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REPARATIONS FOR HISTORICAL RACIAL INJUSTICES

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS TO THE UN COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION'S DRAFT GENERAL RECOMMENDATION REGARDING REPARATIONS FOR THE HISTORICAL INJUSTICES FROM THE CHATTEL ENSLAVEMENT OF AFRICANS, AND THE ENSUING HARMS AND CRIMES TO PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT

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1. INTRODUCTION

Amnesty International welcomes the opportunity to contribute to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination's (the Committee) development of a General Recommendation regarding reparations for the historical injustices from the chattel enslavement of Africans, and the ensuing harms and crimes to people of African descent (the General Recommendation).[1]

The legacies of chattel enslavement, the transatlantic slave trade and colonialism continue to obstruct the full realisation of the human rights of Africans and people of African descent around the world, including the right to equality and non-discrimination, enshrined in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD).[2] As recognised by the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, slavery, the slave trade and colonialism remain among the major sources and manifestations of contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance.[3] Addressing and repairing the persisting legacies of these past injustices, including through reparations, is essential to eradicate and prevent racial discrimination and inequality today.

This submission outlines preliminary observations and considerations, based on insights from Amnesty International's research and analysis of international law. The structure of this submission should not be seen as implying an order of prioritisation of the issues commented on. The issues in focus are those which the organisation has seen take prominence in its global work defending human rights and is not an exhaustive list of the organisation's concerns.

2. SCOPE OF GENERAL RECOMMENDATION

Amnesty International urges the Committee to ensure that the General Recommendation addresses not only the right to reparation for harms connected to chattel enslavement, but also reparation for the past harms and ongoing human rights violations related to the colonisation of Africans and people of African descent. The historical processes of chattel enslavement and colonisation were intrinsically linked, both founded on the construction of racial categories and hierarchies which dehumanised Africans and people of African descent and presented them as inherently inferior and uncivilised.[4]

Amnesty International also encourages the Committee to ensure that the General Recommendation clarifies the status of formal apologies as a form of reparation for chattel slavery and colonialism. States that engaged in the enslavement and colonisation of Africans and people of African descent are increasingly issuing formal apologies or expressions of regret for their role in these past injustices.[5] However, many of these same States refuse to recognise any legal responsibility to provide reparations for enslavement and colonialism, or to commit to providing concrete measures of reparation for these harms, including restitution and compensation.[6] The Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-repetition notes that, "the gesture of apology will be purely symbolic if it is not connected to other means of reparation and other transitional justice mechanisms such as truth-seeking or memorialization."[7] The General Recommendation should clarify the status of apologies for enslavement and colonisation, including whether such apologies – in the absence of an unequivocal acknowledgement of responsibility – can be considered a form of reparation for the historical and ensuing harms caused by enslavement and colonialism.

Amnesty International also urges the Committee to ensure that the General Recommendation clarifies the obligations of former colonising states as well as those of former colonies that are now independent states in relation to the fulfilment of the right to reparations. Although the duties to provide reparation for chattel slavery and

[1] OHCHR, *Call for inputs on CERD General Recommendation regarding reparations for the historical injustices from the chattel enslavement of Africans, and the ensuing harms and crimes to people of African Descent*, https://www.ohchr.org/en/calls-for-input/2025/call-inputs-cerd-general-recommendation-regarding-reparations-historical.
[2] Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (1965), 660 UNTS 195, entered into force 4 January 1969.
[3] Report of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Durban, 31 August – 8 September 2001, A/CONF.189/12, chapter I, paras 13-14.
[4] Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and racial intolerance, A/74/321, 21 August 2019, para. 16-18; Report of the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent, 2 August 2019, A/74/274, para. 10-14.
[5] Liliane Umubyeyi, "Europe's hollow apologies for colonial crimes stand in the way of true reparation," The Guardian, 27 November 2023, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/nov/27/europe-apologies-colonial-crimes-reparation-belgium-germany-britain.
[6] See footnote 14 in 'Section 3. International Law Basis for Reparations' below.
[7] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence, 19 July 2021, A/76/180, para. 72.

colonialism vest primarily in former colonial powers, comprehensive reparatory justice for these harms also implicates obligations on the part of newly independent states.

In particular, the General Recommendation should clarify the obligations on both former colonising states and newly independent states to centre victims and ensure the full, meaningful and effective participation of affected communities in reparations processes.[8] As the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-repetition has emphasised, "it is not possible to remedy the violent past in a truly restorative manner when the affected communities do not feel included and are not part of the negotiation process."[9] For example, in **Namibia**, the government's failure to ensure the right of the Ovaherero and Nama peoples to meaningful participation in the negotiations leading to the 2021 issuance of a joint declaration between Namibia and Germany to acknowledge Germany's colonial past in former South West Africa, has undermined the legitimacy of the declaration and its capacity to adequately repair these harms.[10]

Finally, Amnesty International encourages the Committee to ensure that the General Recommendation addresses reparations for sexual and gender-based violence and discrimination committed in the context of chattel enslavement and colonialism. Sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls of African descent was a pervasive feature of both chattel enslavement and colonisation.[11] As noted by the Independent Expert on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, colonial oppression also involved the "imposition of a rigid gender binary on colonized peoples and the criminalization of gender and sexual nonconformity."[12] These practices had a profound, far-reaching impact on how gender and sexuality are understood and regulated today, with ongoing consequences for the rights of women and LGBTI people in formerly colonised states. For example, many contemporary laws that criminalize consensual same-sex sexual acts, including in African states, trace their origins back to laws imposed during colonialism.[13] The General Recommendation should clarify how reparations might address the ongoing impact of the legacies of enslavement and colonialism on the rights of women and LGBTI people of African descent today.

3. INTERNATIONAL LAW BASIS FOR REPARATIONS

PRINCIPLE OF NON-RETROACTIVITY & THE CONTINUITY OF VIOLATIONS

Numerous States Parties, including those that engaged directly in the chattel enslavement and colonisation of Africans and people of African descent, dispute that there is an obligation under international law to provide reparations for these historical injustices. These States argue that enslavement, the trade in enslaved persons, and colonialism were not prohibited by international law at the time of their respective commission and that they accordingly entailed no violation of international law which would give rise to a corresponding legal duty to make reparation.[14] These arguments are premised on the non-retroactive application of international law and the

[8] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence (previously cited), para 90; Report of the UN Secretary General, Implementation of the International Decade for People of African Descent, 18 August 2023, A/78/317; para 24-25.
[9] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence (previously cited), para. 92.
[10] Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Concluding observations on the combined sixteenth to eighteen periodic reports of Namibia, 4 October 2023, CERD/C/NAM/XO/16-18, para. 30.
[11] See for example, Hilary McDonald Beckles, Slave Voyages: The Transatlantic Trade in Enslaved Africans, UNESCO, 2003, pp. 69 & 114, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000128631; Peace A. Media, "Women and Violence in Africa" in Oxford Research Encyclopedia, African History, July 2019, https://oxfordre.com/africanhistory/africanhistory/abstract/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277734-e-567
[12] Report of the Independent Expert on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, 25 July 2023, A/78/227, para. 15.
[13] For example, the Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, South Sudan, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania still retain legislation criminalizing same-sex sexual relations introduced by colonial authorities. Amnesty International, *Colonialism and sexual orientation and gender identity: Submission to the Independent Export on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity*, (Index: IOR 40/6862/2023), 15 June 2023, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/ior40/6862/2023/en/. See also, Amnesty International, *Making love a crime: Criminalization of same-sex conduct in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Index: AFR 01/001/2013), 25 June 2013, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AFR01/001/2013/en/; Human Rights Watch, *This Alien Legacy: The Origins of "Sodomy" Laws in British Colonialism,* 17 December 2008, https://www.hrw.org/report/2008/12/17/alien-legacy/origins-sodomy-laws-british-colonialism.
[14] For example, the United Kingdom (UK) justified its vote against Resolution 51/32, adopted by the Human Rights Council on 7 October 2022, partly because UK authorities "do not agree with claims made in this resolution that states are required to make reparations for the slave trade and colonialism, which caused great suffering to many but were not, at that time, violations of international law." UK Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office, *UN Human Rights Council 51: UK explanation of vote on racism resolution,* 7 October 2022, https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/un-human-rights-council-51-uk-explanation-of-vote-on-racism-resolution#:~:text=UK%20Human%20Rights%20Ambassador%2C%20Rita,%2C%20xenophobia%20and%20related%20intolerance
Similarly, the German government has refrained from acknowledging any legal obligation to provide reparations for the genocide committed by Germany against the Ovaherero and Nama peoples during German colonial rule over South West Africa. Germany has argued that it "is aware of voices that argue in favour of a retroactive application of the [Genocide] Convention. International law as it stands, however, provides for no such conclusion. […] As in the case in question there can be no legal

principle of intertemporality, which stipulates that the "lawfulness or wrongfulness of an act in international law must be established on the basis of obligations in force at the time when the act was performed."[15]

However, there are legally recognised extensions in time for international responsibility, including when (i) an act is ongoing and continues into a time when such act is considered a violation under international law ('doctrine of continuing breach');[16] or (ii) the direct ongoing consequences of the act in question extend into a time when both the act and its consequences are considered wrongful under international law ('doctrine of composite breach').[17] Therefore, as the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance notes, "racial discrimination rooted in or caused by colonialism and slavery that occurred after each had been outlawed cannot be subject to the intertemporal bar."[18]

Despite the formal abolition and international prohibition of chattel enslavement and colonisation, the wrongful act of racial discrimination against Africans and people of African descent has continued to the present day.[19] As noted above, the Durban Declaration acknowledges that a major source of contemporary forms of racial discrimination and inequality is the history of enslavement and colonialism against Africans and people of African descent.[20] The impact of these racially discriminatory legacies on the human rights of Africans and people of African descent today are widely recognised and well documented.[21] Amnesty International emphasises that reparations for contemporary violations of the rights of Africans and people of African descent as a result of the legacy of chattel slavery and colonialism are not prevented by the principle of intertemporality. Pursuant to Article 6 of the ICERD, all States Parties - including those that formerly engaged in the enslavement and colonisation of Africans and people of African descent - are obliged to assure the right to seek justice and adequate reparation or satisfaction for any damage suffered as a result of racial discrimination.[22]

VIOLATIONS OF EXISTING INTERNATIONAL LAW

Moreover, many of the abuses committed against Africans and people of African descent in the context of colonialism took place after the normative development of international humanitarian law and international human rights.[23]

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responsibility under international law because the relevant legal instruments sanctioning these crimes came into existence at a later point in time, reconciliation must be sought by other means." Note Verbale from the Federal Republic of Germany to the Office of the of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1 June 2023, (Pol-10 552.00 NAM).

[15] Max du Plessis, Historical Injustice and International Law: An Exploratory Discussion of Reparation for Slavery 25 Hum. Rights. Q. 624, 634 (2003). This principle is codified in Article 13 of the International Law Commission (ILC) Draft Articles on State Responsibility, which provides that; "[a]n act of a State does not constitute a breach of an international obligation unless the State is bound by the obligation in question at the time the act occurs." The ILC Commentary to Article 13 provides that: " even when a new peremptory norm of general international law comes into existence, [...], this does not entail any retrospective assumption of responsibility." International Law Commission, Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts, with commentaries, adopted by the ILC at its fifty-third session, Yearbook of the International Law Commission, 2001, Volume II, Part Two (A/CN.4/SER.A/2001//Add.1 (Part 2)) p. 58.
In relation to the international law of treaties, Article 28 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties provides that treaty provisions "do not bind a party in relation to any act or fact which took place or any situation which ceased to exist before the date of the entry into force of the treaty with respect to that party." See Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, adopted on 23 May 1969.

[16] A continuing breach refers to "a course of conduct which extends over a period of time, remaining in breach of international law throughout." See James Crawford, *State Responsibility: The General Part*, (2013) p. 259. This principle is enshrined in Article 14(2) of the ILC Articles on State Responsibility, which provides that the "breach of an international obligation by an act of a State of a continuing character extends over the entire period during which the act continues and remains not in conformity with the international obligation." The ILC Commentary specifies that a continuing act "occupies the entire period during which the act continues and remains not in conformity with the international obligation, provided that the State is bound by the international obligation during that period." However, the Commentary on Article 14(2) qualifies that "an act does not have a continuing character merely because its effects or consequences continue in time. It must be the wrongful act as such which continues." See ILC, Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts with commentaries (previously cited), Commentary on Article 14.

[17] A composite breach refers to an act which, "although not consisting of a single conduct, continues in time: it is constituted of a series of individual acts of the State which follow each other, and which all contribute to the realization of the global act in question." See J. Salmon, "'Duration of the breach", in J. Crawford, A. Pellet and S. Olleson (eds.) *The Law of International Responsibility* (2010) pp. 383 & 391. Article 15 of the ILC Draft Articles on State Responsibility governs responsibility for composite breaches and provides that:

> (1) The breach of an international obligation by a State through a series of actions or omissions defined in aggregate as wrongful, occurs when the action or omission occurs which, taken with the other actions or omissions, is sufficient to constitute the wrongful act.
> (2) In such a case, the breach extends over the entire period starting with the first of the actions or omissions of the series and lasts for as long as these actions or omissions are repeated and remain not in conformity with the international obligation.

[18] Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and racial intolerance (previously cited), para. 49.

[19] Patrick Robinson, "Introduction," The Brattle Group, Quantification of Reparations for Transatlantic Chattel Slavery, 8 June 2023, https://uwitv.global/news/reparations-symposium-brattle-paper/

[20] Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, chapter I, paras 13-14.

[21] See for example, Human Rights Council Resolution 57/25, From rhetoric to reality: a global call for concrete action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, adopted on 14 October 2024; Report of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Summary of the panel discussion on the negative impact of the legacies of colonialism on the enjoyment of rights, 1 June 2023, A/HRC/54/4; Expert Mechanism on the Right to Development, Racism, racial discrimination and the right to development, 22 June 2022, A/HRC/51/37; Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia & related intolerance (previously cited); Report of the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent, 2 August 2019 (previously cited).

[22] ICERD, Article 6.

[23] For example, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted on 9 December 1948, GA Res. 260 A (III); the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948; GA Res. 217A; the Geneva Conventions I-IV were adopted on 12 August 1949; ICERD was adopted by the General Assembly on 21 December 1965, GA Res. 2106(XX); the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1966, GA Res. 2200A (XXI); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights was adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1966, GA Res. 2200A (XXI); the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity was adopted by the General Assembly on 26 November 1968, GA Res. 2391 (XXIII); the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among

These acts constituted violations of the international law in force at the time and claims for reparation for such violations accordingly cannot be barred by the principle of intertemporality.

With respect to colonialism, the colonisation of several African states persisted even after colonialism was unequivocally recognised as a violation of international law. In December 1960, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Resolution 1514 (XV)) affirmed that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation and domination is contrary to the UN Charter and constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, including the right to self-determination.[24] As recognised by the International Court of Justice, the adoption of Resolution 1514 (XV) represents "a defining moment in the consolidation of State practice on decolonization," with the resolution possessing "a declaratory character with regard to the right to self-determination as a customary norm."[25] This demonstrates that by at least December 1960, the right to self-determination had crystallised as a customary rule binding on all states. At this time, approximately 30 African states remained subject to colonial rule and many would continue to be denied their independence for a further decade.[26]

In addition to violations of the right to self-determination, other serious human rights violations and crimes under international law were committed against Africans and people of African descent in the context of colonialism. For example, in **Belgium**, the Brussels Court of Appeal ruled in 2024 that the forced abduction and segregation of Metis (mixed-race) children by the Belgian colonial administration during its rule of the Belgian Congo constitutes a crime against humanity.[27] Dismissing arguments by the Belgian government that the acts in question did not constitute crimes under international law at the time of their commission, the Court found that the forced abduction of Metis children by Belgium was an "inhuman act of persecution" constituting a crime against humanity under the principles of international law recognised at the time.[28] Crimes under international law and other serious human rights violations were also committed by former colonial powers during struggles for independence.[29] For example, in **Kenya,** the British colonial administration subjected Kenyan detainees to systematic torture and other ill-treatment during its suppression of the Mau Mau uprising against colonial rule in the 1950s.[30] Following a ruling by the UK High Court of Justice that granted veterans of the Mau Mau movement the right to sue the UK government despite the length of time elapsed since the acts of torture took place,[31] UK authorities agreed to settle the suit and pay damages to more than 5,000 torture survivors, recognising that "Kenyans were subjected to torture and other forms of ill-treatment at the hands of the colonial administration."[32] However, to this date, UK authorities have failed to pay the damages as agreed in the settlement despite formally acknowledging the UK's wrongdoing.

4. LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL MEASURES TO ENSURE NON-RECURRENCE

As provided for in the Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, guarantees of non-repetition constitute a key component of full and effective reparation.[33] In relation to reparations for chattel enslavement and colonialism, guarantees of non-repetition necessitate the transformation of contemporary

States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations was adopted by the General Assembly 24 October 1970, GA Res. 2625 (XXV); Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment was adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December 1975, GA Res. 3452 (XXX)..

[24] Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the UN General Assembly on 14 December 1960, GA Res. 1514 (XV), Art. 1.

[25] International Court of Justice, *Legal Consequences of the Separation of the Chagos Archipelago from Mauritius in 1965, Advisory Opinion,* 25 February 2019, paras. 150 & 152.

[26] For example, Guinea-Bissau only secured independence in 1974, Angola and Mozambique in 1975, Djibouti in 1977, and Zimbabwe in 1980. "African Independence: Chronology of African Independence" in Kwame A. Appiah and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (eds.), *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (1999), pp. 576-577.

[27] African Futures Lab and Amnesty International, *Belgium Convicted of Crimes against Humanity for Acts Committed during Colonization,* 2 December 2024, https://www.afalab.org/news/2024-12-02-african-futures-lab-and-amnesty-international-joint-press-release-belgium-convicted-of-crimes-agains/

[28] Cour D'Appel de Bruxulles (francophone), 2022/AR/262, 2 December 2024, para. 47, https://www.unia.be/files/2024_12_02-Cour-Bruxelles.pdf

[29] In many instances, colonial powers sought to suppress struggles for independence through unlawful attacks on civilians, arbitrary arrests and detention, enforced disappearances, and torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. See for example, Wolfgang Kaleck, *Double Standards: International Criminal Law and the West* (2015), pp. 25-29; Morten Bergsmo, Wolfgang Kaleck and Kyaw Yin Hlaing (eds), *Colonial Wrongs and Access to International Law* (2020).

[30] David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged, Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the end of Empire* (2005); Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (2005).

[31] High Court of Justice, *Ndiki Mutua, Paulo Nzili, Wambugu Wa Nyingi, Jane Muthoni Mara, Susan Ngondi v. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office*, Case No. HQ09X02666, Approved Judgment, 5 October 2012, https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/JCO/Documents/Judgments/mutua-fco-judgment-05102012.pdf

[32] Press Association, 'UK to compensate Kenya's Mau Mau torture victims,' The Guardian, 6 June 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/06/uk-compensate-kenya-mau-mau-torture

[33] Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, adopted by the UN General Assembly on 16 December 2005, UN Doc. A/60/147, para. IX, article 23.

structures of racial discrimination and inequality rooted in the legacies of chattel enslavement and colonialism, through legislative, institutional, educational and cultural reform. Such reforms must "reach all public procedures, practices and infrastructure in order to remove any remnants of colonialism or of oppression and discrimination against indigenous or formerly colonized peoples."[34] This entails obligations on the part of both former colonial powers and former colonies that are now independent states.

Amnesty International's research has highlighted that the legacies of enslavement and colonialism have multiple manifestations, including systemic racism in policing,[35] border enforcement and migration policies;[36] economic inequality, both within and between states, and colonial legacies in the international financial system that perpetuate exploitative and extractive relationships between former colonial powers and formerly colonised states;[37] the disproportionate burden of pollution, environmental degradation and climate change on Africans and people of African descent;[38] and the continued existence of discriminatory colonial-era legislation, such as laws criminalizing same-sex sexual acts and vagrancy laws that criminalize "loitering" in public.[39] In order to guarantee the non-recurrence of the racial discrimination and inequality at the centre of chattel enslavement and colonialism, reparations must include legislative and institutional changes that seek to dismantle all the aforementioned manifestations of the legacies of enslavement and colonialism. As is the case with other forms of reparation, legislative and institutional change must be inclusive, participatory, and victim-centred with the full, effective and meaningful participation of affected individuals and communities, from the design of the measures to the monitoring of their effective implementation.

5. CONCLUSION

Amnesty International considers that there is a firm basis in international law for the right to reparations for the past and ongoing harms related to chattel enslavement, the trade in enslaved Africans and colonisation. States that participated in and profited from these historical injustices cannot continue to use arguments of non-retroactivity to evade their duty to reckon with and repair this past and its enduring legacy. Reparations for chattel enslavement and colonialism are not only mandated by international law, they are essential for the eradication of contemporary forms of systemic racism and the full implementation of ICERD.

[34] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence (previously cited), para. 84.
[35] Amnesty International, *USA: Submission to the UN International Independence Expert Mechanism to Advance Racial Justice and Equality in Law Enforcement ahead of its country visit,* (Index: IOR 40/6489/2023), 28 February 2023, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/ior40/6489/2023/en/; Amnesty International, *Brazil: Submission to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination,* (Index: AMR 19/6139/2022), 17 October 2022, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr19/6139/2022/en/
[36] Amnesty International, *Submission to the UN CERD-CMW Joint General Comment/Recommendation: Obligations of State Parties on addressing and eradicating xenophobia and its impact on the rights of migrants, their families, and other non-citizens affected by racial discrimination* (Index: IOR 40/7898/2024), 4 April 2024, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/ior40/7898/2024/en/; Amnesty International, "Canada has destroyed me": Labour exploitation of migrant workers in Canada (Index: AMR 20/8807/2025), 20 January 2025, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr20/8807/2025/en/; Amnesty International, "They did not treat us like people" Race and migration-related torture and other ill-treatment of Haitians seeking safety in the USA (Index: AMR 36/5973/20220), 22 September 2022, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr36/5973/2022/en/.
[37] Amnesty International, What's tax got to do with it: A resource guide on tax and human rights, (Index: POL 30/8134/2024), 17 September 2024, p. 45, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol30/8134/2024/en/;
[38] Amnesty International, *The Cost of Doing Business? The Petrochemical Industry's Toxic Pollution in the USA* (Index: AMR 51/7566/2024), 25 January 2025, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/AMR51/7566/2024/en/
[39] Amnesty International, *Sierra Leone: Authorities must repeal colonial vagrancy laws following historic ECOWAS ruling*, 13 November 2024, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/11/sierra-leone-authorities-must-repeal-colonial-vagrancy-laws-following-historic-ecowas-ruling/; Amnesty International, *Colonialism and sexual orientation and gender identity: Submission to the Independent Export on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity*, (Index: IOR 40/6862/2023), 15 June 2023, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/ior40/6862/2023/en/.

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