible] treatment, syringes and needles, condoms and no discrimination. That's all. [Laughter].

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**TERRY MCGOVERN:** Okay, does the audience have questions? Please come up to the mics if you'd like to ask the panelists something. Yes, to the right. Can you identify yourself?

**TERESA SULLIVAN:** Yeah, as soon as I can reach it, my name is Teresa Sullivan on the National Steering Committee for the Positive Women's Network. Thank you so much. This question is for Gina Brown. In the southern region of the United States, could you tell us how many women are living with HIV today?

**GINA BROWN:** I can't tell you a number, but I can you tell you in Louisiana, okay, the national percentage is 24-percent and Louisiana is 21.7-percent.

**TERESA BROWN:** Wow, thank you. And I also want to say y'all were fabulous. Thank you.

**ELON:** My name is Elon, I'd like to first start by saying to you Terry that I have the privilege of watching the screening How to Survive a Plague a couple of days ago and I'm a person living with HIV and in a minute, I will say from which country.

I get pissed off every day at my judicial system in my country, at my medicine, at my everything and that movie really reminded me that being pissed off is what gets me to do all this work, so thank you for that. My comment question goes to Eman. I am from a country who is in your region in the middle

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east who was obliterated from the map that you showed and I'm from Israel and we have HIV/AIDS in Israel, we have almost 8,000 people living with it in Israel, all from different walks of life. How are we going to overcome HIV/AIDS if we can't overcome our political differences? [Applause].

**EMAN SAID:** It's different between you and Israel and our region because I think you have a lot of money and have a lot of response.

**ELON:** We have the same virus.

**EMAN SAID:** Yes, I know.

**ELON:** Your virus is my virus. It sees nothing. It sees nothing. It sees you and me and that's it.

**EMAN SAID:** Yes, but you have a lot of access, but in our region, not.

**ELON:** We'd love to help. We'd love to do what we can and work with you.

**EMAN SAID:** Yes.

**ELON:** It's okay to hand clap. It's okay, it's not about political, it's not about politics, it's about being human. That's what it's about.

**EMAN SAID:** I hope in the future we can work together to do something for us.

**ELON:** It starts now. It doesn't start in the future. It starts now. Now how are we going to get to the three zeros?

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Zero discrimination. Zero AIDS-related deaths and zero new HIV infections if we can't get over these things now.

**EMAN SAID:** It's not my decision, Elon. Okay. Yes, it's a political, it's not my decision, believe me.

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** Okay. Yes, in the back.

**ALA CURRY:** Hi. Ala Curry, I've been an HIV nurse specialist for 24 years and I'm intentionally not going to tell you where work because I want to share a story with Eman that I think really highlights what she's doing and the importance of it.

I work in an academic medical center and 18 years ago this month, a young woman from Cairo flew to Washington DC and then onto a medical center, by way of Israel, having learned that she was HIV positive. When her diagnosis was disclosed to her husband, he left. She was named as damaged goods and she was certain she could not safely seek any care or medical attention for HIV in Cairo.

She has actually continued to come to the mid Atlantic every six months for 18 years to get her HIV care. We've worked through all kinds of systems to secure medication for her. I'm happy to tell you that she's doing well now. She was desperately ill when she first came to us. There are barely two people on earth that know her diagnosis because as an aside, her husband died three years later and her mother and father know her diagnosis. They have sold property and

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liquidated almost all of their assets over these many years to enable her to come back here every six months.

So I share that story with you as a real life example of the extremes that women are driven to when in a situation like yours and I can only applaud you so much and yearn for the day when she doesn't feel like need to get on an airplane and travel halfway around the world to get something that she needs and deserves. [Applause].

**TERESA SULLIVAN:** Teresa Sullivan again. So for us to realize treatment as prevention to become a reality, first we have to meet people's basic needs. First of all, people cannot adhere to medications if they have to make the choice between taking their medications and putting food in their belly. People can't make the difference of taking medications and whether they're positive or negative, they don't have a roof over top of their head. Right? So when we take both of those and make them equal planes, then they will become a reality and treatment as prevention will work globally. [Applause].

**FEMALE SPEAKER 1:** Yes, I just want to make a comment. I want to everybody to stand up. Could you all just stand up? Because when we're talking about reigniting the spark of activism, the first that we have to do is stand up, speak out like these people are here on this panel, stand up, act out, we have to make our voice be heard. I loved the gentlemen who said there was anger. We are not angry enough about this virus

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anymore. We have become very complacent about this virus because we thought there was enough medications to go around, we thought there was enough money to go around and now that everything is drying up, we have to get busy. We have to remember how we got where we are today.

We didn't get where we are today because we sat in conferences. We didn't get where we are today because we sat inside of board meetings. We got where we are today because we took it to the streets. We took it to decision makers who had the power to give us what we wanted. And I think that's what we need to remember and I thank you all for standing up for me and you're standing up with me today.

We need to stand with one another. You know? I would like, my question to the panelist is, what do you want us to do? Because as a woman living with HIV, I've been taught never to tell my story without asking for something from the audience, so tell us what you want us to do, tell us where you want us to be, tell us what you want us to sign, tell us what you want us to give, tell us what you need us to say with you. Give out your websites, you know, and stuff like that. Let us know what you need.

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** I think maybe you should tell us  
[laughter].

**FEMALE SPEAKER 1:** So, yeah, I'm very serious though.  
This session was not something it wasn't a dream, it was

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something that was a need. You know? We knew that we were going to be preaching to the choir when we got here and I need everybody to make sure that you exchange cards. There's people here who have not been heard. There are people here who came from everywhere who did not get to speak on the platform today.

Those people should be coming to the mics, those people should be letting us know that you're in the room, those people should be letting us know that they're hurting because our pain is our pain together and I think that what we need to do is no longer suffer in silence, but be able to reach out and if you have information that you want to give, if you have information, I think that just stick around, come up to the front, we have this room for a few minutes and do the exchanges that you need.

A lot of people don't know who you are if you haven't had information at the table to put it on. Bring it up to the front. This is our session. We can make this session whatever we want it to be, whatever we need it to be, we're people with AIDS are attack! What do we do?

**AUDIENCE:** Act up! Fight back!

**FEMALE SPEAKER 1:** When women with AIDs are under attack, what do we do?

**AUDIENCE:** Act up! Fight back!

**FEMALE SPEAKER 1:** When sex workers are under attack, what do we do?

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**AUDIENCE:** Act up! Fight back!

**FEMALE SPEAKER 1:** When drug users are under attack,  
what do we do?

**AUDIENCE:** Act up! Fight back!

**FEMALE SPEAKER 1:** When poor people are under attack,  
what do we do?

**AUDIENCE:** Act up! Fight back!

**FEMALE SPEAKER 1:** When homeless people are under  
attack, what do we do?

**AUDIENCE:** Act up! Fight back!

**FEMALE SPEAKER 1:** We act up! We fight back! We speak  
out, we stand up, we fight back, we fight back, we speak out,  
we stand up, we fight back, we fight back, we speak out, we  
stand up, we fight back.

We cannot retreat. Now that we are here, we cannot  
retreat, not now. We are so close. We are so close. Roll  
your sleeves up, put your little, what? Nikes on and just do  
it. Thank you. Thank you. [Applause].

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** Does anybody want to respond now or  
maybe we should just do that after? I don't know, I think that  
maybe we should leave it right there. No!

**SELBI JUMAYEVA:** I think what we should say is we are  
all panelists here in this room, right? Then I think that we  
should practice uniform solidarity, you know, what's happening  
in each of the region, like who is the strongest, just like

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Alex says, what really helps is the transnational activist networks, and we often forget about it and we should support our networks, support each other, be in solidarity.

Also, I personally was very excited to see the conference happening in the US because I'm from a different, not really, honestly, but like sometimes, when I'm at the meetings of so-called developing countries, I notice how even my peers in other countries do not recognize the human rights violations of people living with HIV, of sex workers, of migrants, you know, of LGBT, in so-called Global North.

I think that solidarity means that we finally break down this false acts of difference of Global North and Global South and finally see the real intersection that we need to address and it's just sad to see that both in so-called Global South, people are not aware, and here with so-called Global North, you frustrated with crimes against nature, you frustrated that you don't have universal access to healthcare, no corporations, commodifying your rights to healthcare to education to freedom of movement, you talk about accessing to the United States and everything, so I think it's about solidarity and finally breaking down the South Global North difference.

**GINA BROWN:** I think she's older than she told us.

**EMAN SAID:** I have one question for the Global Fund.

The Global Fund, why you stop fund for us? The Fund, it's

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very, very important for the people living in the Middle East and North Africa. This Fund, we can get treatment. It fund everything we need, now you stop it, now you kill all the people living who's HIV living in the Middle East and North Africa. [Applause].

**ALEXEI KURMANAEVSKII:** There was a date, the 21<sup>st</sup> of July when the world celebrates Remembrance Day of people who will die from drugs and last year, I had the great support from different countries from Europe, we would bring our presents, it will be the white slippers, it's a symbol of death in Russia and red flowers to the embassies of Russia in different states and different countries of Europe.

We're asking one question: what you suggesting for people who using drugs and can't stop doing this and living this HIV in your country? I promise that every year until they give their answer, we will bring their white slippers to our Minister of Health, to our Minister of Drug Policy in which they are grieving our people. Thank you. [Applause].

**HARLAN PRUDEN:** My Harlan Pruden and I'm with the Northeast Two Spear Society. I work with the LGBT and Two Spirit Society identified Native Americans in New York City and I'm also a lead facilitator for the National Confederacy of the Two Spirit Organizations across the country and there's fifteen unfunded Two Spirit organizations and I wish that I would've gone before you, but I have to come after you because for my

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own activism, rarely are Native Americans brought to the table and rarely if never are Two Spirit people brought to the table to discussing not only HIV/AIDS, but a whole host of issues of co-determinants that are facing my community. I struggle as a leader that I am accountable to my community and I sat here in honor to the panelists, it'll go. My eyes are sweaty.

But I struggle as an activist within this community with this marginalization of my community and how do I bring voice, an effective voice and meaningful change within my community, when one, I am denied access to the table, within the federal agencies like Indian Health Services and a whole host of other federal agencies for my community and my community bearing the brunt of the Native MSM, Two Spirit community being the face of this epidemic within the Native community here in the United States as well as in Canada.

I have to look at my activism and I hear the Spirit of yelling and screaming, but at the same time, I have to be effective for my community so that when I make it to the table, how do I temper my activism so that I can actually go back to my community and deliver something to my community?

For the last eight months, I had been in this soul searching, looking at leadership, my own leadership and my own activism and then how do I then either do it with a smile or how do I temper and get exactly what I need to have to that I

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can then start doing meaningful, well, to deliver back to my community.

The work is always meaningful, and so I'd like to hear from the panelists and other people in the room as activists, what is that fine balance? Or is there a balance? Because I don't want to be the person that is in the room, that when I get into the room that people don't start talking to me, not returning emails because I'm just that angry Indian and here he is going on about those Two Spirit people and all that other crap, and I have to find that temper and that sweet spot between the energy that we saw over here and also not selling out my community and making sure that they have an effective voice at the table, so thank you so much. [Applause].

**GINA BROWN:** I was going to say, you have to demand a place at the table and you know what? It's okay if you are angry. I'm an angry black woman. I sit at the table and every time the discussion comes around to me, I talk about women. So they try to go the other way, you know, they don't want to start on my side of the table and they go the other way and they hope that they run out of time before they get to me, but I always bring, because I know that if I don't do it, nobody else is doing it in my city. And it has to be done.  
[Applause].

**ALEXEI KURMANAEVSKII:** I also feel deeply responsible for all part of community because I shared the experience, I

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see from the experience that when I am trying to push people to be elected is, I challenging them with this energy and they're going to do something and that has consequences. They put us in jail. And also, if I extend from my community, I must thinking about what I'm trying to decide what I do every day, how I speak about them, what I'm saying and what the purpose of my work, and if I can ask these questions for me, that's all I need, I think.

**SELBI JUMAYEVA:** I think there are so many activisms and that you can do, it's not only about protesting or, because sometimes protesting is amazing, you know, yelling is amazing, but sometimes you have to use other strategies, and I think again, if we come back to the word strategy, that sometimes we forget, like we as activist, we burned out, we're tired, we have to do everyday routines that are also very crucial to our activism can get sometimes people say it's boring, but it's so necessary, yet it's activism.

We can forget the vision, so I think we should again share, knowledge sharing, resource sharing, support each other in creating the strategies, again, using the transnational networks, local networks, sometimes you can have crazy radical groups that is ready to yell, but you cannot yell because you have to, as you said, bring back, maybe then ask this group, in solidarity to yell for you, while you have an negotiations, you know? In the office?

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That's what we're for, each other, but unfortunately sometimes our organizations don't recognize that and they have the protest each other and they say, oh, can you just be quiet so we can, but why not to use this noise? You know? Some people say, oh they have the privilege to take this risk and you don't and we shouldn't also because as activists, everyone is feeling such a responsibility and you feel so uncomfortable, why not to make government and people who are in these exhibition halls and all their corporate associations and so, they should be much more accountable. [Applause].

That's who we should hold accountable and not only as bring us to table and not demanding all the space that's at the table, but also regular membership in decision making and making processes of how we can be there. Please share your activist labor with other activists in your community. It can be exhausting. I think self-care, wellness and thinking about security is how we can be sustainable. Yeah.

**ALEXI KURMANAEVSKII:** And we also have the very good tool, all we live in countries, in which we have one law, I talk about Human Right Declaration and the things that can be achieved for shouting, like some actions, you can find some lawyers, some people who know how to work in this sphere, and going, going, going through the courts inside country and you can go out of country if you need and you can get support and you can check the same cases from the different countries all

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over the world and you can make the one process, but it's still get take them a lot of time, but we can't get, if you have another chance, you must use everything that you have.

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** Yes, I'm going to go to you. I just want to say, I think zero representation is unacceptable. I think that if activists had not acted up about all the lists that we had heard, then none of these things would have ever occurred and after activists make these breakthroughs, then it becomes the talk of the conference in five years as if it's always been there. So you have to look back in that history over and over and over again and keep pushing.

**MANDY SIMBALI:** My name is Mandy Simbali [misspelled? ]. I'm a South African AIDS activist and also scholar of AIDS activism. I've been involved over the years in student-led AIDS activism in the United States, in the United Kingdom and South Africa. I felt incredibly moved a few days ago when some of us marched on the White House when I saw my friend Marguerite Basilico, who is a student at Harvard Medical School, getting arrested.

That meant so much to me to see a very privileged American young person who is white and has blonde hair, wearing her Harvard medical student jacket and getting arrested and what I've also seen in South Africa, I'd like to give [interposing] [applause].

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What I've observed in South Africa especially and in other countries as well is that part of the power and strength of our movements is the cross-class dimension and some of those of us who have privilege actually putting our butts on the line on behalf of poor and marginalized people.

I'm saying this, I'm a Rhodes scholar, I studied at Oxford University and I did my postdoctoral training at Yale University and I've seen time and time again, when we have these alliances, it can be very powerful, but I also think we can be very hard on ourselves, because we can say, I'm here and I'm thinking about the people who live in slums in my own country who have nothing, who are living with HIV who are really struggling and then you can think, this place is a palace by comparison and I'm having all these nice conversations and meals with people, but then we forget and we're hard on ourselves because actually those of us who are AIDS activists are hijacking this meeting in our own ways to build our own networks, to make advocacy plans for future and so I think that should always be our goal, to take the elite comfortable air conditioned spaces that UNAIDS, International AIDS Society offers us to, on the fringes after hours, keep doing our organizing, and our movement building and our movement strengthening.

The final thing I wanted to say was the power of intergenerational communication. One of the things that I do

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is I write about the history about the transnational HIV treatment access movement and always remembering and continuing to communicate across generations about organization and about what works, what doesn't.

I think one things that keeps people from stopping getting involved in activism is that they don't feel like they can make a difference and when you point out that 50 young people interrupting President Obama in Bridgeport led to him having been forced to talk about his Administration's global AIDS policies, that's inspiring to a lot of people because people can imagine getting 50 of their friends to show up and do something and that's just one of many examples that I could point out that we could all sort of point to, so that's all that I wanted to say. [Applause].

**FEMALE SPEAKER 2:** I came in a little bit late. I was just going to tell the gentleman that there's nothing wrong with that quiet strength of having that because knowledge is power. I'm planning council chair of Kansas City and I'm appointed by the mayor, so I try to avoid the front page, but there are many thing that I do behind the scenes.

There are some things that I have my folks to do that are also HIV positive. I'll call them up. I'll say, look, I need you to be at the table because I need you to vote and these are things that we need to do. These are initiatives for

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the community. And some of that is that quiet strength and you rally folks behind you.

I wanted to the criminalization stuff, but yet, I knew I couldn't flash it out there because of my role and my position, but because of the respect for the community, because they didn't see me as a threat, as an angry black woman, because I did come to the table, we had over 30 plus folks lining the room, not only just HIV positive, but providers as well, so don't be afraid to use that quiet strength and rally people behind you and at the same time gain that knowledge that you need to have to sit at the table in those areas.

**LAURIE SALTBUT:** My name is Laurie Saltbut [misspelled?] and I live in California. I think this might be a good group to know about an organization called Results. I've been in involved with Results for about four years and I came to Results frustrated because I wanted to know what I could do as an activist.

And they've given a lot of other people for the last 30 years, opportunities to exercise your political will and learn how to talk to the media and how to talk to your members of congress and speak to your community and we're set up in about 75 cities in the United States working on domestic and global poverty issues, so if you want to know more about how to get involved with Results, even just on their website, there's a

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lot of information about how to do those things I just mentioned so they're [www.results.org](http://www.results.org). Thanks.

**MATT CARTWRIGHT:** Hi, my name is Matt Cartwright, I live in New York City, I'm a person living with HIV and I also work with Housing Works. One of the things that struck me when I came to this conference was, I sat in these rooms and I started listening to panels of people talk about black men having sex with men and the panel was a white woman, a Jewish man, an old white man, there was no black men on the panel, and I started to get really angry and upset because I kept hearing a lot of statistics and a lot of numbers and all this clinical data and no solutions.

It's very easy for the academic and for the clinical people to talk about, listen, you don't have to tell me some of the stuff that you're telling me, it's very common sense if I'm living with it. I've been living with HIV for nine years and my biggest issue has been stigma and shame and getting up in front of a large group of people and saying, hi, I have HIV, because I've wanted to deny that part of me.

What I keep telling people is that, I'm a social worker also, so what I do is that my job is to empower people to make empowered choices because the journey of my life, is I've been a sex worker, I've been a transgendered person, I've been a drug addict, all those things in my past that have led me to HIV and I've referred to HIV in my life as healing in victory

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because it was my victory, because if I hadn't tested positive, I'd be dead or in jail from all the drugs that I was using, that's just what I was headed, but I didn't have any validation in my life.

So what I experienced within my community is the stigma and the shame of even dating. You go online and you try to meet people, it's like, neg for neg. You talk to people, I disclose my status and I immediately get like people just disappear and I'm like, you're online with me, you're not in person with me, but that stigma that keeps coming at me, not just from my community, but from my family, from my government, and what I've learned is that I have to empower myself because nobody is going to do it and when I stand as a model and lift up the person next to me, that's how I make change, that's how I'm an activist is one person at a time.

I have to look deep within myself and look at my judgments about women, about black people, about Latinos, about drug users, and look at my own discrimination and stigma that I'm shooting out at other people and realize that, oh shoot, I'm doing the same thing that somebody just did to me.

It's until I make that shift, and I sometimes get, I like to make a lot of noise and I want to kick a chair over and turn a car over. I came out of Queer Nation and Act Up in San Francisco, so I like that too, but I realized that the real

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activism for me and the real shift comes when I shift because when I show up as a different vibration, you show up.

So I don't have to get you to do anything, I have to show up as a representative of self-value, of self-worth and self-love and when I show up in love, you respond differently to me, so I don't even have to yell, I just have to do my inner work, and I think one of the things that's missing from this conference is providing people with solutions on how to make changes in their lives. Because we can talk numbers all we want, but until I value myself, I won't make valued and empowered choices. Thanks for letting me share. [Applause].

**CYNTHIA:** A few years ago, I'm sorry, my name is Cynthia and I work at WORLD, Women Organizers Response to Life-Threatening Disease, [applause] thank you, so a few years ago, I had one of those I'm burning out moments and my mother does black history tours. She's also an old Black Nationalist. I'm having this burn out period, my mother takes me on this tour with her and the tour is, I've crossed over the line, it's the tour where you go to find out what it took for people in the South to escape.

She said, "I want to tell you about my heroine. My heroine is a woman by the name of Harriet Tubman and she was pretty soft-spoken, but she was fierce and she had one model and that is when you get on this train, there's no going back."

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Now she enforced it in ways that we don't want to enforce it with guns, etcetera, but the point is that we all come to this with different gifts and different things that we bring. We're talking about making social change and I think the only way you can make social change is if everybody is engaged in the way that they can be engaged and we respect that and we open the door for that. [Applause].

I just want to say how much I appreciated hearing this broad-based panel because for me, that's been the takeaway of this conference, the opportunity to listen to different strategies, different opinions, and to realize, because I know that I don't know everything and I'm open for help and opinion and so hearing what you're doing, hearing my brother who talked about being two-natured and how hard that was for him, hearing those things reminds me that all we that we hope for is possible. Thank you. [Applause].

**FEMALE SPEAKER 3:** I'd like to thank everyone for their comments. I would just like to share another solution that I think because, yeah, I do agree that there has to be a tempered side, that tempered side gets invited to the White House, that tempered side gets to be the delegate at the United Nations, that tempered side gets to be a member of the CPC or the AIDS Conference here and I do have a tempered side and how I developed that was I spread myself across organizations, not just direct action organizations, but community advisory

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boards, not just locally, but I'm also apart of national organizations such as WORLD, I'm part of international organizations, ICW, I'll just spread myself around and spread myself around now. I just done spread myself around across different sources of organizations and you never know which organizations are going to get you in, so I have several hats that I wear and I want to say one more thing about that.

There's a continuum of community involvement. There's a continuum that we can go up and down and one day, I can do that, because I have a job and one day I can be a direct service person and at the end of the day I may be a direct national person. I may be a public interest person because I can help to write policy.

I may be a public advocate for somebody who doesn't know that I'm advocating for them, but I learned is that I don't have to be one kind of activist, I can be any and all of them whenever the occasion arises, so it's a complicated mix and you do have to find a balance and I believe that one of the ways that I found the balance was to align myself with not just one thing to show decision makers and heads of organizations that I am able to sit at the table, I can use a knife and fork, but I can also use a bullhorn. So there is a balance and we can all do those things. Thank you.

**VAL ROBB:** My name Val Robb, I'm a nurse in San Francisco and I've been working in San Francisco as a nurse

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since the early 80s, I spent about 12 years working in the Tenderloin as we figured out harm reduction and how to figure out how to care for dying homeless guys and women before the 90s and now I'm working mostly with, I call it Liver and Ladies, I'm actively fighting for us to have access to Hep C treatments and I work in a women's clinic at San Francisco General.

I've been really on this treatment as demand, on this universal treatment as treatment as prevention, I'm at one of the epicenter places, right? Off the hand I feel that the thing that excites me is the opportunity for my activist side and my nurse side to come together and to demand that we get bigger in our vision of this rollout that we are not separated, that treatment as prevention is not separated from all the other services and so I've been so blown away to be part of this. This is the best meeting, I haven't spoken at all and to say, okay, right, what universal treatment and treatment as prevention means is that we all have to be at the table and not to be separated in that.

So the idea that we can demand and that we can partner with this to say, oh my God! Y'all come up with a cure and the access for this now as part of our activist strategy! To me, that's what continues to unify. I may be naïve, I'm in San Francisco, I just may be really whatever, immature, weak, whatever, old tired activist , but thank you all for so much

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for speaking about the power of our universal spark. You've really made a difference for me today.

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** Thank you. We're actually almost at time, so one last question and then I'll give the panelists a chance for final remarks.

**ALEX:** Hi my name is Alex, I'm from Montreal, Canada. I've been living with HIV for 14 years. I'm from AIDS Action Now and the Canadian Treatment Action Council. I have a really practical question which is about financing social change work and funding activism. I'm a volunteer, or I'm here as a volunteer and as someone living with HIV, I feel a tremendous amount of responsibility in my community to act and I'm often called upon to act on behalf of people living with HIV in Canada, but as a volunteer and not provided any financial support.

I'm wondering if after 30 years of this epidemic, we're in these fancy convention centers, this conference costs like \$45 million, why are we not at a place where we have developed innovative ways to finance grass roots activism and I just wanted to ask you that. How do you do this work? What are your thoughts on financing our work for the future and being more systematic about it?

**ALEXI KURMANAEVSKII:** Well, I can say welcome. Welcome. Also, I can't say that I have financial support, but just for being here and when I go back home, I go to building

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it and to creating buildings again. I think that volunteer, to volunteer, mind you, but I think that it's, I cannot answer the question where we can get financial support, but I know one thing, if you got your aim, if you got the target, if you got good idea, if you got the way on how to achieve results, financial will be in the second question. We also can find it.

**SELBI JUMAYEVA:** I'm also new liberal unemployed volunteer activist, just like Alex, you know, at this conference, I had to speak a few times about funding to use organizations and I just repeat again and again that you could do every time you meet a funder, any represents of funding organization, say that, because at one session, they said young people aren't employed, they don't have jobs, they don't have education, but they have sex and stuff.

I got so frustrated, because I said, you know we do have jobs, we have jobs, but it's not paid and now I just repeat again that we have to, like, I personally biggest privilege ever, I've been since I was 15 years-old I've been funded actually by some of your tax dollars to your Department of State, I've been a fellow, been a scholar, I looked up scholarships.

That's why I could be a volunteer activist, but many of my peers in Central Asia, those who are drug users – also in Central Asia, kinship, family is the biggest thing, drugs users, sex workers, transgender people, queers, migrants, which

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is big issue without having citizenship or residence permits which is big in [inaudible].

It's so that you cannot have access, first of your feminists disown you, second of you, you either have access to education and these kind of privileges, so if you don't have registration receipts, you don't even have access to little bit of welfare if it is there.

That's why I demand all those funders to commit to direct funding to unregistered groups from the most effective communities of ours because they don't have this privilege at all and they should be running their own organizations, not just small project. Their jobs should be paid.

I think that's what we should do again and again and demand it, demand it, demand it, demand it, I think that's key.

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** We're almost out of time, so can you make your comment and then any follow up comments?

**ALEXI KURMANAEVSKII:** Then also for the message, nothing about us without us. [Applause]. If we talking about every treatment we need to sitting at the table with those who are making decision about how this treatment will be. If we're talking about law, we must sitting with them who are decided how it will work this law and we need to speak with them. If we decided if we thinking about financing, we must be sitting with them who are decide how it's financing a little bit, you understand, I hope. [Laughter].

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Last one I would say, I want to say thank you all and I do believe that you'll be happy and this energy which we can take here, we can keep in our hearts and go home and do what we do and then together. Thank you. [Applause].

**GINA BROWN:** I too want to thank you for coming and the last thing I want to leave you with is to know that we all come at this thing in a different way and that's what he just said, sometimes we just wear different hats. Don't ashamed of the hat you wear. It's you. [Applause].

**EMAN SAID:** Our report is the fight with stand up and speak out. Yes, we need to speak out, we need to get our rights. If we didn't speak, we can't take our rights. Thank you. [Applause].

**SELBI JURMAYEVA:** I wanted to say thank you because I think that was a first space where there was no ageist comment. I think it's the first panel, where as a young person, I wasn't told, oh, I'm so outdated, I'm so old, how can I help you to treat you, you know, like all the stuff?

Thank you so much, I think it's an amazing space because people reflected, the change doesn't come easy. Actually discrimination, prejudice and stigma are so comfortable and especially it's very convenient to those out there in exhibition halls and in plenaries, you know?

And change is painful, but with these reflections we have of our power positions and of making our vulnerabilities

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of power through emancipation of self is very strong. Thank you so much for creating the space together. [Applause].

**TERRY MCGOVERN:** I'm going to actually just honor the courage of the people on this panel and the people in this room and say we can't end this until we fully realize human rights and I hope that whatever moments you find yourselves in that you remember the people on this panel and just keep going forward in whatever way you can. [Applause].

[END RECORDING]

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