Conference Report:
Colonialism, Slavery, Reparations and Trade: Remediying the ‘Past?’
Brunei Gallery – SOAS, 10 November 2008

Brett Dodge and Johanna Sommerville*

1. Introduction

The conference “Colonialism, Slavery, Reparations and Trade: Remedying the ‘Past?’” took place on November 10th at the Brunei Gallery in London. NGO experts, human rights lawyers and academics assembled to discuss the continuing legacy of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the possibility of “remediying the past” by exploring the availability of solutions in various mechanisms. In addition to debating the issues, the innovation of the conference was to create a group of “experts by experience” and an advisory group to formulate an action plan building upon the outcomes of the conference and the work of its participants. The plan is to include the creation of an internationally-recognised framework to address the way in which the global trade regime affects ex-slave economies, creating poverty and further disenfranchisement for the heirs of the legacy of slavery. It should be noted, however, that not all the presentations focused on the global trade regime, nor did all those who spoke agree that the best way to remedy the legacy of slavery was by focusing on reform of world trade.

This report begins by providing some background to the themes of the conference. It then reviews topical areas explored at the conference, including apologies, litigation, social movement theory and trade. The report concludes by analysing the impact of the conference on current debates and outlining some post-conference developments.

2. Connecting the Past to the Present: Background for the Conference

This conference builds in part upon the research of scholars such as Fernne Brennan, who has studied the intersection of trans-Atlantic slave trade reparations and injustices in the international trading system. Brennan’s paper, “Time for change: Reforming the WTO

* Johanna Somerville holds an LLM in International Human Rights Law from the University of Essex. She currently works as an Australian Youth Ambassador for Development at the Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE – www.cohre.org) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

Brett Dodge has an LLM in International Human Rights Law from the University of Essex. He specialises in research and legal advocacy in the areas of labour rights, indigenous rights, equality and non-discrimination and business and human rights, having worked with business and NGOs in the UK, Europe and the United States.

The report benefitted from a final revision by Professor John Packer, Director of the Human Rights Centre at the University of Essex.
trading rules to take account of reparations,” provided an informative background for the conference.

2.1 Connecting the past to the present

Core to exploring the relationship between reparations and trade is understanding how the legacy of the slave trade affects African and Caribbean communities today. Brennan argues that modern forms of racism are rooted in the history of the slave trade and that modern racism is institutionalised and apparent in the operation of the global trade regime. It is through this system that western States continue to profit from the effects of the slave trade and from colonialism. Present inequality resulting from the legacy of the trans-Atlantic slave trade has recently been acknowledged and affirmed in the U.N. General Assembly Commemoration Resolution:

*The slave trade and the legacy of slavery are at the heart of situations of profound social and economic inequality, hatred, bigotry, racism and prejudice, which continue to affect people of African descent today.*

The claim for reparations has often been dismissed as showing a lack of causation, or on the basis that claims are rooted in historical wrongs which are too remote and disconnected from identifiable or sufficiently connected actors (whether victims or perpetrators). However, it is evident that some forms of racism traced to the slave trade have become institutionalised, directly affecting the lives of people today. The fundamental importance of the provision of effective remedies for those wronged by racial injustice has been acknowledged in the Durban Declaration. Thus, how to “remedy the past” remains a valid and contemporary question when discussing the legacy of the slave trade.

2.2 Addressing the historical legacy through changes to the WTO system

According to Brennan, the institutionalised form of racism, manifest in the operation of the World Trade Organization (WTO), is “global economic discrimination” whereby “institutionally racist practices of the past have become the pattern of processes and practices of the trading rules of the WTO.” Reforming the trade system, Brennan argues, would address historical wrongs and prevent injustices from being continually perpetuated through trade rules. Such a change would entail, *inter alia*, the prioritisation of preferential agreements in the WTO.

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3 See *Durban Declaration and Programme of Action*, UN doc. A/CONF.189/12 at chap. I.
4 Brennan, above n.1 at 256.
5 Ibid, 254 & 267.
Altering the trading regime as a form of reparations focuses on communities rather than individuals. The nature of the slave trade makes it difficult to trace the historical legacy to individual victims who would be entitled to reparations. Furthermore, the lapse in time means that individual perpetrators are deceased and some complicit companies no longer exist; the traditional requirements for reparation of direct victim and perpetrator cannot easily be fulfilled. Rather, in the case of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, it is helpful to view the victim as black communities, the crime (or wrong) as the continuing effects manifest in the legacy of the slave trade through institutional racism, and the perpetrator as ongoing beneficiaries (notably the West — vis-à-vis specifically the trans-Atlantic slave trade — represented through the WTO.  

3. Thematic Review of the Conference

Drawing on the diverse experiences of experts from a wide array of backgrounds, the conference explored potential solutions to the legacy of slavery as discussed above. The conference was divided into three main panels: “reparations and analogous claims”; “colonial history, reparations and trade”; and “remedies.” Detailed accounts were given of the specificities of the wrongs that occurred during the period in question. From there, various mechanisms for addressing the historical legacy of these wrongs were explored and analysed. Possible mechanisms include public apologies, social movement organization, litigation, and trade reform.

3.1 Apologies

Through a public apology, a State makes the circumstances surrounding a past action or implication in a wrongdoing part of the public debate. Public apologies recognize that a wrong has been done and incorporate the relevant facts of past wrongdoings into government level debates surrounding the current status of the victims, their relatives and descendents. In many cases, compensation is the next step in the process. An apology can be obtained through various means. Among other ways, it can be obtained through litigation, through pressure exerted by political or social groups or through changes in government which may be more favourable to the victims’ claims than past governments may have been. As the discussion in the conference suggests, the power of a public apology should not be understated.

As Paul McHugh described, public apologies can be a meaningful and practical step towards atonement for past wrongs. Public apologies by the State can be therapeutic in the reconciliation process. Dr. McHugh pointed to examples from State gestures toward reconciliation with indigenous communities in Australasia and North America. In Canada

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6 Ibid, 254 & 269.
7 Paul McHugh is Reader in Law at the University of Cambridge. He is a lawyer with particular interest in property and constitutional law. He has been working with issues facing indigenous populations since the 1970s.
and New Zealand, tribunals have been established to hear testimonies from victims of past government policy in an effort to reach a settlement on the facts and influence the public record. Since the historical record is among the challenges facing the reality of indigenous peoples, getting the facts straight publicly, in this way, eases the tension that emerges from cultures with proud histories having been dispossessed of their lands, livelihoods and dignity.

Understanding these lessons and applying them to the context of slavery may present a challenge. A blanket apology may not be enough. As Madge Dresser and Paul McHugh explained, there needs to be a formal acknowledgment of past wrongs as a prerequisite to fielding apologies. This includes, according to Dresser, a more nuanced discussion about how some countries and groups of people have benefited from the slave trade. She gave the example of a public apology offered by the port city of Bristol which played a major role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The apology, according to Dresser, has led to a greater local understanding of the particularities of the slave trade as it relates to Bristol. Creation of museums and local commemorations have been a result of community support propelled by the public apology. Specific discourse reveals how entire countries, as a result of the legacy of the slave trade, remain disadvantaged to this day. The fact-finding and specificity of the terms of discussion will yield a better understanding of the current situations of the present day victims of the slave trade. As applied to Dr. McHugh’s example of indigenous peoples, many communities have been driven towards “corporatization,” turning their heritage into a commodity to be exploited for profit. Examples can be drawn from Native American reservations in North America. Apologies can clarify and reset the historical record, but this may be insufficient to guarantee restitution for slavery and to prevent future harm to the present day victims of the slave trade.

3.2 Social Movements

Rhoda Howard-Hassmann, the keynote speaker at the conference, discussed the social movement for reparations to Africa for the trans-Atlantic slave trade, drawing from chapters 3 and 4 of her book Reparations to Africa which in turn draws on a large body of sociological research on how social movements can succeed. She pointed out that so far, the social movement for reparations to Africa is quite weak and dispersed. To be successful, social movements have to frame their claims in a persuasive manner. A claim is more likely to be successful if it can show a short causal chain between the original act and the consequence; the causal chain between the slave trade and Africans’ current predicament, however, is very long and complicated, and includes many social actors and events, rather than one clear and identifiable perpetrator. It is also helpful to have one

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8 Madge Dresser is Reader in History at The University of the West of England. Her work has dealt with questions of national identity, the position of ethnic and religious minorities and the history of slavery in 18th century Britain.
9 Professor Howard-Hassmann is Canada Research Chair in International Human Rights at Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, where she holds a joint appointment in the Department of Global Studies and the Balsillie School of International Affairs.
“condensation point,” such as the story of Anne Frank as a symbol that condenses the Nazi slaughter of the Jews; unfortunately, no such condensation point yet exists for the slave trade. The claim for reparations must also be reasonable, as contrasted, for example, with the $777 trillion claimed by participants at a meeting in Accra on reparations to Africa in 1999. Some specific cases in Africa, such as the genocide of the Herero in then South-West Africa (now Namibia) from 1904 to 1908, fit the criteria for a successful social movement more easily than the slave trade. Howard-Hassmann stressed that her analysis was not a moral or legal judgement of the validity of claims for reparations for the slave trade; it was a social scientific analysis of why and how some social movements succeed and others do not.

Social movements may also be useful in considering what kinds of reparations are sought by the victims. Esther Stanford\textsuperscript{11} of the Pan-African Reparations Movement cites her organization as a model organization that drives the movement for reparations. The organization promotes legal awareness and seeks cohesion around the “afro-descendant” identity, those who have descended from peoples who had been displaced, forcibly removed from their homes, or dispossessed of their former ways of life. These are the people seeking reparations. Stanford put forward a threefold strategy based on her organization’s work: 1) public education; 2) lobbying non-governmental bodies, looking at universities, etc.; 3) developing a power building strategy – a more multifaceted approach to reparations. They have been successful in helping to shape the public discourse of reparations in the UK. She notes they are seeking reparations other than financial compensation. There is also social, infrastructural and psychological damage to be repaired. Social movements are best equipped to lobby for these ends. As John Packer\textsuperscript{12} observed, the best way to be successful with such movements is to have strong partners. This is achieved through social organization for purposes such as reparations.

### 3.3 Litigation

Litigation to obtain reparations for slavery was one of the more controversial subjects addressed at the conference. The presenters, coming from legal and non-legal backgrounds, presented different perspectives on the role litigation should play in obtaining reparations for slavery. A central question was whether international law provides a remedy for victims of slavery or whether it maintains a stagnant system that cannot adapt with ease to claims for restitution or compensation for slavery. The principal point of convergence for the experts was the view that litigation can be an important tool in the reconciliation process, regardless of the outcome.

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\textsuperscript{11} Esther Stanford is a jurisconsult, public lecturer and scholar activist who has been a long-standing researcher and campaigner on behalf of the global Pan-African Reparations Movement. In this regard she serves as the Co-Vice Chair of PARCOE, the Pan-African Reparations Coalition in Europe.

\textsuperscript{12} John Packer is Professor and Director of the Human Rights Centre at the University of Essex in the UK. He is also Senior Adviser for the global Initiative on Quiet Diplomacy and is a member of the Expert Advisory Panel on Dialogue, Diversity and Social Cohesion of the Club de Madrid.
During the height of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, human rights did not exist as we know them today. Marika Sherwood highlighted the fact that Europeans did not consider slaves to be human and that the barbarism we recognize today was a product of an appallingly myopic view of humanity. The notion of ‘humanity’ was still being reconciled with the realities of slavery and colonialism. Sheila Dziobon cited the 1802 case *Williams v. Brown* which refers to the notion of humanity as a factor to be considered when deciding a case concerning slavery. At the time, it was a radical notion. This judgment represented a shift in the tradition of law towards the discourse of human rights. The UK Slave Trade Act was subsequently passed in 1807, although according to Sherwood, slavery and slave trading continued long after its adoption.

Dinah Shelton’s presentation provided a background to reparations litigation. She explained that it often does not succeed, but there are several cases in which it can, such as the *Herero* case involving a group of plaintiffs from Namibia. Her presentation, entitled “Litigation and Political Action to Address Historic Injustices in the United States: Problems and Prospects”, gives an overview of the merits and drawbacks of litigation in cases like these. Shelton maintained that litigation can act as a symbolic gesture to garner social support around a particular issue. Litigation does not have to lead directly to reparations to have this effect. Shelton calls this “symbolic litigation.” This is reassuring for the role of law in slavery restitution because litigation has been unsuccessful in the United States and elsewhere; that is, in so far as providing financial compensation or other forms of restitution. Examples were given from the cases *Cato v. United States* and the conjoined *Slave Reparations Cases* before U.S. federal courts. Both cases were considered non-justiciable, but the benefit from the litigation came from well-documented stories of injustices related to slavery having been presented before the courts. Under some pressure exerted through the legislative process, apologies and acknowledgements were made to victims of slavery in the United States. Shelton gave the example of an apology from JP Morgan, which had substantial holdings in slaves and the slave trade. State apologies for slavery-related issues in the U.S. followed. Shelton’s argument was well received by the other speakers and participants at the conference; symbolic litigation can be a powerful tool for slavery restitution because it does not need to succeed in providing compensation to achieve its desired outcome.

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13. Marika Sherwood is a founder member of the Black & Asian Studies Association and edited the BASA Newsletter until 2007. The author of numerous books and articles on the history of black peoples in the UK, as well as on education, she is Honorary Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London.

14. Dr. Dziobon is Senior Lecturer in Law within the School of Law & Social Science at the University of Plymouth.

15. Dinah Shelton is Manatt/Ahn Professor of International Law at the George Washington University Law School. She has authored or edited a number of award-winning books, including on remedies and reparations, and she is a member of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights serving as Second Vice Chair.


17. These were multiple claims for reparations from U.S.-based companies, conjoined under the heading ‘Slave Reparations Cases.’ The cases were summarily dismissed; see “Most of slavery reparations suit thrown out”, Mike Robinson, Associated Press, 14 December 2006, and William Baue, “Federal Lawsuit Seeks Slave Reparations from Three Companies”, Social Funds, 18 April 2002.
As Shelton described, reparations cases are often dismissed for non-justiciability. These problems were examined at the conference in some detail. The first issue was whether or not slavery was legal at the time. His Excellency Ambassador Kwesi Quartey mentioned that although the crime of slavery may not have been a direct violation of international law at the time, the slave trade encompassed murder, kidnapping and various other internationally deplorable acts which constituted crimes. The horrifying example of the “Zong” slave ship was used to describe that although there may not have been a statute explicitly forbidding the slave trade, there were certainly criminal acts inextricably tied to its exercise. As observed by one conference participant, “[t]here may be a conflict of law on the one hand and justice on the other: The law at the time of the harm did not seem to be just” – a tension which shaded subsequent discussion.

Following justiciability, the statute of limitations doctrine was the second aspect of the law which was addressed. Katherine Bracegirdle argues that there is room for flexibility in determining the appropriate amount of time after the harm is done for a claim to be filed. The statute of limitations restriction would not necessarily apply to a claim for restitution for slavery.

The third important legal question raised was whether or not the doctrine of non-retroactivity of laws (ex post facto) prevented litigation for slavery in the event that it was legal at the time. Steve Peers described a strategy to trace the legislation back to slavery in an effort to determine what crimes were violated. This is one way to circumvent the non-retroactivity rule. From there, a legal chain of responsibility will emerge. However, Peers identified a problem with holding States and multinational companies responsible for slavery: establishing a causal chain of responsibility for these entities would prove especially difficult and providing evidence enough to satisfy traditional common law standard of proof tests would also prove difficult. This leaves open the question of who exactly would be held responsible.

The question of appropriate forum is a less problematical question. Ad-hoc tribunals have been established to try the architects of the European holocaust, the genocides in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, the brutality in Sierra Leone, and the tragedy in Cambodia. Marcus Goffe, a Jamaican lawyer, advocated establishing a similar tribunal to address the “African holocaust.”

The final legal tangle discussed at the conference concerned the question of to whom reparations would be given. Often, tracing the chain of harm to the present is difficult. Slavery in most parts of the world is generations in the past. A lingering question at the conference was the question of how to assess exactly what happened and who was

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18 Kwesi Quartey, Ghana's Ambassador to Ethiopia and Permanent Representative to the African Union; former Deputy Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations and Ghana's Representative on the International Law Committee of the UN General Assembly.
19 Katherine Bracegirdle is a Solicitor and Lecturer in Law at the University of Sheffield School of Law.
20 Steve Peers is Professor in the School of Law at the University of Essex. His research interests include EU Justice and Home Affairs, External Relations, Human Rights, the Internal Market and Social Law.
responsible. Documentary evidence was viewed as necessary to develop the evidence necessary to trace the legacy back to its origins. Professor Peers offered the example of a ‘truth commission’ which might be useful in this regard.

In sum, it is apparent that law and justice are not one and the same, and possible legal mechanisms for reparations for slavery present many obstacles. Not unsurprisingly, much litigation to obtain reparations for slavery has not been successful. Yet, it also plays an important symbolic role and propels further legal and non-legal action for the cause of remedying the past. As Theo Van Boven observed “Law is conservative; Justice is dynamic.” Indeed, justice takes many forms while law is but one of the means to achieve it.

3.3 Trade

A controversial topic addressed was that of global trade reform in the context of reparations. Many scholars at the conference, led by conference co-ordinator Fernne Brennan, suggested that reform of the world trading regime is a reasonable way to address the legacy of slavery for the descendents of the victims. A major problem, as identified by His Excellency Ambassador Luis Alfonso de Alba21, is that when reparations are sought, there may be a situation in which the majority of a given population would be owed compensation if litigation were the avenue towards restitution. Ambassador de Alba gave the example of his home country of Mexico, where descendents of indigenous peoples constitute 80% of the population. Litigation for restitution for colonial wrongs might not be feasible under these circumstances. However, there remains a legacy of oppression that needs to be addressed. In many countries affected by colonialism and slavery, there are competitive disadvantages in the global market system. Many of these countries are burdened by substantial debt which some have carried since pre-colonial times. Problems of infrastructure and poverty almost always accompany these phenomena. As Ambassador de Alba described, efforts through multilateral institutions may be a way to address residual institutional effects of slavery that are still felt by some countries to this day. He also noted that mechanisms such as the UN’s Universal Periodic Review (UPR) of human rights performance offers a mechanism by which countries can be measured on their progress in living up to their human rights obligations. Every four years, a country is assessed on its progress and in many cases States will set new standards for themselves at those assessments. Within the framework of existing international human rights obligations, States may take steps to promote a greater understanding of the legacy in efforts to promote positive institutional change. The General Assembly Commemoration Declaration urges States to:

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21 Ambassador Luis Alfonso de Alba is the Permanent Representative of Mexico to the UN in Geneva. He was the first President of the Human Rights Council (2006-7), and in his professional functions he has actively pursued the advancement of human rights and humanitarian issues, including through the strengthening of the relevant international mechanisms.
Develop educational programs designed to educate and inculcate in future generations, including through school curricula, an understanding of the lessons, history and consequences of slavery and the slave trade.22

These efforts represent steps voluntarily taken by States to address the legacy of the slave trade. Through the UPR States may be held to their promises. The UPR is one of the international mechanisms that can propel a cooperative process (based on good faith) to address the legacy of the slave trade.

There was some debate about the place of trade reform in the discourse of reparations. Professor Theo van Boven23 argued that the realisation of economic, social and cultural rights is an important step in addressing the legacy of the slave trade. However, since many of the rights-based objectives of trade are linked with development, this process should operate separately from the movement toward reparations. Development should not be the focus of reparations according to van Boven. Others at the conference expressed similar concerns about the closing of the lexical gap between reparations and trade.

Rohan Kariyawasam24 offered a detailed proposal to integrate the legacy of slavery into trade reform at the global level. Many advocates of trade reform promote the inclusion of a “social clause” in the WTO. Yet, there is a risk of having to compromise human rights principles if they are directly imported into the WTO whose primary function is to promote free trade such that the functional priorities of the WTO typically take precedence over human rights concerns. Kariyawasam proposes a different route for the purpose of addressing the legacy of the slave trade. The first step is to encourage States to acknowledge the events of the past and make concrete efforts to assess how they affect the present. States, upon acknowledgement of the facts, will create for themselves (out of political considerations) benchmarks to achieve what they have promised the international community. This can be done through mechanisms like the UPR. The commitments made at the UPR can be realised through the States’ practices in the international trade arena. For instance, a State that has made a commitment at the UPR to address the legacy of the slave trade may enter into special bi-lateral or regional agreements with the countries affected by the legacy of slavery, granting them preferential treatment on exported goods or access to specialised services, such as

22 Declaration above n.2.

23 Theo van Boven is Professor Emeritus in International Law at Maastricht University. In 1977 he was appointed Director of the United Nations’ Division for Human Rights, and was subsequently the UN’s special rapporteur on the Right to Reparation to Victims of Gross Violations of Human Rights and, from 2001 to 2004, the UN’s special rapporteur on Torture.

24 Rohan Kariyawasam is Senior Lecturer in Commercial Law at Cardiff Law School. Prior to joining Cardiff he was a Lecturer at the University of Essex and a Member of the Human Rights Centre and Director of their Programme in Information Technology, Media and E-Commerce Law, and a Fulbright Scholar at Harvard Law School. He qualified as a solicitor with Denton Wilde Sapte and has worked as a consultant with several global law firms specialising in commercial and WTO law.
technology transfer that could, e.g., benefit capacity building. Other forms of accommodation can be made in this manner. These countries (impacted by slavery) may thus enjoy a few tools to overcome the disadvantages they have inherited from colonialism and slavery. The advantage of such a system is that the commitments can be quantified and measured concretely. Also, it takes place outside of the WTO structure, which could limit progress that could be achieved if relied on to achieve restitution for slavery.

Kariyawasam emphasized the importance of the efforts of social movements and political pressure groups. He believes that most States will not take these initiatives unless there is a push from civil society in these States to do so. This underlines the inter-connectedness of the various mechanisms for achieving restitution for the legacy of the slave trade.

4. Post-Conference Activity

One of the goals of the conference was to create a group of ‘experts by experience’ and an advisory group. This group is currently established under the name SteR and coordinates research and projects around the issues of trade and reparations (for more information, see www.essex.ac.uk/reparations). The stated objectives of the group are:

We are looking to the past to understand the current and continuing legacy of the slave trade in order to create a new internationally-recognised framework that will guarantee access for families across the world to food, education and healthcare.

But the key to achieving that is to look closely at trade.

The group is now building its membership with the support of participants from the conference in addition to many other conference panellists, NGOs, lawyers and postgraduate students willing to contribute to this cause. The advisory group is also looking for participants who may not have direct experience in this field, but who are interested in taking part.

On the basis of Kate Bracegirdle’s paper, work is being done to engage the Church of England in a dialogue about reparations for its complicity in the slave trade. A resolution on this topic has been written and was sent to all conference participants. This resolution

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25 Kariyawasam stresses, however, that in the case of the European Communities there are further restrictions to agree such treaties where shared competence to negotiate trade agreements exists between the European Commission and the individual EU Member States. In this instance, private bi-lateral agreements by EU Member States (with a colonial involvement in slavery) with African countries impacted by slavery could provide for technology transfer or investment in services (as opposed to preferential tariffs given on goods imported into the EU) as a means of reparations. A further option would be to agree a negotiated preferential tariff through the European Commission in future bilateral or regional trade agreements made by the European Commission for goods imported from African States impacted by slavery. However, this would require political consensus through the European Commission and Parliament, and be achieved possibly through individual Member State commitments by way of the UPR instrument mentioned above.
was then attached to letters to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, requesting a meeting to discuss how the Church might support the reparations effort.

Publishers, speakers, and NGO representatives have been engaged in a book project based on the work of the conference including principal contributors and others.26

Research has also begun using public records to investigate historical involvement in the slave trade. Through examining public records of compensation given by governments (notably the UK) to slave owners at the end of the slave trade, commercial and private slave owners can be identified. Historians have been engaged in preliminary research with a view to pursuing a broader based, in-depth research as the efforts around this project continue.

Finally, the conference organisers have been approached to host a similar conference in the European Parliament. This provides an excellent opportunity to raise the issue of slave trade reparations in an international forum and to engage a number of governments in discussion.

5. Conclusion

“Colonialism, Slavery, Reparations and Trade: Remedying the ‘Past’?” brought together NGO experts, academics and lawyers to reflect upon, exchange views about and discuss the topic of trade and reparations for the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The conference built on the work of scholars who argue that reparations are needed both for past wrongs and for their present manifestations and effects.

From this conference emerged important contributions to the field of reparations and its intersections with injustices in the international trading system. While litigation may not always be the best mechanism through which to seek reparations, strategically used it may have important symbolic value and other useful effects. Work should also be done through political and other non-legal institutions to address the ongoing disenfranchisement and suffering of the descendents of the immediate victims of slavery. Notably, public apologies, in addition to constituting a public acknowledgement of harm done, often will provide impetus for a policy change. Among other possible consequences could be a change in trading norms which would have significant material effects and be a most meaningful act in addressing the legacy of the slave trade.