Towards a common institutional trajectory? Individual complaints before UN treaty bodies during their ‘Booming’ years

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Towards a common institutional trajectory? Individual complaints before UN treaty bodies during their ‘Booming’ years

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**ABSTRACT**

The expanding number of UN treaty bodies with competence to rule on individual complaints as well as the increasing amount of complaints lodged before these bodies trigger the question whether they are capable of acting as a unified institution when dealing with individual complaints or whether they remain as a fragmented institutional site. In this article, we comparatively analyse the case law of all treaty bodies between 2013 and 2016 with the aim of assessing whether UN treaty bodies are moving towards a common institutional trajectory. We find that despite textual differences, the treaty bodies’ case law displays both early signs of a common institutional trajectory and risks of institutional fragmentation. The most significant common institutional trends are access friendliness; self-referential citations, a preference for implicit harmonisation; and case by case activism with respect to individual remedies. Yet, we also identify lack of systematic and explicit cross treaty-fertilization and diverging approaches to specifying general remedies as risks that may undermine the formation of a common institutional trajectory. We argue that the early signs of informal collective institutionalisation may be capable of fostering a common institutional identity in the years to come, if risks of fragmentation are acknowledge and mitigated.

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UN treaty bodies; comparative international human rights law; human rights remedies; fragmentation; UN treaty body reform

1. Introduction

Since 1976, when the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) entered into force, the UN treaty bodies (or Committees as they are also known) have proliferated and expanded their capacity to receive and handle individual communications. The UN treaty body system now comprises of nine core human rights treaty bodies. At the time of writing, eight of these bodies have the active capacity to review individual petitions against States that have opted into individual complaints mechanisms under the relevant provisions of international human rights treaties. The only treaty body that does not have an active individual complaints mechanism is the...
Committee on Migrant Workers (CMW) – the threshold of ten States parties making a declaration accepting the individual communication procedure has not been reached yet.\(^3\)

Parallel to the rise in the ability to receive individual complaints, there has also been a steady increase in the number of States that have accepted the right to individual petition before the Committees.\(^4\) Furthermore, the Committees are not short of cases. Between 2013 and 2016, the Committees experienced a ‘boom’, with an 85 per cent increase in the number of registered individual communications.\(^5\)

Despite the large body of case law generated by eight treaty bodies, the institutional features with respect to how the Committees approach the handling of individual complaints has, thus far, lacked rigorous comparative examination. The majority of the literature on the treaty bodies focuses either on how each of the Committees have developed substantive rights individually or in comparison to regional courts and commissions,\(^6\) or on the process of reform of the UN treaty bodies.\(^7\) This literature identifies the risks of conflicting and fragmented jurisprudence on substantive rights in the proliferation of individual complaints handled by treaty bodies as a central concern. In 2006, Louise Arbour, then UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, proposed the establishment of a single unified treaty body because

\[
\text{[t]he existence of seven treaty bodies acting independently … raises the possibility of diverging interpretations which may result in uncertainty with respect to key human rights concepts and standards, which threatens a holistic, comprehensive and cross-cutting interpretation of human rights provisions.}
\]

Others proposal, such as the World Court of Human Rights, have also been put forward to alleviate the risk of fragmentation at the level of substantive norms.\(^9\)

This article complements this literature by shifting the attention from substantive analysis of case law to a comparative examination of whether the Committees share a common institutional trajectory when handling individual complaints. We investigate this by examining 1) approaches to admissibility criteria; 2) modalities of cross-fertilisation; and 3) approaches to remedies.\(^10\) Approaches to admissibility show whether there is a common institutional culture concerning access by individuals to the Committees. Modalities of cross-fertilisation help us to assess how individuals are expected to argue their cases before UN treaty bodies, what authorities they are expected to cite, and in turn, whether the treaty bodies are developing as self-contained regimes or as sites of systemic integration.\(^11\) Approaches to remedies allow us to determine whether individuals can expect similar remedial results before different treaty bodies.\(^12\) Taken together, the comparative analysis of these institutional features allows an assessment of whether treaty bodies are developing a common institutional trajectory, raising similar expectations amongst individuals appearing before them despite their formal standing as separate institutions.

This article surveys the case law of all UN treaty bodies from 2013 to 2016. This timeframe allows for a comprehensive comparison of the institutional trajectories of all eight active treaty bodies. We find that despite textual differences, the treaty bodies’ case law displays both early signs of a common institutional trajectory and risks of institutional fragmentation. The most significant common institutional trends are access friendliness; self-referential citations, a preference for implicit harmonisation; and case by case activism with respect to individual remedies. Yet, we also identify lack of systematic and explicit cross treaty-fertilization and diverging approaches to specifying general remedies as risks that may undermine the formation of a common institutional trajectory. In what
follows we support these findings through case law analysis and discuss their implications for the future development of the system in the light of ongoing reform discussions of UN treaty bodies in 2020 and the rise in the popularity of UN treaty body petitions amongst individuals and communities across the globe.

2. Admissibility

UN treaty bodies are access friendly. Cases reviewed between 2013 and 2016 reveal four common trends in support of this: 1) broad constructions of scopes of jurisdiction; 2) the consolidation of the exhaustion of effective judicial remedies rule; 3) the rejection of non-judicial barriers to exhaust domestic remedies; and 4) the refinement of the no forum principle.

2.1. Broad constructions of jurisdiction

The broad construction of jurisdiction can be seen with respect to how treaty bodies approach the definition of victim status, rules of non-retroactive application of treaties and the temporal scope of victimhood. In principle, to have standing before all the treaty bodies ‘an individual has to be actually and directly, personally affected’. While victims can group their communications, legal entities are usually not entitled to file public interest communications. Standing is more broadly formulated before the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), whose founding instruments allow for ‘petitions from individuals and groups of individuals’. In TBB-Turkish Union in Berlin/Brandenburg v Germany, however we find that CERD has embraced a broad notion of direct victim status that includes associations. In this case, CERD held that the TBB-Turkish Union could be a legitimate victim within the scope of its founding instrument, even if it was a legal entity. CERD came to this conclusion even though the link between the racist speech made by a Berlin based politician and the hate emails the TBB-Turkish Union received following the speech could not be causally connected. The Human Rights Committee (HRC) adopted a similar approach in Rabbae v The Netherlands. It held that despite the fact that its jurisdiction could not be seized by an actio popularis, the authors were members of a particular group targeted by a Dutch politician’s racist speech. The HRC noted that the racist statements had specific consequences for the petitioners, by creating discriminatory social attitudes against the Muslim community of which they were members. The notion of direct victim status has been expanded before both Committees beyond direct and targeted harm. We thus find that the notion of direct victim status has been enlarged before Committees, both those that have legal jurisdiction over legal entities, and those that do not.

A related but different development took place with respect to widening of the scope of victim status. The Committee on the Rights of Person with Disabilities (CRPD), for example, widened the definition of disability to include ‘illness’ in the case of S.C. v Brazil. In M.W. v Denmark CEDAW found that a communication regarding gender-based discrimination in custody proceedings, which eventually involves the best interest of the child, could also be made on behalf of the author’s male child before CEDAW.

Treaty bodies also exhibit leniency towards the temporal application of their treaties. In the case of A.F. v Italy, the CRPD relaxed the principle of non-retroactivity, by providing that an
‘instantaneous act with enduring effects’ after the entry into force of the CRPD would be admissible.\textsuperscript{21} This was a further exception to the already established continuing violation principle.\textsuperscript{22} In \textit{I.D.G. v Spain}, the CESC\textit{R} considered that although the alleged violations occurred before the entry into force of the Optional Protocol for the State party in question (i.e. 5 May 2013), the communication was admissible because the Constitutional Court’s decision of 16 October 2013 rejecting the applicant’s claims meant that the possibility of a violation of the author’s rights existed at that time.\textsuperscript{23} In a number of cases, the HRC has found that people who have already been deported continue to have victim status under the ICCPR.\textsuperscript{24}

Overall, this case law demonstrates that over the years the Committees have broadened their personal, material and temporal jurisdiction. Besides allowing more communications to reach the merits stage, such development may be taken as a signal to petitioners of the Committees openness to receiving more communications.

\section*{2.2. Reasonableness and effectiveness of domestic remedies}

The second trend is the consolidation of the exhaustion of effective domestic remedies rule across the treaty bodies. This is the case both with respect to the treaty bodies’ individual assessments of the exhaustion of domestic remedies requirement and with regard to the objective evaluation of the effectiveness of the remedies. With respect to the former, various Committees have highlighted the importance of the reasonableness of the exhaustion requirements imposed by States. In \textit{E.S. v United Republic of Tanzania}, CEDAW asserted that the requirement of the exhaustion of domestic remedies was met in situations where domestic proceedings are unreasonably prolonged.\textsuperscript{25} In \textit{X v Argentina}, CRPD found that the author had made a sufficient effort to bring his complaints before the national authorities and that the extraordinary remedies in place for the processing of the complainant’s application would excessively prolong the process.\textsuperscript{26} In \textit{Carreño v Spain}, CEDAW found that since Spain did not inform the complainant that there were other legal remedies available, the alleged victims were deemed to have exhausted domestic remedies because they had no knowledge of the other available options.\textsuperscript{27} In \textit{R.A.Y. v Morocco}, the Committee Against Torture (CAT) held that the applicant was only required to exhaust remedies that were directly related to the risk of torture.\textsuperscript{28}

With respect to the objective assessment of effective domestic remedies, the HRC underlined that the exhaustion requirement only applies where there are \textit{effective} remedies that have a reasonable chance of success.\textsuperscript{29} In three cases against Nepal, the HRC clarified that non-judicial bodies and future transitional justice mechanisms do not constitute remedies that need to be exhausted.\textsuperscript{30} Indeed, the HRC in the case of \textit{C.L.C.D. v Colombia},\textsuperscript{31} as well as the Committee on Enforced Disappearance (CED) in \textit{Yrusta v Argentina}, affirmed that in cases of serious violations a judicial remedy is required.\textsuperscript{32} Hence, we find that the criteria of reasonableness and effectiveness have increasingly guided the treaty bodies in their assessment of which domestic remedies really needed to be exhausted for a communication to be admissible.

\section*{2.3. Extra-judicial barriers to the exhaustion of domestic remedies}

The third trend concerns the openness of the Committees to take into account well-substantiated non-judicial barrier arguments for the exhaustion of domestic remedies. In
Sankhé v Spain, CEDAW held that domestic remedies would have been exhausted if the applicant had shown why she could not afford a lawyer to appear before the Constitutional Court. In Y.B. v Russia, the HRC held that it would consider a claim admissible under Article 14(1) of the ICCPR if the respondent State Party had raised a financial barrier which would de facto have prevented the complainant from accessing the court. In Omo-Amenaghawon v Denmark, the HRC found that whilst the author did not successfully exhaust domestic remedies due to technical reasons relating to her place of residence, the fact that Denmark did not challenge this failure to exhaust all domestic remedies allowed it to examine the case. Non-judicial barriers are not taken as a valid justification for failing to exhaust domestic remedies, unless they reach the level of rendering the remedies de facto unavailable or the State does not challenge admissibility on these grounds.

2.4. The ‘no other forum’ principle

The fourth trend we identify is the refinement of the ‘no other forum’ requirement. The international human rights law treaties granting the right of individual communications to CAT, CEDAW, CRPD, CESCR and the Committee on the Rights of the Child contain electa una via clauses. As soon as a proceeding is initiated before another forum, no other proceedings, either parallel or subsequent, will be admissible. The HRC, CERD, and CED are limited by lis alibi pendens clauses which bar multiple concurrent proceedings. However, some States have entered electa una via reservations to limit the jurisdiction of the HRC, CERD, and CED over subsequent proceedings as well.

Despite the observed textual differences and reservations, the treaty bodies exhibit a common understanding with respect to accepting complaints that have been submitted to, but not substantively addressed, by regional courts. Indeed, the Committees consider that as long as the other procedure was dismissed on procedural grounds without examining the merits, it does not preclude them from examining the case. In A.G.S. v Spain, the HRC underlined that despite the electa una via reservation by Spain, an inadmissibility decision without any reasoning from the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) could not be considered to have been ‘examined’ in the sense of Article 5(2) of the Optional Protocol to the ICCPR. In T.N. v Denmark, CEDAW followed the HRC approach and held that even though the same matter had been brought before the ECtHR, the Court’s decision only related to procedural matters and admissibility criteria. Thus, CEDAW examined the case on the basis that it did not contravene the ‘no other forum’ principle. CAT in Guerrero Larez v Venezuela and CESCR in Sierra v Spain came to the same conclusion. In Mariano Eduardo Haro v Argentina, CAT held that the subsequent withdrawal of an application from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights before a communication was lodged with CAT did not infringe the ‘no other forum’ principle. The HRC adopted the same reasoning in N.S. v Russia where the author withdrew his application to the ECtHR after his request for interim measures was rejected. It is interesting to note that in several cases where the regional court found the application inadmissible, the concerned Committee found a violation under its applicable treaty.
Furthermore, treaty bodies also offered expansive interpretations of what ‘same matter under examination’ means for the ‘no other forum’ principle to apply. In *Aarrass v Spain* the HRC indicated that it was not precluded from considering a communication pertaining to different violations than those previously alleged in an application to the ECtHR or based on provisions that are not fully congruent with the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and its Protocols, even though applications concerned the same facts. In *X and Y v Georgia* CEDAW found that notwithstanding the similarity of the two petitions, they did not relate to the ‘same matter’ as they involved different substantive rights. In the communication to CEDAW, the authors had invoked their right to equality and non-discrimination, while those allegations had not been invoked before the ECtHR. In general, the Committees have narrowly constructed the scope and object of applications previously rejected by regional human rights courts.

Finally, the treaty bodies have also delivered views that clarify the relationship between themselves and those UN Human Rights Council mechanisms that accept individual petitions. In *Aarrass v Morocco*, CAT held that such procedures and mechanisms do not generally constitute an international procedure of investigation or settlement. In *Niyonzima v Burundi*, CAT clarified the status of a communication that was also pending before the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention (WGAD). It held that since the WGAD’s mandate only encompasses arbitrary detention and not torture, this case did not infringe the ‘no other forum’ principle. In *Shikhmuradova v Turkmenistan*, the HRC found that a case submitted to the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (WGED) did not preclude the HRC from examining the communication. It held that bodies whose mandates are to examine and report publicly on human rights situations in specific countries or territories, or in cases of widespread human rights violations worldwide, are not covered by the ‘no other forum’ principle.

### 3. Modalities of cross-fertilization

In the period under review, we find self-referential development of case law is a dominant trend. For example, the HRC has seized the opportunity brought by new cases to reaffirm its case law related to freedom from arbitrary detention, freedom of expression and assembly, the principle of non-refoulement, enforced disappearance, and the duty to investigate non-state actors for enforced disappearances. In the case of CAT, the obligation to proceed to a prompt and impartial investigation, the obligation to verify that statements included in court proceedings have not been obtained by torture, the measures contemplated by the right to obtain redress, the requirement of a foreseeable, real, and personal risk of torture for the application of the non-refoulement principle, point to self-referencing as a core dynamic of interpretation. CEDAW also follows this trend. CEDAW has reconﬁrmed on a number of occasions the interpretive standards it uses in determining the extra-territorial reach of the CEDAW convention in non-refoulement cases. It has done the same on other issues, including no assumption of consent when rape is not resisted, the principle of due diligence in domestic violence cases, and the duty to combat gender stereotyping.

There has, however, been limited explicit inter-treaty body cross-fertilisation on interpretive standards. Between 2013 and 2016, CEDAW has referred to the case law of other
treaty bodies the most. The body of jurisprudence that is most explicitly referred to by other Committees on the other hand is that of CAT. Non-refoulement cases, the most common type of case across all treaty bodies, is where we see the highest number of references to CAT case law, in particular by CEDAW\textsuperscript{72} and the HRC.\textsuperscript{73} CEDAW has also made use of the HRC jurisprudence on the ‘no other forum’ principle and the exhaustion of domestic remedies to clarify its access rule\textsuperscript{74} as well as to HRC standards relating to the right to the free assistance of an interpreter, as a fundamental fair trial guarantee.\textsuperscript{75} Explicit citations of other treaty body case law, however, remain far and few in between. CAT has referred to the HRC on the status of complaints before extra-conventional UN mechanisms.\textsuperscript{76} CESCR referenced the views of the CRPD when deciding the rules on the non-retroactivity of their respective Optional Protocols.\textsuperscript{77} CRPD has referred to the jurisprudence of CAT and CED when emphasising the special position of States to safeguard the rights of persons deprived of their liberty.\textsuperscript{78} CED in \textit{Yrusta v Argentina} – its first and only view issued during the surveyed period – also referred to CAT jurisprudence on this point.\textsuperscript{79} What is more common is implicit harmonisation. This has notably been the case in relation to standards of review and the fourth instance doctrine. Between 2013 and 2016, the HRC repeatedly underlined that it is the role of the domestic appellate courts, not the HRC, to evaluate the facts of a case.\textsuperscript{80} For example, in \textit{N v Denmark}, the HRC decided not to assess the facts and evidence in the case unless it could be sure that the assessment made by the domestic authorities was clearly arbitrary or amounted to a denial of justice.\textsuperscript{81} We find echoes of this approach in the case law of CEDAW, CRC and CRPD. In \textit{T.N. v Denmark}, CEDAW held that it would only assess the facts and evidence of the case if the assessment of domestic authorities was clearly arbitrary or amounted to a denial of justice.\textsuperscript{82} Similarly, in \textit{A.F. v Italy}, CRPD confirmed that it is generally for States to evaluate the facts and evidence in a particular case, unless it is found that the evaluation was clearly arbitrary or amounted to a denial of justice.\textsuperscript{83} In \textit{A.A.A. v Spain}, CRC found that this deferential approach to domestic courts in relation to the facts and evidence in a particular case was a general rule.\textsuperscript{84} The reiteration of the same formula by all Committees, culminating with the CRC affirmation that such standard of review is a general rule, shows how harmonisation – although implicit – does indeed take place.

\textbf{3.1. UN treaty body jurisprudence within the broader context of international human rights law}

We find that the treaty bodies are generally reluctant to use judgments from regional human rights courts to support their findings. Despite petitioners recurrently referencing regional jurisprudence to support their claims,\textsuperscript{85} the Committees appear to prefer referencing their own jurisprudence, or that of other treaty bodies.

Notable exceptions include, \textit{M.N.N v Denmark}, \textit{M.E.N. v Denmark} and \textit{A. v Denmark} where CEDAW abstractly refers to ECtHR and Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHHR) jurisprudence in finding that gender-based violence and abuse can be tantamount to torture.\textsuperscript{86} These are however the only cases in the period under review where one of the treaty bodies used regional human rights courts case law to support its interpretation of existing law.

Where the jurisprudence of regional human rights courts has been cited by the treaty bodies this is not in relation to discussion of substantive points of law. For example, in
Jasin v Denmark, the HRC stated that ECtHR case law demonstrates that there was not a systematic failure on the part of Italy to provide support or facilities for asylum seekers. However, it neglected to refer to the same case law when finding that it is incumbent on the deporting State to seek assurances that the authors would be received in conditions compatible with their asylum seeker status. Similarly, in Guerrero Larez v Venezuela, CAT referred to a report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACComHR) in which Venezuela was called upon to adopt measures to prevent prisoner-on-prisoner violence, violence against prisoners by prison personnel and to ensure independent inspections of prisons. While the work of the IAComHR is referenced to show the general state of prisons in Venezuela, the CAT omitted to cite the well-known case law of the IACtHR to support its definition of enforced disappearance.

There are more instances of reference to regional human rights bodies solely to establish matters of fact. In S.I.D. v Bulgaria, the HRC referred to Yordanova v Bulgaria in which the ECtHR recognised the problem of a lack of legal security for the Roma in Bulgaria. In I.D.G. v Spain, CESCR took cognisance of a judgment from the Court of Justice of the European Union which held that Spanish law provided insufficient and incomplete protection to borrowers in mortgages enforcement proceedings. In Ramirez Martinez v Mexico, CAT called on the State party to amend its Military Criminal Code to comply with decisions of the IACtHR. While Ramirez Martinez is the only case where we find a reference to the obligation to comply with the case law of a regional human rights court in the remedial part of a decision, we also observe that this case law is not relied on to add weight to the interpretative standard adopted by the treaty bodies. On the basis of our findings, we note that the Committees generally cite the jurisprudence of the ECtHR, the Inter-American system, or the EU to support their factual findings or provide an evaluation of the human rights situation in a specific State.

In contrast, substantive issues of law discussed by the regional courts are often reflected upon explicitly in concurring and dissenting opinions. For example, our review demonstrates that when expounding a new legal argument or expressing a missed opportunity some HRC Committee members very much rely upon regional jurisprudence. In A.A.I v Denmark, HRC member Yadh Ben Achour criticised the majority for not having drawn upon the findings of the ECtHR in Tarakhel v Switzerland when addressing the deportation of a Somalian family to Italy under the EU Dublin II Regulation. In B.L. v Australia, HRC members Gerald L. Neuman and Yuji Iwasawa referred to the ECtHR case law to maintain that the internal relocation alternative does not violate the principle of non-refoulement. In M.T. v Uzbekistan, HRC members Sarah Cleveland and Olivier de Frouville referred to CEDAW and ECtHR case law when finding that violence committed against a person on the basis of their sex or gender amounts to discrimination.

De Frouville, in Rabbae v The Netherlands, urged the HRC to look at the CERD case law to find the appropriate way to implement the positive obligation deriving from the prohibition to incite discrimination, hostility or violence. In Mihoubi v Algeria, HRC members Fabian Savioli and Victor Rodriguez-Rescia referred to the case law of the main regional human rights bodies to support their claim that the principle of iura novit curia is applicable before international bodies. Yuval Shany is one member of the HRC who frequently relies on regional jurisprudence, in particular the ECtHR, in his opinions. In his partly dissenting opinion in Basnet v Nepal, Shany referenced the
findings of the ECtHR in *Selmouni v France* with regards to the exhaustion of domestic remedies. In *Griffiths v Australia*, he refers to the ECtHR case law to maintain that some fair trial rights in extradition proceedings must be contemplated with regards to the proceedings in the extraditing States, as well as in the requesting State. Finally, in *A.H.G. v Canada*, Shany refers to the ECtHR case law to assert that certain treatment or forms of punishment are tantamount to torture or cruel treatment, because of the context within which they take place.

Our research, therefore, indicates that the readiness to invoke regional human rights case law is a practice that is more present at the HRC and particular to some Committee members.

This trend has resonance beyond the HRC. For instance, in *TBB-Turkish Union in Berlin/Brandenburg v Germany*, CERD member Vazquez referred to ECtHR case law in his dissent, to argue that the concept of incitement to discriminatory legislation is a novel one and that States are not precluded from adopting a policy of prosecuting the most serious cases. This resort to regional bodies’ jurisprudence to support a contrary view is particularly significant given that other Committees, and especially CERD, have a long established practice of making decisions on individual communications by consensus.

While the Committees rarely acknowledge that their case law is aligned with findings of regional courts, the permeability of international human rights instruments (or instruments of other fields closely related to human rights law) do figure in their case law. For example, in three cases against Bosnia and Herzegovina, the HRC referred to Article 7(2)(i) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (Rome Statute) and Article 3 of the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance in ruling that a disappearance does not necessarily need to be attributed to a State actor to constitute a human rights violation. The Rome Statute was also referred to by CEDAW in *A v Denmark* to establish that rape is a form of torture and a crime against humanity. In *I.D.G v Spain*, CESCR emphasised the centrality of the right to housing by affirming that it is a right inextricably linked to other human rights, including those set forth in the ICCPR. In *S.C. v Brazil*, CRPD noted that Brazil was also a party to the Inter-American Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities and noted the definition of disability contained therein. In *Yrusta v Argentina*, CED referred to the Inter-American Convention on Forced Disappearance of Persons to clarify the legal meaning of a person ‘placed outside the protection of the law’.

Soft-law human rights instruments are also taken into account in the case law of the Committees. In *L.G. v Korea*, CERD referred to soft law instruments when concluding that mandatory HIV/AIDS testing in the workplace, as well as for entry, stay and residence purposes, are ineffective for public health protection, discriminatory and harmful for the enjoyment of fundamental human rights. Similarly, in *Khadzhiev v Turkmenistan*, the HRC quoted the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (Standard Minimum Rules) to support its approach to the right of prisoners to correspond with their families and reputable friends. The Standard Minimum Rules were also cited by the HRC in *Abdullayev v Turkmenistan* to illustrate that persons deprived of their liberty may not be subjected to any hardship or constraint other than that resulting from the deprivation of liberty. In *L.A. v Slovak Republic*, CERD referred to the UN Guiding Principles on the Right to Remedy and Reparation to assess whether a
reparation not including financial compensation was an effective remedy in accordance with international principles.\textsuperscript{117} In \textit{Aarrass v Morocco}, CAT noted that the medical examination conducted on the complainant, to investigate their allegations of torture, was not in conformity with the Manual on Effective Investigation and Documentation of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (the Istanbul Protocol).\textsuperscript{118}

\section*{4. Remedies}

The treaty bodies decide upon a wide range of remedies and these differ in terms of their scope, reach and specificity.\textsuperscript{119} They also vary between individual versus general remedies and specific versus abstract remedies. The Committees with more recent individual complaint mechanisms – CEDAW, CRPD and CESC – consistently make a distinction between individual and general remedies. The HRC, CAT and CERD do not make such a visible distinction explicitly. Nonetheless, it can be observed that some of the recommendations made by the latter treaty bodies go beyond providing remedies specific to the author and aim to ensure non-repetition of the violation.

\subsection*{4.1. Individual remedies}

Treaty bodies often call upon States to provide reparations, redress, or another ‘effective remedy’. Whilst all treaty bodies ask for specific remedies, these flow from the specifics of each case and are not provided consistently as a matter of principle. In the period under review, all eight Committees have indicated that the State should compensate the victim.\textsuperscript{120} However, no Committee has specified the exact amount of financial compensation.\textsuperscript{121} In \textit{L.G. v Korea} CERD called upon the State to grant adequate compensation for the moral and material damages suffered by the author.\textsuperscript{122} The Committee further specified that L.G. be compensated for the lost wages during the year she was prevented from working.\textsuperscript{123} In \textit{Belousova v Kazakhstan}, CEDAW also suggested that compensation be given for loss of income.\textsuperscript{124} Some decisions also request that compensation for legal and other costs be provided.\textsuperscript{125} CAT is an exception and does not ask for compensation towards legal costs. There are, however, also instances where the Committees do not call for reparations for the harm suffered but only for the legal costs. This was the case in \textit{I.D.G. v Spain}, where the CESCR asked the State party to only reimburse the victim for their legal costs.\textsuperscript{126} The CRPD took the same position in \textit{F v Austria}.\textsuperscript{127}

All eight Committees have recommended additional individual remedies alongside compensation tailored to the specifics of violations.\textsuperscript{128} For instance, in cases where the complainant’s convictions were in violation of the ICCPR, the HRC has called for the criminal record to be expunged.\textsuperscript{129} In \textit{Akamatov v Kyrgyzstan} the HRC considered that an effective remedy for a violation of the right to life and the prohibition of torture entailed conducting a new, expeditious, impartial, effective and thorough investigation into the exact circumstances of the author’s son’s death and the prosecution of those responsible.\textsuperscript{130} In \textit{Basnet v Nepal}, dealing with enforced disappearance, the HRC added to these that the State should provide detailed information about the results of the investigation and ensure that ‘necessary and adequate’ psychological rehabilitation and medical treatment was made available.\textsuperscript{131} In \textit{Shikhmuradova v Turkmenistan} the HRC asked for remedies that were specific to a
disappeared person whose fate was still unknown. In this case the HRC requested the immediate release of the direct victim if he was still being detained incommunicado, or that his remains be handed over to his family if the victim was dead. In cases of non-refoulement the HRC has recommended a full reconsideration of the author’s claim regarding the risk he would face should he be returned to his home country. In Aarrass v Spain the HRC recommended, after extradition in violation of an interim measure, that the State take ‘all possible steps to cooperate with the Moroccan authorities in order to ensure effective oversight of the author’s treatment in Morocco’.

Most CAT non-refoulement cases do not follow the HRC in asking for a full reconsideration of the deportation proceedings. Instead CAT normally requests the State to refrain from forcibly returning the author to a place where they may be at risk of being tortured, or to any other country where they run the risk of being returned to the former country. In cases where an extradition has already occurred with diplomatic assurances, CAT may urge the extraditing State to undertake regular visits and effective monitoring of detention. However, in other cases CAT simply finds that expelling the complainant to the country where they are at risk of torture would be, or is, a violation of the principle of non-refoulement without specifying remedies. Some of CAT’s decisions dealing with acts of torture or cruel treatment are, however, similar to those of the HRC. This is where CAT recommends that an impartial inquiry into the events in question be launched for the purpose of prosecuting those responsible for the treatment. In Aarrass v Morocco, CAT said that the State must investigate the author’s allegations of torture and that this investigation must include medical examinations in line with the Istanbul Protocol.

CEDAW and CRPD also demand specific individual remedies on a case by case basis. For example, in Groninger v Germany, CRPD requested the State to reassess the author’s application for an integration subsidy and effectively promote employment opportunities in light of the Convention. In X v Argentina CRPD stressed that the State was obligated to ensure that the author’s place of detention provided equal access to facilities, services and suitable, timely heath care. In R.P.B. v Philippines CEDAW called upon the State to provide psychological counselling and therapy for the survivor and her affected family and to provide barrier-free education with interpretation facilities. In I.D.G. v Spain CESCR called on the State to ensure that the auction of the author’s property did not proceed unless she was provided with due process and procedural protections. In comparison, CED followed a comprehensive approach with regards to individual remedies and demanded a list of specific measures. In Yrusta v Argentina the Committee asked that an investigation and prosecution take place and also that the authors be recognised as victims so that they could play an effective part in the investigation into the death and enforced disappearance of their brother.

A new but also contested trend, especially at the HRC, is to call upon States to convey public apologies as individual remedies. In spite of General Comment No 31, where the HRC recognised that reparations can involve measures of satisfaction such as public apologies and memorials, the Committee’s case law on this point has not been consistent. In Baruani v Democratic Republic of the Congo, the HRC asked the State to formally apologise to the victim and his family for his arbitrary arrest and the unlawful interference with his right to privacy and torture. However, in Bariza Zaier v Algeria, Gerald Neumann issued an opinion where he criticised the author’s counsel, Philippe Grant, for having asked the Committee to direct States to provide remedies including an official apology,
building of a monument for the victim or the naming of a street after the victim. Indeed, the measures suggested by Grant were clearly drawn from the remedial practice of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Neumann stated that, in his opinion, ‘each of these measures falls in the category of remedial options, for consideration by the State in carrying out its obligation to compose an effective remedy’. He went on to assert that ‘the Committee is not authorised to exercise remedial discretion and impose its choices on the State’. Despite Neumann’s strong criticism these kinds of remedies have also been recommended by other treaty bodies.

4.2. General remedies

General remedies ordered by the treaty bodies can generally be broken down into the following two categories: calls for the review of legislation, procedures, policy and practices and the organisation of trainings sometimes coupled with awareness raising campaigns. In its only view to date, CED requested that the State compile and maintain registers of persons subject to enforced disappearance in order to ensure non-repetition and protection. While the HRC and CAT repeatedly reiterate the State obligation to prevent similar violations in the future, they are the treaty bodies that engage the least with general remedies. The HRC sometimes requests that the State review its legislation and implementation of law in order to ensure that the rights at stake are fully enjoyed. The HRC may also specifically instruct the State to amend the law. In Mellet v Ireland, for example, the HRC urged the State party to amend its law on the voluntary termination of pregnancy, including the Constitution if necessary. However, the HRC has failed to call for such amendments in other cases where one might have expected it. This has occurred even in cases where there was a firm belief by some Committee members that such a remedy was necessary. In cases against Algeria, emerging from enforced disappearances arising from the 1990 civil war, the Committee has repeatedly affirmed: ‘Notwithstanding the terms of Ordinance No. 06-01, the State party should also ensure that it does not impede enjoyment of the right to an effective remedy for crimes such as torture, extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances.’ Savioli and Finterman argue that this passage means that the State’s judicial branch is required to ‘ascertain compatibility with treaties and not to apply any domestic norms that are incompatible with the Covenant’. However, they also argue that the Committee should have ordered Algeria to amend its domestic legislation. CAT usually stops short of providing detailed general measures or calling for legislative changes. That being said, in Ramirez Martinez v Mexico CAT did call upon Mexico to repeal the legal provisions regarding pre-charge detention, amend the Code of Military Justice and ensure that any human rights violation committed by military officers falls exclusively under its civil jurisdiction. However, between 2013 and 2016 this is the only CAT decision explicitly requiring such legal reforms.

Unlike CAT other Committees have regularly called upon States to review their legislation. Sometimes the treaty bodies go as far as specifying the exact provision or law that needs to be amended. In L.G. v Korea CERD asked the State to review regulations and policies enacted at the State or local level related to employment of foreigners and abolish, both in law and practice, any piece of legislation, regulation, policy or measure which has the effect of creating or perpetuating racial discrimination.
In *I.D.G. v Spain* CESCRI described in detail the type of legislative and administrative reforms that needed to be undertaken to ensure the accessibility of legal remedies for persons facing procedures for failing to repay mortgage loans. Similarly, CEDAW recommended in *R.P.B. v Philippines* that legislative reforms be undertaken with respect to the domestic Criminal Code definition of rape and the right to free and adequate assistance of interpreters. In *X v Argentina* CRPD outlined three areas where Argentina was called to adopt appropriate measures to ensure that similar violations do not occur in the future. In *F v Austria* it called for the review and adoption of laws and regulations concerned with access, for example, to transport and procurement, to be carried out in close consultation with persons with disabilities and their representative organisations.

The CRPD, CEDAW and CERD have developed a comprehensive way of dealing with general remedies that go beyond legislative or policy reforms. In *X and Y v Georgia* CEDAW called upon the respondent State to intensify its awareness-raising campaigns to counter violence against women, ratify the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence and to provide mandatory training for judges, lawyers and law enforcement personnel on how to apply the Convention. In *F v Austria* CRPD urged the State to ensure that training on accessibility for persons with disabilities is provided to all service providers in the public transport network. In *V.S. v Slovakia* CERD stressed that the State should organise training programmes for persons involved in education, and law enforcement officials, on duties related to preventing racial discrimination and equality before the law respectively. While such general remedies are common, and a trend for CEDAW, CRPD and CERD, our research shows that this is not the case for HRC, CAT and CESCR.

All views where a violation was found by any of the treaty bodies, irrespective of whether specific remedies are recommended, request the State party to provide information within a certain time period, varying from three to six months, on any action taken to give effect to the Committee’s view.

5. Conclusion

Our survey of the institutional trajectory of the UN treaty bodies reveals that the case law of the treaty bodies can be treated as having an emerging common institutional trajectory with respect to admissibility and access friendliness. Yet differences remain with respect to modalities of cross-fertilisation and approaches to general remedies. The review further shows that treaty bodies are capable of converging with one another through interpretation despite differences in their textual basis and their different stages of engagement with the right to individual communication.

Treaty bodies encourage individual petitions and signal access friendliness to potential victims of human rights violations. They do so, not only by offering expansive interpretations of the scope of victim status, but also through not overly strict exhaustion of the domestic remedy rule. What is more, they are willing to hear applicants who have not been able to succeed before regional human rights institutions due to the imposition of more stringent admissibility criteria of the latter over time. Looking ahead, however, this may not prove to be a stable and shared trend given the rise in the popularity of individual petitions before UN treaty bodies and the lack of success in securing more resources for the Petitions Unit of the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.
Indeed, while the number of communications addressed to the treaty bodies increased from 170 in 2013–314 in 2016, the backlog of communications pending review increased from 584 in 2013 to 977 in 2017 (of which 71 per cent are of the HRC alone). As such, the current openness may result in treaty bodies with higher number of cases to develop more restrictive approaches, and importing models from institutions with similar problems, such as the ECtHR or to significant delays in delivering justice to applicants.

Our review showed that of all the treaty bodies, CEDAW is the most open body to engage in explicit cross-fertilisation with other treaty bodies in the period under review. Yet, the overall trend, in particular amongst the HRC and the CAT, is the development of their case law through self-referential citations. It is, however, not clear whether explicit cross-references are a matter of treaty body legal culture or a lack of resources. In this respect, increase in the case load across UN treaty bodies, coupled with a failure to provide lack of adequate secretarial support following the 2020 review could presents a risk for the UN treaty bodies to speak in a consolidated voice to victims of human rights violations in the future. Such risk further lends support to concerns over substantive fragmentation.

The same concern, however, does not carry over to the lack of explicit citations of regional courts and commissions. Recurrent references to regional courts case law in the pleadings as well as in the separate and concurrent opinions of Committee members reveal that treaty bodies are informed about regional human rights case law, but are merely cautious in not presenting the UN case law as a strict follower of regional systems. While Navi Pillay had recommended a ‘more systematic reference to jurisprudence of the regional systems’, the lack of explicit cross-fertilisation with regional courts and commissions may be seen as cultivating dynamics of healthy pluralism in interpretations of human rights by UN treaty bodies and regional courts and commissions.

UN treaty bodies share a common institutional trajectory in terms of openness to specify individual remedies on a case by case basis. Their preferences, however, are not yet fully aligned. Pronouncing specific general remedies is one area where textual differences across treaties result in important variations: new Committees such as the CEDAW and the CRPD offering more guidance on general remedies than the old Committees, such as the CAT and the HRC.

This review shows that UN treaty bodies are able to send comparable signals to States, individuals and NGOs despite their existence as separate entities. Given that the creation of a single and unified treaty body does not look feasible as part of the 2020 reform agenda, treaty bodies, the UN Secretariat and those taking cases should nurture this informal, but collective institutional trajectory further. Such purposive nurturing may hold the key to the effective functioning of the UN individual petition system in the years to come, making it more usable, comprehensible and apt for diffusion for all stakeholders concerned.

Notes


4. As of 4 June 2018, the number of States parties that have accepted the right to individual petition before each of the treaty bodies are: HRC, 116 of 171 States parties; CAT, 68 of 164 States parties; CEDAW, 109 of 189 States parties; CERD, 58 of 179 States parties; CRPD, 91 of 177 States parties; CRC, 39 of 196 States parties; CESCR, 23 of 168 States parties; CED, 21 of 58 States parties.


12. Compliance with the views of UN treaty bodies is outside of the scope of this article.

13. Vandenhole (n 9) 205.


17. Ibid., paras 11.2–11.4.


34. *Y.B. v Russia*, CCPR/C/110/D/1983/2010 (25 March 2014) para 9.4. See also *Bereznoy v Russia*, CCPR/C/118/D/2107/2011 (28 October 2016) para 8.4 where the HRC found that the author did not have adequate opportunities to prepare an appeal.


36. Art 22(4)(a), Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (adopted 10 October 1984, entered into force 26 June 1987) 1465 UNTS 85.

37. Art 4 OP 1–CEDAW.

38. Art 2(c) OP-CRPD.

39. Art 3(2)(c) OP-ICESCR.

40. Art 7 (d) OP-ICRC.
41. Art 5(2) OP 1-ICCPR.
42. Rule 84(l)(g) CERD Rules of Procedure (1989) UN Doc CERD/C/35/Rev. 3.
43. Art 30(2)(e) ICED.
45. Austria, Croatia, Denmark, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Spain, Sweden and Uganda have entered such a reservation to OP 1-ICCPR. See Shany, *The Competing Jurisdictions of International Courts and Tribunals*, 215–216.
48. T.N. v Denmark, CEDAW/C/59/D/37/2012 (3 November 2014) para 12.4.
52. N.S. v Russia, CCPR/C/113/D/2192/2012 (27 March 2015) para 9.2.
61. See, for example: T v Canada, CCPR/C/114/D/2280/2013 (22 July 2015). In Omo-Amenaghawon v Denmark, CCPR/C/114/D/2288/2013 (23 July 2015), the HRC cited its own non-


66. ibid, CAT held that redress within the meaning of Art 14 includes restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, and measures to ensure that there are no recurrences of the violations and referred to Ntikarahera v Burundi, CAT/C/52/D/503/2012 (12 May 2014) para 6.5, and Bendib v Algeria, CAT/C/51/D/376/2009 (8 November 2013).


73. For example, the HRC in Y v Canada, CCPR/C/114/D/2280/2013 (22 July 2015); Ono-Amenaghawon v Denmark, CCPR/C/114/D/2288/2013 (23 July 2015); Aminov v Turkmenistan, CCPR/C/117/D/2220/2012 (14 July 2016) and K.B. v Russia, CCPR/C/116/D/2193/2012 (10 March 2016).

74. See: CEDAW, T.N. v Denmark, CEDAW/C/59/D/37/2012 (3 November 2014) (looked at HRC case law on the interpretation of whether the same matter has been or is being examined under another procedure of international investigation or settlement; in particular, HRC, Vojnović v Croatia, CCPR/C/95/D/1510/2006 (30 March 2009); HRC, Onoufiou v Cyprus, CCPR/C/100/D/1636/2007 (25 October 2010)). See CEDAW, X v Austria, CEDAW/C/64/D/67/2014 (11 July 2016) (complainant is required to abide by reasonable procedural requirements such as filing deadlines, refers to HRC, Lim v Australia, CCPR/C/87/D/1175/2003 (25 July 2006); and alleged violations must be raised in substance...


88. Ibid., para 8.9; see *Tarakhel v Switzerland*, App No 29217/12, Judgment of 4 November 2014, paras 120–121.

89. *Guerrero Larez v Venezuela*, CAT/C/54/D/456/2011 (15 May 2015) para 6.7. In this case, Venezuela failed to submit its observations to CAT. Thus, on the basis of the facts alleged by the author and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights report Venezuela was found to have violated Art 2 and 11 of CAT.

90. Ibid., para 6.4; see for instance IACtHR, *Case of Velásquez-Rodríguez v. Honduras*, Series C No 4 (29 July 1988).


94. We did not find any references by the parties to the judgments of the African Court (or Commission) on Human and Peoples' Rights in the views issued during the period under review.


96. They have also referred to other instruments or reports of UN special rapporteurs. See, for example: *Kerrouche v Algeria*, CCPR/C/118/D/2128/2012 (3 November 2016), Individual opinion of Olivier de Frouville; and *Rabbæ v The Netherlands*, CCPR/C/117/D/2124/2011 (14 July 2016), Individual opinion (concurring) of HRC members Sarah Cleveland and Mauro Politi.


110. *S.C. v Brazil*, CRPD/C/12/D/10/2013 (2 October 2014) para 6.3 cited the Inter-American Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities (adopted 7 June 1999, entered into force 14 September 2001) AG/RES. 1608 (XXIX-O/99), when it stated that the State party’s obligations regarding other human rights instruments to which it is a party are concurrently applicable.


114. *Khadzhiev v Turkmenistan*, CCPR/C/113/D/2079/2011 (1 April 2015) para 8.8 (refers to the Standard Minimum Rule, Rule 37 states that prisoners have the right to correspond with their relatives); see also HRC, *Matyakubov v Turkmenistan*, CCPR/C/117/D/2224/2012 (14 July 2016) para 7.3.


121. See, however, HRC in *Timmer v Netherlands*, CCPR/C/111/D/2097/2011 (24 July 2014) para 9 where the HRC indicates that according to the author, 1000 EUR would not be sufficient compensation.


123. Ibid, para 9.


139. Aarrass v Morocco, CAT/C/52/D/477/2011 (19 November 2014) para 12 where the evidence presented by the complainant showed that previous medical examinations were not done in accordance with the Protocol and their reliability was challenged on this particular ground. See also: Asfari v Morocco, CAT/C/59/D/606/2014 (15 November 2016) para 15 and Elaiba v Tunisia, CAT/C/57/D/551/2013 (6 May 2016) para 7.10.

140. Groninger v Germany, CRPD/C/D/2/2010 (4 April 2014); Beasley v Australia, CRPD/C/15/D/11/2013 (2016) and CRPD, Lockrey v Australia, CRPD/C/15/D/13/2013 (1 April 2016) (the Committee asked the State party to enable the authors to participate in jury duty).


142. R.P.B. v the Philippines, CEDAW/C/88/D/56/2014 (4 December 2015); On the other hand, see CEDAW in VS. v Slovakia, CERD/C/88/D/56/2014 (4 December 2015); On the other hand, see CERD in L.G. v Republic of Korea, CERD/C/86/D/51/2012 (1 May 2015) in which the author unsuccessfully asked CERD to urge the State to provide her with a public apology.

143. Yrusta v Argentina, CEDAW/C/86/D/51/2012 (1 May 2015) (in all these cases against Belarus the HRC asked that Law on Mass Events be reviewed in accordance with Art 19 and/or 21 of the ICCPR); see also HRC in Koktish v Belarus, CCPR/C/111/D/1985/2010 (24 July 2014) (review of legislation, the ‘Rules of Accreditation for Journalists
from the Mass Media House to the House of Representatives of Belarus’ in accordance with Art 19 of the ICCPR).


155. HRC in Mihoubi v Algeria, CCPR/C/109/D/1874/2009 (18 October 2013), Individual opinions by Fabián Omar Salvioli and Víctor Manuel Rodríguez-Rescia; see also Boudjemai v Algeria, CCPR/C/107/D/1791/2008 (22 March 2013), Individual opinion (concurring) of Committee member Fabián Omar Salvioli; Mechati v Algeria, CCPR/C/107/D/1807/2008 (22 March 2013), Partly dissenting opinion of Committee member Víctor Rodríguez Rescia.


158. Ibid, para 16.


160. L.G. v Republic of Korea, CERD/C/86/D/51/2012 (1 May 2015) para 9; TBB- Turkish Union in Berlin/ Brandenburg v Germany, CERD/C/82/D/48/2010 (4 April 2013) which recommends that the State party review its policy and procedures concerning prosecution in cases of alleged racial discrimination consisting of dissemination of ideas of superiority over other ethnic groups and incitement to discrimination on such grounds.


164. F v Austria, CRPD/C/14/D/21/2014 (21 August 2015).


167. F v Austria, CRPD/C/14/D/21/2014 (21 August 2015); see also CRPD, Nyusti v Hungary, CRPD/C/9/D/1/2010 (16 April 2013).


169. Note that formal follow-up procedures have been established to assess compliance with views of the HRC, CERD, CAT, CEDAW, CRPD, CED. See: OHCHR Secretariat, ‘Procedures of the human rights treaty bodies for following up on concluding observations, decisions and Views’ (8 May 2017) UN Doc HRI/MC/2017/4, 15–20.


172. Report of the Secretary-General, ‘Status of the human rights treaty body system’ (18 July 2016) UN Doc A/71/118, Annex IX.


174. Note Art 28(2) of CED which calls upon the Committee to consult the other treaty bodies, and in particular the HRC, to ensure the consistency of its case law.


176. Compare OP 1-ICCPR, art. 5(4), Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, art. 22(7) and ICED, art. 31(5) with ICERD, art. 14 (7)(b); OP 1-CEDAW, art. 7(3); OP-CRPD, art. 5; OP-ICESCR, art. 9(1); OP-CRC, art. 10(5).

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