

International Responses to Slavery and Its Contemporary Forms: A Survey of Anti-Slavery International Instruments

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Abstract

This paper traces contemporary forms of slavery from their roots in the world of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, and it also demonstrates how modern slavery differs from and yet tracks traditional forms of slavery. The paper further examines international instruments from the 1926 League of Nations Slave Convention through the Labor Conventions of the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Human Rights Treaties and other international instruments for the prevention, suppression as well as the punishment of contemporary forms of slavery; in the formal tenets, Orlando Patterson, a leading expert, defines slavery as “the permanent, violent domination of natively alienated and generally dishonored persons.”ⁱ In the end, the paper concludes with brief assertions for how societies can improve the regime for the eradication of contemporary forms of enslavement, which scholars of the field – including Caribbean-born Orlando Patterson (1940--), Eric Williams (1911-1981); North American-born Paul Lovejoy (1943--); Africa’s Albert Adu Boahen (1932-2006) and J. F. Ade Ajayi (1929-2014) and other international experts – would have labelled as neo-slavery.

Key Words: Slavery-- Trans-Atlantic slave trade -- League of Nations -- United Nations -- International Labor Organizations (ILO)—treaties—conventions-- international instruments -- trafficking-neo-slavery.

A. THE BACKGROUND

The Trans- Atlantic slave trade, which sought to trade in Africans as human cargo from the 16th century, was the most ignominious form of slavery in recent memory. In the context of periodization, it is believed to have started around 1502 and raged on for over 350 years.¹ By most accounts, approximately 9.9 million Africans were either bought or kidnapped for enslavement by European as well as American merchants and, subsequently, transported across the Atlantic Ocean under the most vile and inhumane conditions, during which several of the innocent victims perished.²

¹ Stevie J. Swanson, “Slavery Then and Now: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Modern Day Human Trafficking: What Can We Learn From the Past” 11 Fla A.& M. U L Rev 127 (2015)

² Ibid

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade was itself preceded by the Trans-Saharan slave trade several centuries earlier.³ Fueled by internecine tribal and cultural wars, the natives of North Africa fought among themselves and the victorious forces captured and enslaved the vanquished, a policy akin to the Roman Empire's practice of enslaving conquered villagers.⁴ Consequent, slavery was common in Ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Greece, Rome, India and China.

The European slave traders exploited the network of slavery and slave routes established by the Trans Saharan slave trade, which extended southwards into West Africa and turned it into the basest exhibition of inhumanity. It found support and promotion among all the European and American powers of the times, which provided the ideology and laws to justify the heinous practice. For centuries, slavery became a forgotten crime against humanity because the ruling classes and dominant nations convinced themselves that slaves were not human.⁵ After all, in the words of J.K. Ingram, "the essential character of slavery may be regarded as lying in the fact that the master was [the] owner of the person of the slave."ⁱⁱ

The European governments derived financial benefits from the slave trade, exacting fees for licensing of slave traders and collecting import and export taxes. In short, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade became an established form of commerce and helped to build the economies of the European countries and, of course, North America.⁶

It took several centuries for the abolitionist movement to emerge. It moved at a glacial pace, hitting severe road bumps along the way and engulfing the dominant countries in a long drawn out fight over whether to continue the practice or abolish it. Among the slave trading countries, Great Britain led the way.⁷ In March 1807, it passed a law to abolish the slave trade.⁸ The U.S. Congress had in 1794 prohibited Americans from carrying on the slave trade to foreign countries but it was not until 1808 that Congress proscribed the importation of slaves into the U.S. Emancipation of slaves in the U.S. came in December 1865 with the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution.⁹ Protection of the civil rights of former slaves did not occur until almost a century later with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The 1964 Act had been preceded by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 which started the incremental changes for rights protection. Even then, some may argue that the civil rights of minorities in the U.S. today remain illusory at best.

Great Britain realized that because slavery was global in nature, any measure to contain and abolish it had to be global or international. Most of the slave trading powers were reluctant to join the abolition campaign. In 1815, however, as part of the deliberations and the Final Act of the Vienna Congress that marked the end of the Napoleonic epoch in Europe, Britain managed to get the seven other participating countries at the Congress to join in signing the Declaration Relative to the Universal Abolition of the Slave Trade of 1815.¹⁰ It marked the first international instrument to condemn slavery. It was to signal the birth of over 300 international agreements, bilateral and multilateral, condemning slavery that were signed between 1815 and 1957. Some of these agreements were more ambitious and included provisions to outlaw and suppress slavery.

Among the latter international instruments was the Slavery Convention of 1926¹¹, adopted under the auspices of the League of Nations, the predecessor global organization of today's United Nations. The Slavery Convention defined slavery as "the status or condition of a person over whom any and all powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised"¹².

³ Patricia M. Muhammad, "The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Forgotten Crime Against Humanity as Defined by International Law 19 Am U Int'l L Rev 883 (2004) at 889

⁴ Ibid at 890

⁵ Ibid at 903

⁶ Ibid at 904

⁷ Holger L. Kern, "Strategies of Legal Change: Great Britain, International Law and the Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade" 6 I. Hist. Int'l L 233 (2004)

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ The Declaration Relative to the Universal Abolition of the Slave Trade, February 8, 1815, 63 C.T.S. No. 473

¹¹ The Slavery Convention, signed at Geneva, September 25, 1926

¹² Ibid ,article 1(1)

The slave trade was also defined as “all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a slave acquired with a view to selling or exchanging him; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a slave acquired with the view to being sold or exchanged, and in general every act of trade or transport in slaves”¹³.

The thrust of the Slavery Convention was first of all, “to prevent and suppress the slave trade” and secondly, “to bring about, progressively and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms”. The Convention recognized that slavery was more than just the chattel slavery that characterized the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Prior to the adoption of the Slavery Convention, the League of Nations had established the Temporary Slavery Commission which in its 1924 report, identified various forms of slavery in addition to chattel slavery. The Commission noted other forms of slavery as including:¹⁴

“1. (c) Slavery or serfdom (domestic or predial).

2. Practices restrictive of the liberty of the person, or tending to acquire control of the person in conditions analogous to slavery, as for example

a. Acquisition of girls by purchase disguised as payment of dowry, it being understood that this does not refer to normal marriage customs,

b. Adoption of children, of either sex, with a view to their virtual enslavement or the ultimate disposal of their persons,

c. All forms of pledging or reducing to servitude of persons for debt or other reason.

.....
4. System of compulsory labor, public or private, paid or unpaid.”

The irony is that even though these other forms of slavery cataloged by the Temporary Slavery Commission had become prevalent at the time the Slavery Convention was adopted, the definition of slavery under the Convention was deliberately narrow and did not itemize these “other forms” of slavery. This was as a result of a compromise between the anti-slavery advocates who would have preferred the definition to encompass all types of exploitative labor and the colonial States, members of the League of Nations, who still used various forms of exploitative labor in their colonies.

The Slavery Convention’s definition of slavery survived during the inter-war years but the fervor for human rights that greeted the end of the Second World War, among other factors, called for a Supplementary Slavery Convention which spelt out the other forms of slavery beyond chattel slavery. Article 1 of the 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery reads as follows:¹⁵

1. Each of the State Parties to this Convention shall take all practicable and necessary legislative and other measures to bring about progressively and as soon as possible the complete abolition or abandonment of the following institutions and practices, where they still exist and whether or not they are covered by the definition of slavery contained in article 1 of the Slavery Convention signed at Geneva on 25 September 1926:

(a) Debt bondage, that is to say, the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined;

¹³ Ibid, article 1(2)

¹⁴ The Report of the Temporary Slavery Commission to the Council of the League of Nations (A.17.1924.VI.B, 1924), League of Nations, Official Journal, October 1924, page 1395

¹⁵ Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, 1956, 226 U.N.T.S. 3

- (b) Serfdom, that is to say, the condition or status of a tenant who is by law, custom or agreement bound to live and labour on land belonging to another person and to render some determinate service to such other person, whether for reward or not, and is not free to change his status;
- (c) Any institution or practice whereby:
 - (i) A woman, without the right to refuse, is promised or given in marriage on payment of a consideration in money or in kind to her parents, guardian, family or any other person or group; or
 - (ii) The husband of a woman, his family, or his clan, has the right to transfer her to another person for value received or otherwise; or
 - (iii) A woman on the death of her husband is liable to be inherited by another person;
- (d) Any institution or practice whereby a child or young person under the age of 18 years, is delivered by either or both of his natural parents or by his guardian to another person, whether for reward or not, with a view to the exploitation of the child or young person or of his labour.

B. VARIOUS FORMS OF SLAVERY AND INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS TO COMBAT THEM

At the time that the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery was adopted, the global community had become very sensitive to the metastasization of slavery into different arenas and among different races, gender and ages. The United Nations which succeeded the League of Nations championed the fight against slavery and its new forms. The U.N. took on the fight either directly or indirectly through one or other of its specialized agencies. The weapon of choice was the adoption of a relevant international instrument. Some of these instruments dealt with serfdom, forced or compulsory labor, migrant workers, trafficking of women and children.

Serfdom

As noted above, the 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery defined serfdom and called for its eradication. The practice had featured in discussions before the International Labor Organization (ILO), originally founded in 1919, during the League of Nations era and becoming the first specialized agency of the U.N. in 1946. It was noted that it was practiced in Latin American countries in the context of the conquest, subjugation of indigenous peoples and seizure of their lands and involved the usurping foreign landowner then granting the vanquished serf or peon a piece of land in return for specific services. It surfaced in some countries as share-cropping. It has melded in the land-tenure systems of various countries today even if they are not recognized as “serfdom” and therefore do not attract the necessary sanctions. It is still problematic in countries where the status appears to be hereditary and reinforced by debt bondage.¹⁶

Forced Labor

Even though the Temporary Slavery Commission in 1924 identified forced or compulsory labor as a form of slavery worthy of abolition, the Slavery Convention itself distinguished it from slavery and treated it differently. The Convention recognized instances where it may be permitted. The Convention explained that “forced labor may only be exacted for public purposes” and merely required the State Parties to the Convention to prevent it from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.¹⁷

In time, the League of Nations wised up and charged the ILO with the responsibility of working towards the eradication of this practice. In 1930, the ILO shepherded the adoption of the Forced Labour Convention.¹⁸ Forced or compulsory labor was defined in the latter Convention as “all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily”.

¹⁶ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Abolishing Slavery and Its Contemporary Forms*, New York, United Nations, 2002, at 11

¹⁷ *Op cit*, note 12, article 5

¹⁸ ILO, *Forced Labour Convention*, 1930 (No. 29)

The Convention did not abolish the practice outright but rather called for the suppression of the practice “within the shortest possible time”. Moreover, certain forms of forced labor were permitted under the Convention such as compulsory military service, forced prison labor, forced service in times of national emergency and “any work or service which forms part of the normal civic obligations of the citizens of a fully self-governing country”.

Forced labor persisted. In 1957, the ILO under pressure from rights groups had to supplement the Forced Labour Convention with the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention.¹⁹ The latter Convention called for the immediate and complete eradication of forced labor. However, its definition of forced labor allowed for the exemptions recognized by the 1930 Convention. In 2014, the ILO adopted a Protocol to close the gaps in enforcement of the two earlier Conventions.²⁰

Notwithstanding the efforts of the ILO, the fight for the eradication of forced and compulsory labor is far from over. In a sobering account of the state of forced labor, the ILO notes that although it is universally condemned, “it is estimated that 20.9 million people around the world are still subjected to it.”²¹

Trafficking

Trafficking, for example, comes in many forms, including sex trafficking, bonded labor, forced labor, migrant workers, debt bondage, child labor and even forced organ removal. Trafficking comes closest to the nature of slavery practiced at the height of the Trans-Atlantic slavery. The earliest anti-trafficking treaties dealt with trafficking of women mostly for prostitution. This practice was dubbed “the white slavery” since the women trafficked were white women. The discussion among the State Parties to the Convention clearly showed that they believed that white slavery was more abhorrent than the chattel slavery of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The first of these treaties was adopted in 1904, prior to the establishment of the League of Nations and before the 1926 Slavery Convention was adopted. It was the International Agreement for the Suppression of “White Slave Traffic”²² It was followed by the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic.²³ Both treaties were deferential to the principles of sovereignty and placed merely the obligations of cooperation on the State Parties with no sanctions in place for failure to cooperate. France was assigned the role of depository for the two treaties. When the United Nations was founded in 1945, a protocol amending the twin treaties was entered into prolonging the life of the treaties and substituting for France as the depository.²⁴ The focus of these three treaties remained the suppression of sex trafficking of women. However, they all lacked the bite to aggressively tackle the practice.

Following the white slavery conventions, the League of Nations adopted additional treaties to combat the trafficking of women and children, including consenting women of age. These treaties tended to overlap and lacked the cohesiveness and monitoring mechanisms to efficiently deal with the various forms of human trafficking that had succeeded chattel slavery. Eventually, in 1950, the newly created United Nations came up with the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others.²⁵ This treaty consolidated all the previous relevant treaties on the suppression of the white slavery and trafficking of women and children generally. The treaty made it an offence for anyone to traffic in women and children. The State parties were obliged to pass legislation to punish all offenders of voluntary and involuntary procurement of victims for prostitution.

¹⁹ ILO, Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105)

²⁰ ILO, Protocol of 2014 to the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. P029)

²¹ ILO, International Labour Standards on Forced Labour, Geneva, ILO, 2018

²² International Agreement for the Suppression of the “White Slave Traffic”, Paris, May 18, 1904, 1 LNTS 83

²³ The International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, Paris, May 4, 1910, 98 UNTS 101

²⁴ Protocol Amending the International Agreement for the Suppression of the “White Slave Traffic” signed at Paris on May 18, 1904 and the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic signed at Paris on May 4, 1910, Lake Success, New York, May 4, 1949, 30 UNTS 23

²⁵ Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. Lake Success, New York, March 21, 1950. 96 UNTS 271.

In spite of all of these international measures to combat human trafficking, the practice persisted unabated. The international community realized that there was a potent organized crime component to human trafficking and therefore any serious effort to suppress it must be undertaken within an international legal regime poised to contain organized crime. With this understanding, a U.N. Convention against Organized Crime was born.²⁶ The Convention had three Protocols, two of which had great significance for the fight against human trafficking, namely, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons and the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air.

The Convention itself represents a major step forward in the fight against transnational organized crime. States that ratify the Convention commit to creating domestic criminal offences such as participating in an organized criminal group, money laundering, corruption and obstruction of justice. State parties also are obliged to adopt new frameworks for extradition, mutual legal assistance and law enforcement cooperation.

The Trafficking Protocol represents the first global legally binding instrument with an agreed definition of "trafficking in persons". States that ratify the Protocol also commit to prosecute offenders in their States and provide protection and assistance to victims with full respect for human rights.

The Migrant Smuggling Protocol deals with the growing problem of organized criminal groups who smuggle migrants, often at great risks to the migrants and at great profit to the offenders.

The Trafficking Protocol defines "Trafficking in persons" as follows:²⁷

"the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;"

The Protocol further explains that:

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

The Protocol further states that the consent of the victim to the intended exploitation is not a defense to the prosecution under the Protocol.

C. OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS

Apart from the Conventions discussed above, the United Nations human rights mandate has engendered many international instruments that have become allies to the network of treaties combatting slavery and its contemporary forms. These human rights treaties include:

1. The United Nations Declaration on Human Rights;²⁸
2. The International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights;²⁹
3. The International Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;³⁰
4. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;³¹

²⁶ United Nations Convention Against Organized Crime, UN General Assembly Resolution 55/25 of November 15, 2000

²⁷ Ibid , Trafficking Protocol, article 3

²⁸ Universal Declaration on Human Rights, UN General Assembly Resolution 217A, Paris, December 10, 1948

²⁹ International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights, UN General Resolution 2200A (XXI), December 16, 1966

³⁰ International Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, UN General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) December 16, 1966

³¹ International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, UN General Assembly Resolution 2106 (XX) December 21, 1965

5. Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women;³²
6. Convention on the Rights of the Child;³³ UNGA Resolution 44/25, November 20, 1989

The advantage of these human rights treaties is that they reinforced the normative strength of some of the earlier treaties dealing more directly with slavery in all its various forms. In some cases, they also established institutional mechanisms for monitoring state compliance with obligations assumed under the treaties, something that was lacking in most of the slavery and trafficking conventions of yore.

In addition to the many international instruments deployed by the global community to fight slavery and its progeny, other sources of international law have been used. The most significant is customary international law. It is now textbook law that according to customary international law, slavery is among the few examples of peremptory norms that are universally binding. As a peremptory norm, it places an obligation *erga omnes* for all states to punish violators.

D. IMPROVING THE LEGAL REGIME FOR THE ERADICATION OF SLAVERY IN ALL ITS FORMS

According to the Anti-Slavery Society, there are about 40.3 million people in modern slavery around the world today. It is estimated that about 10 million children are in slavery, about 24.9 million people are in forced labor, about 15.4 million people are in forced marriages, and about 4.8 million in forced sexual exploitation. What these figures reveal is that the network of international instruments surveyed above have not succeeded in suppressing contemporary slavery around the world. There are many factors militating against the suppression of slavery. For the purposes of our present discussion, we will dwell on three of them.

First, the nature of international law and of international conventions or treaties pose a problem of the content of the treaties and compliance with them. Treaties, as a general rule, bind States who are the main subjects of international law. As Sovereigns, States are only bound by the treaties that they have ratified. Thus, if a State has not ratified the Convention for the Eradication of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, it may flout the provisions of that Convention with impunity. In addition, in order to get more States to ratify them, most international agreements tend to reflect the least onerous obligations that may be imposed on States. Also, while ratifying a Convention, a State may register a reservation so as not to be bound by some of the more onerous obligations. So not all the treaties we have identified above enjoy the favor of ratification by the plurality of States and in any case, not all of its provisions are binding on each State Party.

Secondly, the international legal system does not have a standby army to coerce compliance of its norms. Typically, treaties that require compliance will establish a monitoring and/or enforcement mechanism to keep up with State Parties in the fulfilment of their obligations thereunder. However, not all monitoring mechanisms are the same. For instance the monitoring mechanism under the Slavery Convention and the Supplementary Slavery Convention merely require an undertaking from State Parties to communicate laws and regulations which they enact in furtherance of the Convention. There is no corresponding provision to ensure compliance of this obligation. Consequently, there are serious gaps in compliance. On the other hand, the human rights treaties and ILO Conventions have more substantial mechanisms in place. They each require State Parties to submit regular periodic reports on the status of their compliance with their treaty obligations. Each such State report is submitted to a monitoring committee made up of independent experts who review and respond with a List of Issues to be addressed by the reporting State after which the Committee then publishes its Conclusions and Recommendations. The human rights treaties also have the service of Rapporteurs who undertake investigations on behalf of the Committees and report on the state of affairs in a State Party. Some of these treaties also have facilities for the determination of individual complaints from citizens of State Parties that have ratified Protocols submitting to the jurisdiction of adjudicative bodies under the Convention. The truth of the matter is that most offending State Parties have not ratified the Protocols to allow access of their citizens to the adjudicative bodies.

³² Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, UN General Assembly Resolution 34/180, December 18, 1979

³³ Convention on the Rights of the Child, UN General Assembly Resolution 44/25, November 20, 1989

Thirdly, for most of the treaties under review, State Parties are obliged to create institutions, laws and regulations and submit reports and responses to queries in furtherance of the Conventions. However, many of the State Parties fail to honor their obligations. The international community depends in some cases on name and shame to cajole compliance. This is obviously not an effective or sufficient method.

To overcome the above problems and improve the legal regime for the eradication of slavery in its contemporary forms, the global community must undertake the following at a minimum:

1. The many reporting systems under the various treaties should be streamlined and standardized. At the moment, most defaulting State Parties complain about overburdened reporting requirements. A number of the reports dealing with similar issues can be routed a single body and shared among the various treaty bodies.
2. The treaties that have weak monitoring mechanisms should be amended to conform to the time-tested superior mechanisms in other treaties. For example, the Slavery Conventions monitoring mechanism could borrow a leaf from the experiences of the ILO or the human rights treaty bodies.
3. State Parties should improve their domestic legislation in line with their obligations under the anti-slavery and anti-trafficking Conventions. States have responsibilities under these Conventions to enact laws that would criminalize a number of the slavery, slavery-like and trafficking practices. Not all States have fulfilled their responsibilities. The international community must lean on defaulting States to comply.
4. The practices we are seeking to suppress cut across domestic boundaries. They require a lot of cooperation among the law enforcement institutions of the various State Parties. A lot more needs to be done in this regard.
5. All States must improve on their enforcement capabilities. These horrible practices are extremely lucrative for the offenders. They have already erected sophisticated systems in place to thwart the efforts of law enforcement world-wide. Hence, governments must invest a lot more in their law enforcement capacities otherwise, the world cannot rid itself of this canker in our midst.

E. CONCLUSION

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that slavery was not abolished with the adoption of the 1926 Slavery Convention or any other treaties or conventions thereafter. To the contrary, it assumed several different forms and has, informally, continued to thrive till now. Yet, the global community did not relent in its efforts to combat it. It threw more and more treaties and conventions at it.

Meanwhile, it appears, however, that the more ammunition the global community took up, the more the enemy grew in numbers. While the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade enslaved close to 10 million people, contemporary and informal slavery has “enslaved” over 40.3 million people. Indeed, if considered in a military context, we would declare slavery the victor and subsequently give up. In this case, however, we cannot acquiesce and indeed should not. After all, every moral human being has a responsibility to help in fighting today’s informal slavery to the end. Consequently, what we are doing today, as scholarly combatants, is to regroup as well as to examine our artillery, our formations, our numbers and, in the end, jump into the protracted war against all forms of human enslavement that the anti-slavery international instruments very nobly sought to either eliminate or vanquish.

ⁱ Orlando Patterson. 1982. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; p. 13.

ⁱⁱ Patterson, *ibid.*, p. 21; and J.K. Ingram. 1895. *History of Slavery and Serfdom*. London, UK: , Black; p. 265.