

Mandates of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights; the Special Rapporteur on the right to education; the Independent Expert on the effects of foreign debt and other related international financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights; the Independent expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order and the Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the enjoyment of human rights

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20 January 2026

Excellency,

We have the honour to address you in our capacities as Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights; Special Rapporteur on the right to education; Independent Expert on the effects of foreign debt and other related international financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights; Independent expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order and Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the enjoyment of human rights, pursuant to Human Rights Council resolutions 55/5, 53/7, 52/17, 57/7 and 54/15.

In this connection, we would like to bring to your attention information we have received concerning the adoption of restrictive measures by the European Union against academics, scientists and analysts in connection with opinions they expressed in academic publications, at conferences and in mass media. We are concerned that these measures have a detrimental effect on the enjoyment of human rights such the right to freedom of expression, the right to education, scientific and academic freedoms, the right to participate in cultural life, including the right to participate in science, the right to development and others.

According to the information received:

The Council of the European Union adopted the Regulation (EU) 2024/2642 of 8 October 2024 concerning restrictive measures in view of Russia's destabilizing activities. These restrictive measures, among others, apply to those "responsible for, implementing, supporting, or benefitting from actions or policies by the Government of the Russian Federation which undermine or threaten democracy, the rule of law, stability or security in the Union or in one or several of its Member States, in an international organization, or in a third country, or which undermine or threaten the sovereignty or independence of one or several of its Member States, or of a third country through planning, directing, engaging in, directly or indirectly, supporting or otherwise facilitating the use of coordinated information manipulation and interference"¹. In implementing regulations, the European Union designated a number of individuals and companies of different nationalities and places of registration under the

¹ Article 2(3)(a)(iv), <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2024/2642/oj/eng>.

allegation of the destabilizing activity².

On 15 December 2025, the Council approved the Implementing Regulation (EU) 2025/2568 implementing Regulation (EU) 2024/2642 to add to the list of the sanctioned persons academics, scientists and analysts for their opinions expressed in publications, at conferences and in mass media, in their capacity as university professors.

Restrictive measures were taken against J. BAUD, former strategic analyst, intelligence and terrorism specialist; T.V. BORDACHEV, political scientist and international affairs specialist, Programme Director of the Valdai Discussion Club, Academic Supervisor of the Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies at the National Research University – Higher School of Economics (HSE University)³, D.V. SUSLOV, Deputy Director, Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies, HSE University, Moscow; Deputy Director for Research Programmes at the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy; expert and frequent speaker at the Valdai Discussion Club; contributor to Russia in Global Affairs; F.A. LUKYANOV, political scientist; Editor-in-Chief of Russia in Global Affairs; Research Director of the Valdai Discussion Club; Ivan Nikolaevich TIMOFEEV, political scientist, foreign-policy analyst and policy strategist, Director-General of the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC); Programme Director of the Valdai Discussion Club; A.G. BYSTRITSKYI, academic and think-tank executive; Chairman of the Board of the Valdai Discussion Club Foundation⁴.

The conduct that was considered as destabilising activities included critics of unilateral sanctions, political assessments of the causes lead to an armed conflict in Ukraine; academic assessment of the contemporary international politics; the rationale for the cooperation between the Global South and Russia⁵.

The attribution of the respective activities to the Russian Federation was made on the basis of the fact of employment by the University, established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation; of the presentation made at the international forum established by a non-profit academic and diplomatic think tank, leading Russian universities and a non-governmental organization⁶; participation in high-level discussions, the opinion expressed coincided with an official position of the Russian Federation, support of activity/opinions “attributable to the Government of Russian Federation”⁷.

While we do not wish to prejudge the accuracy of the information received, we are deeply concerned that the above-mentioned academics, scientists and analysts have been sanctioned for having exercised their right to freedom of expression, their academic and scientific freedoms, and their right to take part in cultural life, including to participate in science.

2 <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A02024R2642-20251007>.

3 Ibid.

4 https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ:L_202502568.

5 https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg_impl/2025/2568/oj/eng.

6 <https://ru.valdaiclub.com/about/founders/>.

7 https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg_impl/2025/2568/oj/eng.

We deeply regret that the European Union is using the terminology of “attribution” of activity to the Government of Russian Federation, and views individuals and entities as “acting on behalf of the Government of the Russian Federation” in the Implementing Regulation (EU) 2025/2568, that does not correspond to international customary law on international responsibility reflected in the Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Act (articles 4-11)⁸. Such an overbroad interpretation of attribution based on a mere fact of the coincidence of an expert opinion with the official position of the government, is contrary to international law.

The restrictive measures imposed on academics, scientists and analysts violate the obligation deriving from article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which stipulates that “everyone shall have the right to hold and express opinions without interference”⁹. As the Human Rights Committee stresses in its general comment 34 “all forms of opinion are protected, including opinions of a political, scientific, historic, moral or religious nature”¹⁰.

Unilateral sanctions adopted in accordance with the Regulation (EU) 2024/2642 and the Council Implementing Regulation (EU) 2025/2568 put an extensive pressure on academics, scientists and analysts, provoke fear among them, trigger a notable chilling effect coercing them not to express their views, prevent them from the participation in international academic projects, publication of the results of their academic works and conducting teaching activities, which contradicts article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Human Rights Committee reiterated that “the harassment, intimidation or stigmatization of persons for reasons of the opinions they may hold constitutes a violation of article 19, paragraph 1 of the Covenant”¹¹. Any form of effort to coerce the holding or not holding of any opinion is prohibited¹².

Such sanctions also infringe the right to education of everyone, provided in article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which demands respect for academic freedom, as well as right to participate in cultural life and the right to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications, prescribed in article 15 (a) and (b) of the Covenant. Under article 15(3) States have also undertaken “to respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity”¹³.

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights stresses the obligation of states to ensure “robust protection of freedom of research”, which includes “at the least, the following dimensions: protection of researchers from undue influence on their judgment; the possibility for researchers to set up autonomous research institutions and to define the aims and objectives of the research and the methods to be adopted; the freedom of researchers to freely and openly question the ethical value of certain projects and the right to withdraw from those projects if their conscience so dictates; the freedom of researchers to cooperate with other researchers, both nationally and internationally;

⁸ https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/draft_articles/9_6_2001.pdf.

⁹ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights>.

¹⁰ <https://docs.un.org/en/CCPR/C/GC/34>, para. 9.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., para. 10.

¹³ <https://docs.un.org/en/E/C.12/GC/25>, para. 13.

and the sharing of scientific data and analysis with policymakers, and with the public wherever possible”¹⁴.

The adoption of restrictive measures against those expressing criticism of “Western sanctions” is illegal under international law, since such measures constitute unilateral coercive measures¹⁵ prohibited by international law¹⁶; violates the presumption of innocence, the principle *nulla poena sine culpa*, freedom of expression, infringes academic freedoms, negatively affects the enjoyment of the right to education, the right to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications, the right to development.

Imposition of unilateral coercive measures against researchers and analysts constitutes a manifest violation of academic freedoms, which “protects the ability of individuals to question and test received knowledge, to think outside conventional ideas and received opinions and to propose new concepts, including controversial or unpopular opinions, for the benefit of societies.”¹⁷ The Human Rights Council stressed that “individuals, as members of academic communities or in their own pursuits, should be free to conduct activities involving the discovery and transmission of knowledge and ideas, and to do so with the full protection of human rights law, and stressing further the role of higher education as an essential part of the right to education.”¹⁸

We would like to take to your consideration that states bear both the negative and the positive obligations for the advancement of science and the dissemination of scientific knowledge (i.e. the obligations to respect, to protect and to fulfil), including via protection of the right to participate and benefit from science and scientific progress; elimination of censorship and arbitrary limitations on access to the Internet; refraining from imposing and eliminating any obstacles to cooperation among scientists¹⁹.

We would like to reiterate that in the case of the rights to education and to participate in cultural life, including the right to participate in science, any limitations should be prescribed by law, promote the general welfare of the democratic society and be compatible with the nature of the rights restricted, proportionate to the aim and necessary insofar that whichever measure is imposed should be the least affecting economic, social and cultural rights. According to article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, limitations to freedom of expression, including academic and scientific freedoms, may only apply if deemed necessary for the respect of the rights or reputations of other persons or for the protection of national security or public order, with the burden of proof of the necessity and proportionality of such measures lying strictly with the State, and with no retrogressive measures permissible. Regulations of the European Union Council adopted pursuant article 215 of the Treaty

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ A/HRC/48/59, paras. 97-100

¹⁶ HRC, resolution 15/24 of 6 October 2010, paras. 1-3; HRC, resolution 45/5 of 6 October 2020, preamble; HRC, resolution 49/6 of 31 March 2022, preamble, paras. 1-3; HRC, resolution 52/13 of 17 April 2023, paras. 1-6; HRC, resolution 55/7 of 5 April 2024, paras. 1-6; HRC, resolution 58/3 of 2 April 2025, paras. 1-7; UNGA, resolution 69/180 of 18 December 2014, paras. 5-6; UNGA, resolution 75/181 of 16 December 2020, paras. 1-6; UNGA, resolution 76/161 of 7 January 2022, paras. 1-6; UNGA, resolution 77/214 of 5 January 2023, paras. 1-6; UNGA, resolution 78/202 of 23 December 2023, paras. 1-6; UNGA, resolution 79/167 of 17 December 2024, paras. 1-6.

¹⁷ <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/56/58>, para. 2.

¹⁸ <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/RES/59/9>.

¹⁹ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, general comment No. 25 (2020), paras. 14-20 and 42.

on the Functioning of the European Union do not conform with these requirements²⁰ and, therefore, cannot prescribe any limitations on freedom of expression. The Human Rights Committee, in its general comment No. 34 (2011), explicitly states that research that does not harm national security or public order may not be suppressed²¹.

We would also refer to the fact that academics, scientists and analysts designated under this regulation face serious restrictions in the enjoyment of the broad scope of human rights as a result of the European Union's unilateral sanctions and enforcement measures. They are losing job opportunities, have no access to bank accounts, cannot ensure the right to descent life, freedom of movement etc. As reflected in the report on the access to justice in the face of unilateral coercive measures and over-compliance²², the European Union is treating unilateral sanctions as a political action and does not ensure any guarantees regarding presumption of innocence. Any possibility for appeal and effective remedy is mostly of the nominal character and treated with substantial account of geopolitical rather than legal or factual concerns.

Such measures are also creating a feeling of fear amongst analysts, academic and researchers all around the world, affecting badly academic and scientific freedoms both in the sanctioning states and abroad.

A more comprehensive analysis on the issue of the impact of unilateral sanctions on the right to education and other academic rights, including on academic freedoms can be found in the 2025 thematic report to the 80th session of the General Assembly by the Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the enjoyment of human rights (A/80/208²³).

In connection with the above alleged facts and concerns, please refer to the **Annex on Reference to international human rights law** attached to this letter which cites international human rights instruments and standards relevant to these allegations.

As it is our responsibility, under the mandates provided to us by the Human Rights Council, to seek to clarify all cases brought to our attention, we would be grateful for your observations on the following matters:

1. Please provide any additional information and/or comment(s) you may have on the above-mentioned allegations.
2. Please provide information on the measures undertaken to ensure freedom of expression in academia, as well as enjoyment of academic freedoms, including to eliminate censorship.
3. Please explain how the Regulation (EU) 2024/2642 and the Council Implementing Regulation (EU) 2025/2568 are aligned with the legal standards for any limitation of the right to freedom of expression, stipulated in article 19.3 of the International Covenant on Civil and

20 <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT:en:PDF>.

21 Human Rights Committee, general comment No. 34 (2011), para. 30.

22 <https://docs.un.org/en/A/79/183>.

23 <https://docs.un.org/en/A/80/208>.

Political Rights, including the requirements of necessity, legality and proportionality

4. Please also explain how these Regulations are aligned with the legal standards for limiting the rights to education, to participate in cultural life, and the right to science, as stipulated in articles 4, 13 and 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which are also provisions protective of academic and scientific freedoms.
5. Please explain the legal basis under international law for attribution of any conduct of researchers, scientists, academics, analysts and professors to state on the basis of the fact that their opinions coincide with the position of a particular government.
6. Please explain how the Regulation (EU) 2024/2642 and the Council Implementing Regulation (EU) 2025/2568 are aligned with the obligations to ensure the right to education and the right to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications.
7. Please, explain how the limitations imposed on individuals conform the standards of the presumption of innocence.
8. Please, explain the mechanisms for effective remedies for designated individuals in the face of the serious restrictions to the access to justice for those affected by European Union's restrictive measures (unilateral sanctions).

This communication, as a comment on pending or recently adopted legislation, regulations or policies, and any response received from your Excellency's Government will be made public via the communications reporting [website](#) after 48 hours. They will also subsequently be made available in the usual report to be presented to the Human Rights Council.

While awaiting a reply, we urge that all necessary interim measures be taken to halt the alleged violations and prevent their re-occurrence and in the event that the investigations support or suggest the allegations to be correct, to ensure the accountability of any person(s) responsible for the alleged violations.

We may publicly express our concerns in the near future as, in our view, the information upon which the press release will be based is sufficiently reliable to indicate a matter warranting immediate attention. We also believe that the wider public should be alerted to the potential implications of the above-mentioned allegations. The press release will indicate that we have been in contact with your Excellency's Government's to clarify the issue/s in question.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our highest consideration.

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Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights

Farida Shaheed
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Attiya Waris
Independent Expert on the effects of foreign debt and other related international
financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly
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George Katrougalos
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Alena Douhan
Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the
enjoyment of human rights

Annex

Reference to international human rights law

In connection with above alleged facts and concerns, we would like to draw attention to the relevant international norms and standards that are applicable to the issues brought forth by the situation above.

We would like to refer to article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which provides for the principle of presumption of innocence, the right to fair trial and a standard of due process. In the determination of any criminal charge against any person everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law under article 14(1) of the ICCPR. No substitution of such procedure is permitted. As for determining whether a crime has been committed, article 14(1) holds that everyone charged with a crime “shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law,” during which the accused person has the right to defend himself in person or through legal assistance of his or her own choosing (article 14(3)(d)).

We would like to further refer to article 19 of the ICCPR, which guarantees that “everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice’. It also stipulates that the exercise of these rights may be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary²⁴.

We would like to refer to article 13(1) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which protects the right of everyone to education.²⁵ The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is of the view that the right to education can only be enjoyed if accompanied by academic freedom. It considers that “members of the academic community, individually or collectively, are free to pursue, develop and transmit knowledge and ideas, through research, teaching, study, discussion, documentation, production, creation or writing. Academic freedom includes the liberty of individuals to express freely opinions about the institution or system in which they work, to fulfil their functions without discrimination or fear of repression by the State or any other actor, to participate in professional or representative academic bodies, and to enjoy all the internationally recognized human rights applicable to other individuals in the same jurisdiction. The enjoyment of academic freedom carries with it obligations, such as the duty to respect the academic freedom of others, to ensure the fair discussion of contrary views, and to treat all without discrimination on any of the prohibited grounds.” (general comment 13, paras. 38-39).

The Special Rapporteur on the right to education, in her report on academic freedom, recommended that States and, where relevant, other stakeholders, respect, protect and promote academic freedom and resort only to limitations that are in

²⁴ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights>.

²⁵ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-economic-social-and-cultural-rights>.

accordance with international human rights law, in particular article 4 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (A/HRC/56/58, para. 84 c). The Special Rapporteur also called for the implementation of the Principles for Implementing the Right to Academic Freedom, which articulate nine essential aspects to substantially guarantee protection, promotion and enjoyment of the right to academic freedom. Principle 1 of these Principles states that protection for academic freedom must include the freedom to access, disseminate and produce information; think; and develop, express, apply and engage with a diversity of knowledge within or related to one's expertise or field of study, regardless of whether it takes place inside the academic community ("intramural expression") or outside the academic community, including with the public ("extramural expression" (AL OTH (1.2026)2).

We further recall the right of everyone to take part in cultural life, enshrined in article 15 (a) of the ICESCR. According to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (general comment 25, paras. 9-11) and the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights (A/HRC/55/44, Chapter III), also protect the right of everyone to participate in science. In addition, under article 15(1)(b) States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications²⁶. Article 15(3) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights sets forth the obligation of state parties to "respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity"²⁷.

In its general comment 25, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights stipulated that in order to flourish and develop, science requires the robust protection of freedom of research. The Covenant establishes a specific duty for States to "respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research" (art. 15 (3)). This freedom includes, at the least, the following dimensions: protection of researchers from undue influence on their independent judgment; the possibility for researchers to set up autonomous research institutions and to define the aims and objectives of the research and the methods to be adopted; the freedom of researchers to freely and openly question the ethical value of certain projects and the right to withdraw from those projects if their conscience so dictates; the freedom of researchers to cooperate with other researchers, both nationally and internationally; and the sharing of scientific data and analysis with policymakers, and with the public wherever possible. (general comment 25, para. 13).

According to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, States should not only abstain from interfering in the freedom of individuals and institutions to develop science and diffuse its results. States must take positive steps for the advancement of science (development) and for the protection and dissemination of scientific knowledge and its applications (conservation and diffusion). (general comment 25, para. 14).

Under article 4 of the ICESCR, States may subject economic, social and cultural rights set forth in the Covenant rights only to such limitations as are determined by law only in so far as this may be compatible with the nature of these rights and solely for

²⁶ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-economic-social-and-cultural-rights>.

²⁷ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-economic-social-and-cultural-rights>.

the purpose of promoting the general welfare in a democratic society. The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights added that this implies that limitations must respect the minimum core obligations of the right, and must be proportionate to the aim pursued. This means that where there are several means reasonably capable of achieving the legitimate aim of the limitation, the one that is least restrictive to economic, social and cultural rights must be selected, and the burdens imposed on the enjoyment of the right should not outweigh the benefits of the limitation. (general comment 25, para. 21)

In her report on the right to participate in science, the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights acknowledged that science may be instrumentalized. She stressed that science, even though historically and culturally situated, is not to be ideologically and politically loaded or manipulated. Care is required to ensure that specific actors do not circumvent or contaminate scientific discourse or use scientific or pseudoscientific discourse in a manipulative way for particular ends. Furthermore, misinformation and disinformation cast doubt on scientific results and smear credible processes and scientists. (A/HRC/55/44, para. 79). She recommended that particular attention be paid to (a) protecting scientists from attacks; (b) refraining from instrumentalizing scientists; (c) identifying and avoid conflicts of interest by scientists and ensuring whistle-blower protections; and (d) effectively addressing the disinformation economy, in particular in the science-policy interface (A/HRC/55/44, para. 95). The Special Rapporteur also stressed the need to ensure any limitation to the right to access to and participation in science follow the standards set out in article 4 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. (A/HRC/55/44, para. 64).

We would like to recall the standard of attribution of any conduct to state is set forth in articles 4-11 of the Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts (conduct of organs of a State, conduct of persons or entities exercising elements of governmental authority, conduct of organs placed at the disposal of a State by another State acting in the exercise of elements of the governmental authority of the State at whose disposal it is placed; conduct of an organ of a State or of a person or entity empowered to exercise elements of the governmental authority in the excess of authority or contravention of instructions; conduct directed or controlled by a State; conduct carried out in the absence or default of the official authorities; conduct of an insurrectional movement which becomes the new Government; conduct acknowledged and adopted by a State as its own)²⁸.

We also would like to refer to article 1 of the Declaration on the Right to Development states that the right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized. The Declaration on the right to development stipulates that the realization of the right to development requires full respect for the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (art. 8). Any impediments to development through the imposition of any restrictions, including in indirect manner through the shifting the responsibility to assess actual and potential human rights adverse impacts and environmental adverse impacts to businesses pushing

²⁸ https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/draft_articles/9_6_2001.pdf

them to overcompliance contradicts international human rights law, in particular, article 1(1) of the ICCPR. States are obliged to ensure that businesses under their jurisdiction and/or control do not comply and/or over-comply with such unilateral sanctions²⁹.

We further recall that the spirit of solidarity and international cooperation is enshrined in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which provides that States have a duty to cooperate in the various fields irrespective of differences in their political, economic and social systems. The Declaration stipulates that States are obliged to cooperate, inter alia, in the protection and promotion of human rights; in the economic, social and cultural fields as well as the field of science and technology; in the promotion of international cultural and educational progress; and in the promotion of economic growth, especially in developing countries³⁰

We would like to recall that international human rights obligations of states include their obligations to refrain from committing human rights abuses and to ensure the human rights set forth in the International Bill of Rights by the adoption of “legislative, judicial, administrative, educative and other appropriate measures” or “all appropriate means, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures³¹.” The term “appropriate means” in addition to legislation, includes the provision of judicial remedies with respect to rights which may, in accordance with the national legal system, be considered justiciable.³²

²⁹ Para. 17.4, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/ucm/commentary-gpssbhr-2025.pdf>.

³⁰ A/RES/2625 (XXV), Annex, principle 4, https://treaties.un.org/doc/source/docs/A_RES_2625-Eng.pdf.

³¹ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-economic-social-and-cultural-rights>, art. 2(1); CESCR, general comment No. 3: The Nature of States Parties’ Obligations (art. 2, para. 1 of the Covenant), para. 3.

³² <https://www.refworld.org/legal/general/cescr/1990/en/5613>, para. 5.