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THE UPR PROJECT AT BCU

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About the UPR Project at BCU:

Birmingham City University's Centre for Human Rights was created in 2014 to promote human rights, ensure access to justice, and enhance the rule of law around the world. We seek to achieve this through leading research, education, and consultancy. We submit expert reports to international human rights regions, provide advisory services to governments and nongovernmental organisations, and draft legal opinions and file legal briefs in domestic courts and international human rights courts.

The Centre for Human Rights established the UPR Project in 2018 as part of our consultancy service. We engage with the Human Rights Council's review process in offering support to the UPR Pre-sessions, providing capacity building for UPR stakeholders and National Human Rights Institutions, and the filing of stakeholder reports in selected sessions. The UPR Project is designed to help meet the challenges facing the safeguarding of human rights around the world, and to help ensure that UPR recommendations are translated into domestic legal change in member state parliaments. We fully support the UPR ethos of encouraging the sharing of best practice globally to protect everyone's human rights. The UPR Project at BCU engages with the UPR regularly as a stakeholder and is frequently cited by the OHCHR. You can read more about the UPR Project here: www.bcu.ac.uk/law/research/centre-for-human-rights/projects-and-consultancy/upr-project-at-bcu

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INTRODUCTION

1. The Republic of Cameroon [hereinafter Cameroon] is party to six of the nine core international human rights treaties for which it should be commended.¹ This includes the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and in line with the Covenant's protection of the right to life and the prohibition against inhuman punishment, this Stakeholder Report focuses upon capital punishment.
2. We make recommendations to the Government of Cameroon on this key issue, implementation of which would also see Cameroon moving towards achieving Sustainable Development Goal 16 which aims for peaceful and inclusive societies, access to justice for all and effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.
3. We urge the State to make practical commitments in the fourth cycle of the UPR towards domestic *de jure* abolition. This includes giving full and practical consideration to all recommendations made by Member States, effectively implementing the recommendations Cameroon accepts, and actively engaging with civil society throughout the process.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

A. Cameroon and International Law on the Death Penalty

4. The death penalty remains a legal punishment in Cameroon's penal system and has a long standing history from its colonial period under British and French rule. Post-independence, then-President Ahmadou Ahidjo continued the use of the death penalty for a broad range of offences and military courts began to play an increasing role in implementing the punishment. Following Ahidjo's resignation in 1982, the punishment was sought in response to the attempted coup d'états of 1983 and 1984 to reinstate the former president.²
5. The death penalty was seldom used since the second coup attempt. The last known state execution was that of a death row inmate, Antoine Vandi Tize, in 1997.³ Cameroon is therefore abolitionist in practice; a *de facto* moratorium has been in place ever since but it has never been formalised.
6. Although the Constitution of Cameroon does not mention the death penalty, the punishment can be found in various domestic laws.⁴ The death penalty continues to remain a lawful punishment in Cameroon for more than twenty offences including conduct which contravenes the evolving jurisprudence on the 'most serious crimes' under international law.⁵
7. The scope of the death penalty in Cameroon has considerably evolved over the last several years. Whilst the new 2016 Criminal Code⁶ did not add any major changes for

offences subject to the death penalty, the 2014 law on the Suppression of Acts of Terrorism⁷ and the 2016 law on Chemical Weapons introduced new capital crimes. Similarly, the 2017 law to Punish Offences against Civil Aviation Safety⁸ widened the scope of offence punishable by death. However, the new 2017 Code of Military Justice⁹ repealed three capital offences from its scope.¹⁰

8. Although Cameroon has not executed anyone for the past two decades, it has continued to hand down death sentences and has more than 250 people awaiting execution. At least four death sentences were handed down in 2021 compared to one in 2020.¹¹ Figures for 2022 are yet to be released at the time of submission however it is concerning to see a gradual rise in the number of death sentences in the past few years.

International Law Promoting the Restriction and Abolition of the Death Penalty

9. The United Nations' framework for regulating the application of the death penalty comprises a corpus of international human rights law and jurisprudence. Of particular relevance are Articles 6, 7, and 14 ICCPR,¹² its Second Optional Protocol,¹³ the ECOSOC Safeguards Guaranteeing Protection of the Rights of Those Facing the Death Penalty,¹⁴ the Secretary General's quinquennial reporting,¹⁵ the Secretary General's Question on the Death Penalty,¹⁶ and the Human Rights Committee decisions.¹⁷ Other relevant treaties include the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment¹⁸ and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.¹⁹
10. The General Comment on the Right to Life²⁰ provides an interpretive lens on the death penalty and concerning ICCPR Article 6(6), which states, '[n]othing in this article shall be invoked to delay or to prevent the abolition of capital punishment,' it:

reaffirms the position that States parties that are not yet totally abolitionist should be on an irrevocable path towards complete eradication of the death penalty, de facto and de jure, in the foreseeable future. The death penalty cannot be reconciled with full respect for the right to life, and abolition of the death penalty is both desirable [...] and necessary for the enhancement of human dignity and progressive development of human rights.²¹
11. The growing international consensus against capital punishment is reflected in the UN General Assembly's biennial resolution to impose a global moratorium on the use of the death penalty. The ninth and most recent iteration, passed on 15 December 2022, had a total of 125 votes in favour with 37 votes against and 22 abstentions. Cameroon has voted to 'abstain' in all such resolutions to date.²²
12. Cameroon's voting record is also reflected in its absence as a signatory to the Joint Permanent Missions' most recent *note verbale* of dissociation, which records a formal objection to the Secretary General of the United Nations on the attempt to create a global

moratorium on the death penalty.²³ The absence from the *note verbale* provides the platform for Cameroon to signal its support for a global moratorium in the forthcoming resolution.

B. Implementation of Recommendations from Cycle Three in 2018

13. Cameroon received 196 recommendations in the Third Cycle of which 134 were accepted and 59 were noted.²⁴ A total of 17 recommendations focused on the death penalty and none enjoyed State support.²⁵ This is disappointing and we strongly urge the Government of Cameroon to consider accepting or partially accepting the capital punishment recommendations it receives in Cycle Four.

Recommendations concerning Cameroon's Adoption of International Law

14. The majority of death penalty recommendations urged Cameroon to ratify the Second Optional Protocol to the ICCPR. This included **Australia** (para 121.8), **Brazil** (para 121.4), **Chile** (para 121.6), **Czechia** (para 121.9), **France** (para 121.7), **Italy** (para 121.1), **New Zealand** (para 121.17), **Rwanda** (para 121.3), **Spain** (para 121.8), **Togo** (para 121.5), **Ukraine** (para 121.15), **Uruguay** (para 121.2). **These were all noted and Cameroon has not indicated any change to its position.**

Recommendations concerning Abolition

15. **Ukraine** (para 121.98) recommended Cameroon to “finalize the abolition of the death penalty” with **Australia** (para 121.92) urging for abolition “by amending its Penal Code and counter-terrorism laws.” Similarly, **Canada** (para 121.96) also recommended to “amend the 2014 antiterrorism law to bring the definition of terrorism into line with international human rights obligations and standards [and] repeal the death penalty.” **Namibia** (para 121.97) recommended Cameroon maintain its moratorium and “consider commuting all current death penalty sentences to other forms of punishment” whilst **New Zealand** (para 121.102) sought to combat impunity by urging an investigation into allegations of human rights violations “in accordance with international fair trial standards and the rule of law and without recourse to the death penalty.” **These recommendations have not been implemented.**
16. Whilst recommendations such as “abolish the death penalty” are welcomed, it is crucial that they remain specific and measurable in order to assess the level of implementation. Broad recommendations, whilst easy to accept, lack any impetus to bring about real change.²⁶ It is recommended that States adopt a SMART approach to recommendations as recognised by UPRinfo.²⁷ This would help Cameroon initiate an incremental approach to reducing the scope of the punishment and map out the process for abolition.
17. Additionally, it would prove more beneficial if recommending States make reference to the review criteria which includes “human rights instruments to which a State is party.”²⁸

For example reference to Article 6 and/or 14 ICCPR, a treaty the State under Review has ratified, would strengthen any death penalty recommendations.

18. In response to the death penalty recommendations, Cameroon stated that it is “de facto abolitionist. For several decades, there have been no death penalties. The legal framework still maintains death penalty as a deterrent.”²⁹ However, leading research has examined the efficacy of the deterrence argument and concluded that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find empirical data on the deterrent effects of capital punishment and studies do not provide definitive evidence on its impact when used on an extensive scale.³⁰
19. Cameroon further emphasised to the Working Group that it had been “in recent years, the victim of attacks by terrorist groups such as Boko Haram. In response, it had authorized the death penalty for the most serious offences, in particular endangering innocent lives and jeopardizing the State and its institutions...Notwithstanding the above, Cameroon had not carried out any executions since the 1990s.”³¹ It has since imposed death sentences in contravention to international law.
20. Whilst no death sentences were reported in 2018³² and 2019,³³ this number has steadily risen to 1 in 2020,³⁴ and 4 in 2021.³⁵ At the end of 2021, more than 250 people were under sentence of death.³⁶
21. We welcome the news that, on 15 April 2020, President Paul Biya signed Decree No. 2020/193 to Commute and Remit Prison Sentences which, amongst other commutations, commuted the death sentences of persons, whose sentences had become final at the date of the decree, to life imprisonment.³⁷ However, pursuant to Article 4, it excluded a number of individuals including “fugitives at the date of signing of the decree”; “recidivist offenders”; “persons imprisoned and sentenced for an offence committed while in detention”; and “persons sentenced for corruption”, “state security and terrorism-related offences”. Unfortunately, the number of death sentences commuted to life imprisonment as result of the decree have not been made publicly available.
22. On 7 September 2021, the Buea Military Court in Cameroon sentenced to death four men who had been found guilty of attacking a school, killing at least eight children. They were convicted for several crimes, including secession, terrorism, murder, possession of illegal arms and insurrection. Unfortunately, the trial had been tainted with procedural irregularities. The case was heard by a military court with all defendants heard on the same day, in a ‘marathon’ session, preventing due consideration of individual cases. Furthermore, the prosecution failed to call any witnesses to the hearing and relied on written statements instead. The absence of third-party corroboration or the opportunity to question the witnesses made the trial based on hearsay evidence alone. Language was another impediment with the trial conducted in French and translated into English, yet most defendants only fully understood pidgin English. We welcome the news that an

appeal was lodged which suspended the execution of the sentence however, as of the end of 2021, a date for the appeal hearing was yet to be set.³⁸

23. As long as the death penalty remains a lawful punishment, the possibility of an execution is a reality for the 250+ persons on death row.

C. Further Points for Cameroon to Consider

Cameroon's Prison Conditions for Death Row Inmates

24. Individuals continue to be sentenced to death and serve indefinite terms without an effective process in place for their eventual release, thus increasing the burden on the prison system. Research has found that conditions of detention are significantly poor in Cameroon and largely operate on a market basis. Due to endemic overcrowding and lack of funding, most prisoners sentenced to death are housed with other inmates.³⁹
25. Detention conditions for these prisoners are extremely precarious due to numerous issues such as overcrowding, limited infrastructure, poor sanitation, and inadequate access to healthcare and mental health facilities. Like other detainees, prisoners sentenced to death do not have access to sufficient food, in terms of both quantity and quality. Moreover, they are not authorised to access medical treatment outside the prison despite infirmaries lacking the medicines required to treat the most common illnesses. Consequently, "several prisoners sentenced to death have recently died and the mental state of some detainees has declined very significantly."⁴⁰ These conditions violate the United Nations' Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules)⁴¹ and have led to an increase in the number of deaths in custody without being judicially executed.
26. It is deeply concerning that most prisoners sentenced to death are without hope, particularly those at Maroua prison who have very restricted contact with the outside world. As a result, they lack any means of psychological or monetary support to survive in prison or develop their legal case. At the same time, this also has a detrimental impact on the families of prisoners, something which further exacerbates their precarious situation.⁴²

The Role of the National Human Rights Institution

27. Cameroon's National Commission on Human Rights and Freedoms (NCHRF)⁴³ can undertake important work on pushing for the *de jure* abolition of the death penalty from the State's legal system, starting by limiting the types of crimes that attract the punishment. HRCSL could advise the government on the abolition process, provide public education on how capital punishment renders harmful effects upon society, and

demonstrate its ineffectiveness as a penological policy on deterrence.

Adopting the UPR Recommendations to Enable the People of Cameroon to Benefit from Advances in Effective Penology

28. The right to benefit from scientific advancement should also apply to the progress in social science research on the death penalty. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 27, states, “[e]veryone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits,”⁴⁴ and the ICESCR article 15 (1)(b) recognises the right of everyone, “[t]o enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications.”
29. Roger Hood and Carolyn Hoyle have produced the leading social science and criminological investigations into the death penalty worldwide and have concluded:

[t]hose who favour capital punishment ‘in principle’ have been faced with yet more convincing evidence of the abuses, discrimination, mistakes, and inhumanity that appear inevitably to accompany it in practice. Some of them have set out on the quest to find the key to a ‘perfect’ system in which no mistakes or injustices will occur. In our view, this quest is chimerical.⁴⁵

30. Social science investigations now demonstrate that reflecting appropriate government means that whilst capital punishment could be created within a legitimate parliamentary process,⁴⁶ it is now clear that the application of the death penalty renders an illegitimate and inhumane outcome.⁴⁷ Abolition in Cameroon would enable the people of the country to benefit from the advancement of the leading social scientific research on punishment policies.

The Universal Periodic Review Recommendations and the Contribution to the Sustainable Development Goals

31. Cameroon should consider adopting the UPR recommendations as an expression of mutual reinforcement of the government’s commitment to promoting the Sustainable Development Goals.⁴⁸ The human rights values expressed in both the UPR and the SDGs can be woven together to promote policy coherence.⁴⁹
32. SDG 16 provides for “Strong Institutions and Access to Justice and Build Effective Institutions,” but the application of the death penalty is inconsistent with this goal. Specifically, SDG 16.1 aims to reduce death rates, promote equal access to justice, and “protect fundamental freedoms,” and to further this, SDG 16.A.1 identifies the importance of relevant national institutions, for building capacity at all levels, to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime.

33. The use of the death penalty does not signal legitimate strength in institutions, but renders counterproductive and inhumane consequences, including a brutalising effect upon society. This was affirmed in the Special Rapporteur's report on 'pay-back' violence and killings.⁵⁰ The death penalty is antithetical to strong institutional processes for the fostering of the human dignity of the people of Cameroon.

D. Recommendations

We recommend the government of Cameroon to:

- i. Uphold and enforce its international obligations to safeguard the right to life, pursuant to Articles 6, 7 and 14 of the ICCPR.
- ii. Whilst it retains the death penalty, ensure it complies with the 'most serious crimes' principle, under Article 6 ICCPR, restricting punishment to crimes of intentional killing only.
- iii. Ratify the Second Optional Protocol to the ICCPR aiming at the abolition of the death penalty.
- iv. Formalise its de facto moratorium, with a view to abolition, within the next three years.
- v. Affirm its commitment to SDG 16 on access to justice and strong institutions through its support at the next biennial vote on the UNGA Resolution on the moratorium on the use of the death penalty.
- vi. Annually publish data on the use of the death penalty. This should include the number of death sentences and executions, the nature of the offences and the reasoning behind convictions, identity of executed prisoners, and the number of death sentences commuted and pardoned.
- vii. Provide its National Commission on Human Rights and Freedoms with a mandate on legislative abolition of the death penalty.
- viii. Ensure its prisons comply with the United Nations' Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

¹ See <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=80&Lang=EN>.

² For a detailed history of the death penalty in Cameroon see Carol Berrih and Nester Toko, *Sentenced to Oblivion: Fact-finding Mission on Death Row Cameroon* (ECPM 2019) 30-43.

³ Amnesty International, *Cameroon: Blatant Disregard for Human Rights* (16 September 1997) 41.

⁴ The Preamble of the Constitution of Cameroon provides that "every person has the right to life and physical and moral integrity".

⁵ For a comprehensive overview of capital crimes in Cameroon, see Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide Database at <<https://deathpenaltyworldwide.org/database/#/results/country?id=13>>.

⁶ Law No. 2016/007.

⁷ Law No. 2014/028.

⁸ Law No. 2017/013.

⁹ Law No.2017/013.

¹⁰ Carol Berrih and Nester Toko, *Sentenced to Oblivion: Fact-finding Mission on Death Row Cameroon* (ECPM 2019) 20.

¹¹ Amnesty International, *Global Report: Death Sentences and Executions 2020* (2021) 28.

¹² International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976) 999 UNTS 171, Article 6 (right to life); Article 7 (the prohibition against torture and inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment); and Article 14 (the right to a fair trial and the principle of equality of arms).

- ¹³ The Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty, GA Res. 44/128, December 15, 1989.
- ¹⁴ Safeguards Guaranteeing Protection of the Rights of Those Facing the Death Penalty, Economic and Social Council Resolution, 1984/50; Additions to the Safeguards Guaranteeing Protection of the Rights of Those Facing the Death Penalty as Agreed by the Economic and Social Council Resolution 1989/64; and the Strengthening of the Safeguards Guaranteeing Protection of the Rights of Those Facing the Death Penalty as Agreed by the Economic Council Resolution 1996/15.
- ¹⁵ See eg, ECOSOC Capital Punishment and Implementation of the Safeguards Guaranteeing Protection of the Rights of those Facing the Death Penalty Report of the Secretary-General UN Doc E/2015/49 (13 April 2015).
- ¹⁶ See eg, Report of the Secretary General, Question of the Death Penalty, A/HRC/27/23, 30 June 2014.
- ¹⁷ For example, *Judge v. Canada*, Communication No. 829/1998, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/78/D/829/1998 (2003).
- ¹⁸ The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, G.A. Res. 39/46, 10 December 1984.
- ¹⁹ Article 37(a) Convention on the Rights of the Child, G.A. Res 44/25, 20 November 1989.
- ²⁰ UN Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 36 (2018) on Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, on the right to life, CCPR/C/GC/36, 30 October 2018.
- ²¹ *ibid* para 50.
- ²² Resolution on the Moratorium on the use of the death penalty, UNGA Res. 62/149, 18 December 2007, *adopted by 104 votes to 54, with 29 abstentions*; Resolution on the Moratorium on the use of the death penalty, UNGA Res. 63/168, 18 December 2008, *adopted by 106 votes to 46, with 34 abstentions*; Resolution on the Moratorium on the use of the death penalty, UNGA Res. 65/206, 21 December 2010, *adopted by 109 votes to 41, with 35 abstentions*; Resolution on the Moratorium on the use of the death penalty, UNGA Res. 67/176 20 December 2012, *adopted by 111 votes to 41, with 34 abstentions*; Resolution on the Moratorium on the use of the death penalty, UNGA Res. 69/186 18 December 2014 *adopted by 117 votes to 37, with 34 abstentions*; Resolution on the Moratorium on the use of the death penalty, UNGA Res. 71/187, 19 December 2016 *adopted by 117 votes to 40, with 31 abstentions*; Resolution on the Moratorium on the use of the death penalty, UNGA Res. 73/175 17 December 2018 *adopted by 121 votes to 35, with 32 abstentions*; Resolution on the Moratorium on the use of the death penalty, UNGA Res. 75/183, 16 December 2022 *adopted by 123 votes to 38, with 24 abstentions*; Resolution on the Moratorium on the use of the death penalty, UNGA Res. 77/222, 15 December 2022 *adopted by 125 votes to 37, with 22 abstentions*.
- ²³ UNGA, ‘Note verbale dated 13 September 2019 from the Permanent Mission of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General’ (16 September 2019) UN Doc A/73/1004.
- ²⁴ UNHRC, ‘Report of the Human Rights Council on its thirty-ninth session’ (23 November 2018) UN Doc A/HRC/39/2, para 655.
- ²⁵ See UNHRC, ‘Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review – Cameroon’ (10 July 2018) UN Doc A/HRC/39/15.
- ²⁶ Amna Nazir, ‘A UPR Perspective on Capital Punishment and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia’ (2022) 19 *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 77-94.
- ²⁷ See UPRinfo, ‘For impact on the ground the UPR needs SMART recommendations’ <<https://www.upr-info.org/en/news/for-impact-on-the-ground-the-upr-needs-smart-recommendations>> (21 October 2015).
- ²⁸ UNHRC Res 5/1 (18 June 2007) UN Doc A/HRC/RES/5/1, para 1(c).
- ²⁹ UNHRC, ‘Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Cameroon – Addendum’ (12 September 2018) UN Doc A/HRC/39/15/Add.1, p.2.
- ³⁰ Roger Hood and Carolyn Hoyle, *The Death Penalty: A Worldwide Perspective* (5th edn, Oxford University Press 2015) 393.
- ³¹ UNHRC, ‘Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review – Cameroon’ (10 July 2018) UN Doc A/HRC/39/15, para 116.
- ³² Amnesty International, *Global Report: Death Sentences and Executions 2018* (2019) 11.
- ³³ Amnesty International, *Global Report: Death Sentences and Executions 2019* (2020) 11.
- ³⁴ Amnesty International, *Global Report: Death Sentences and Executions 2020* (2021) 12.
- ³⁵ Amnesty International, *Global Report: Death Sentences and Executions 2021* (2022) 12.
- ³⁶ *ibid* 13.
- ³⁷ See ‘Decree No 2020/193 of 15 April 2020 to commute and remit sentences’ available at <www.minjustice.gov.cm/index.php/en/instruments-and-laws/decrees-pr/402-decree-no-2020-193-of-15-april-2020-to-commute-and-remit-sentences>.
- ³⁸ Amnesty International, *Global Report: Death Sentences and Executions 2021* (2022) 54.
- ³⁹ Carol Berrih and Nester Toko, *Sentenced to Oblivion: Fact-finding Mission on Death Row Cameroon* (ECPM 2019) 97.
- ⁴⁰ *ibid*.

⁴¹ UNGA Res 70/175, 'Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 2015: United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules)' (8 January 2016) UN Doc A/RES/70/175.

⁴² Carol Berrih and Nester Toko, *Sentenced to Oblivion: Fact-finding Mission on Death Row Cameroon* (ECPM 2019) 93-96.

⁴³ See <<https://cfnhri.org/members/africa/cameroon/>>.

⁴⁴ It is further recalled that the Human Rights Council determined that the basis of the Universal Periodic Review includes consideration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, see, Institution-building of the United Nations Human Rights Council, A/HRC/RES/5/1 18 June 2007.

⁴⁵ Roger Hood and Carolyn Hoyle, *The Death Penalty: A Worldwide Perspective* (5th edn, Oxford University Press 2015) 7-8.

⁴⁶ John Rawls stated, "[a]t some point, the injustice of the outcomes of a legitimate democratic procedure corrupts its legitimacy," in, *Political Liberalism* (Columbia University Press 2005) 248.

⁴⁷ Austin Sarat stated, "law cannot work its lethal will and ally itself with the killing state while remaining aloof and unstained by the deeds themselves," in, *When the State Kills: Capital Punishment and the American Condition* (Princeton University Press 2001) 21.

⁴⁸ See the UN Sustainable Development Goals website, <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu=1300>.

⁴⁹ The first two cycles of the UPR were reviewed under a data mining procedure and of the circa. 50,000 recommendations, it was possible to link more than 50% of those to SDG targets, see, The Danish Institute for Human Rights, Linking the Universal Periodic Review to the SGGs, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Christof Heyns, Mission to Papua New Guinea (3 to 14 March 2014), A/HRC/29/37/Add.1, 30 March 2015, para. 96, "...several interlocutors shared the opinion that the death penalty might actually lead to further killings... given the payback culture. While the Special Rapporteur condemns the existence of the payback culture, he acknowledges that payback-related killings might increase if the death penalty is carried out.