



HUMAN RIGHTS WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

*An analysis of China's influence in Sub-Saharan Africa
in the field of Human Rights*

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SUMMARY

The end of the second world war left humankind dismayed and with the necessity to not only rebuild entire countries from ruins, but also to ensure that the tragedy and the horror of the war would not repeat themselves. The willpower to improve the world led the newly born United Nation (UN) to write in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights all the inalienable rights a person has, in order to prevent future suffering.

Over the years the world has witnessed a greater involvement of states and international institutions for the promotion and safeguard of Human Rights and the concept of Human Rights has been the core of several studies in the field of international relations of the past decades, however, it must be recognised that the traditional definition used at the international level is not the only one. As a matter of facts, the last decade has witnessed the development of new theories of Human Rights with Chinese Characteristics.

The purpose of the research is to examine if and to which extent China and Human Rights with Chinese Characteristics are influencing other countries' perception and behaviour towards Human Rights. The subjects of the study are countries members of the United Nations Human Rights Council between the years 2014-2018, period of the second mandate for China.

In order to achieve the desired results, the analysis has been divided into two sections. The first phase consisted of the examination of all the votes reported for each session of the council; the votes of all the members have been analysed in accordance to Chinese votes and in order to obtain the wanted results the subjects have been selected by choosing Africa as a reduced case and by selecting only Sub-Saharan member-states to illustrate Chinese Soft Power and influence in the area. The selection criterion is the percentage of agreement with China in the votes inside the UN Human Rights Council.

The decision to focus only on Sub-Saharan countries led to the second part of the analysis which consisted of the study of eight cases, namely Botswana, Burundi, The Republic of the Congo-Brazzaville, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and South Africa, with specific attention to Burundi and South Africa. The selected countries have been analysed in order to understand their relations with China and to which extent the PRC is exercising its influence on them in the field of Human Rights. The analysis of the results has been implemented through a theoretical framework of both Constructivism and the concept of Soft Power.

The results have disclosed a partial adoption of the concept of Human Rights with Chinese characteristics from the selected countries, and a growing Chinese influence in the African continent. However, further research is needed to comprehend to which extent the concept of Human Rights with Chinese characteristics is influencing other countries.

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0.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter provides an introduction to the topic object of the research and presents the problem formulation and the sub-question. Moreover, an illustration of the structure of the research is offered.

The end of the second world war left humankind dismayed and with the necessity to not only rebuild entire countries from ruins, but also to ensure that the tragedy and the horror of the war will not repeat themselves. The willpower to improve the world led the newly born United Nation (UN) to write in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights all the inalienable rights a person has in order to prevent future suffering. The history behind the document, however, is shaped by the debate between two of the biggest powers of the time on the recognition of specific rights. In fact, while political rights were advocated by the United States (USA) and rejected by the USSR, social rights were not recognised by the USA and sponsored by the USSR and its allies (Davy, 2013). The debate was not limited to the UN arena, but it resulted in a broader ideological contention between USA, USSR and their respective allies for the definition of Human Rights (HR), and in those circumstances African countries were divided according to their major partners. Over time the awareness towards HR has been

growing not only for the civil society, but also at academic level. The concept of HR has been the core of several studies in the field of international relations of the past decades, however, it must be recognised how the concept has a strong Western influence, notwithstanding the debate and the compromise obtained during the writing of the Declaration. The 1990s have witnessed a wide discussion on the universality of HR, with two main arguments as core of the debate: the economic perspective and the cultural perspective, with Asian Values on the forefront (Angle, 2002). From this debate, a growing literature has emerged on the topic of HR with Chinese Characteristics, a unique consideration of HR with a different cultural perspective. China's position in the global political arena has radically changed since the beginning of the opening reforms in the early 1980s. While this growth happened, the relationships between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the rest of the world have deepened. In particular, relations between PRC and the African continent have been notably influenced by this set of reforms. While the first years have observed a decline in China's political interest in Africa, the beginning of 1990s is marked by a renewed attention to the region. The last decade of the century presented the enhancement of Sino-African relations and the beginning of Chinese influence in several African countries. The new millennium has been characterised by deep trade relations and renovated political ties: the market has dramatically increased, the political commitment among the parties have highly intensified with official exchanges, congresses and forums as an example. These intense

exchanges and ties between China and Africa, not only determine a flourishing economic market of billions of RMB, but also establish an expanding Chinese influence on political matters. Chinese soft power has been spreading at unprecedented rhythms: Confucius institutes have been established in several African countries, Chinese Buddhist orphanages have been established while more and more Chinese are immigrating to the Africa (Begbie, 2012). It can be, therefore, stated that Chinese cultural influence has reached remarkable achievements in the past years. Nowadays China has become one of the most important partners for several African countries not only at the trading level, but also from a cultural and political perspective. Chinese Soft Power in the continent has been growing in the last decades and the perception of HR has become of crucial significance in the creation of influence. For this reason, the objective of the thesis is to analyse the effects of China's influence on other countries by considering voting trends of China and other members of the UN Human Rights Council and examine the outcomes through an analysis of the HR situation in selected countries and to which extent Chinese influence on the topic of HR has increased.

0.1 Problem Formulation

The aim of this thesis is to answer the following research question in order to provide a better understanding of the Chinese influence in the selected African Countries on the topic of Human Rights.

“Is the Chinese perception of Human Rights influencing Sub-Saharan States’ consideration of this concept? If so, why and to which extent is this influence developing?”

At the present time, Human Rights with Chinese characteristics are the most prominent counterpart of the generally accepted Western definition of Human Rights adopted in 1948 with the ‘Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ by the United Nations General Assembly. Definitions of HR with Chinese characteristics have been copious in the past decade, nevertheless, the concept continue to face scepticism and misunderstanding at international level. It is known how China is expanding the frontier of its consideration at the international level, but little has been written upon its influence on the study of Human Rights. In order to better understand the problem, sub-questions have been developed:

- *Which are the countries that, in the considered period of time, shared Chinese opinion while voting the resolutions at the UN Human Rights Council?*

By answering the research question and sub-question the hope is to disclose a better knowledge of the weight of Chinese Influence on the present-day world; theory and background are tools to help achieve this goal by allowing an analysis of Chinese political and cultural influence. The purpose of the paper is therefore to analyse the voting trends inside the UN Human Rights Council and examine if and to which extent other countries have been influenced by China. In the end, due to the novelty of the research, the main hope is to contribute to filling the knowledge gap in the area.

0.2 Synopsis

The first chapter of the paper consists of the *Introduction*, where main objectives of the thesis are presented. The chapter briefly introduces the concepts of human rights and human rights with Chinese characteristics, while also characteristics of Sino-African relations are introduced. Moreover, it includes the research question concerning the influence China has at the international level on the subject matter of human rights and a concise outline of the entire thesis.

The second chapter presents the *Literature Review*, an outline of the existing literature on the theme of HR, HR with Chinese characteristics and the growing Chinese influence in Africa. The chapter analyses academic writings of the past years in order to obtain a clear outline of the contemporary research.

Background represents the third chapter. The aim is to better understand the concepts of HR and HR with Chinese characteristics. A comparison between the two viewpoints is presented in order to clarify the main differences. Furthermore, the introduction to the UN Human Rights Council is provided.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the *Methodology* in order to facilitate the reader in the understanding of the research. The objectives of the thesis together with the choice of the topic, the choice of the theoretical framework and the methodological approach are elucidated, and the delimitations are clarified.

The *Theoretical Framework* is delineated in the fifth chapter. Two theories of international relations and their critiques are introduced. Both Constructivism and Soft Power are described with their main assumptions in order to provide a theoretical base for the research. Moreover, the intended use of the theories in the analysis of the research is presented.

The *Analysis* constitutes the sixth chapter. The section is divided into different sub-sections: the first, provides a deep analysis of the votes inside the Human Rights Council in order to identify which countries have had a voting behaviour similar to China, while in the second an investigation of the HR domestic situation in eight sub-Saharan countries with particular focus on Burundi and South Africa is provided in order to better understand the reasoning

behind the voting behaviour. Lastly, a paragraph with the application of the theory is supplied.

The purpose of chapter eight is to present the *Discussion* of the findings of the analytical chapter. The findings obtained by the previous section are further examined together with the assessment of the problem formulation and possible outcomes for the future interpretation of Chinese influence on the topic of HR are considered.

The final chapter is designed to answer the research question and summarise the findings discovered in the paper. It is a summary of the work done as well as considerations on the findings, the theories and the method.

1.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

The following chapter provides an overview of the literature previously written on the topic of Human Rights, Human Rights with Chinese characteristics and the Chinese relations with Africa. Furthermore, the paper is positioned in the context of the presented contemporary research.

The literature regarding the specific topic of Chinese influence on Human Rights at the international level is scarce, this determines a significant limitation on the overall literature review. Instead, in order to achieve an analysis of literature sources, the focus has been redirected towards sources regarding HR, HR with Chinese characteristics and the growing Chinese influence in Africa.

The theme of human rights, in the past decades, has been broadly discussed by scholars from all over the world. The importance of the subject matter induced several scholars in the fields of philosophy, law and political science to find the foundation of the reasoning behind HR. Some scholars (Bobbio, Maldonado, Rincón-Eizaga) directed the attention of their studies on the philosophical perspective of HR. As an example, Norberto Bobbio in the first

part of his book *L'età dei diritti* (the age of rights) explained how, from a philosophical perspective, there is no absolute foundation since HR have no real definition, they modify according to the historical period, are an heterogeneous class and there is antinomy among rights; moreover, the author pointed out the significant problem of the insufficient protection of HR since the designed measures have scarce power (Bobbio, 1990). The second part of the book focused on an historical excursus directed to point out the development of HR from the French Revolution onwards dealing also with extensive critiques of HR. Consistent with Bobbio's statements on the philosophical perspective of HR, Carlos Eduardo Maldonado in his *Hacia una fundamentación filosófica de los derechos humanos* (Towards a philosophic fundament of Human Rights) described how human rights can be analysed with both a normative and a philosophical approach by the starting point of the definition of human being and human life. The author also emphasised how there is a lack of legislation in the HR area: either there is no legislation on the subject matter or the existing material (agreements, declarations, pacts and norms) have no real power at the domestic level since the non-binding nature of these legislative documents (Maldonado, 2010). In line with the previously quoted authors, Lorena Rincón-Eizaga, after a brief introduction on the historical background of the emergence of HR, affirmed how HR's approach demands a philosophical perspective considering the close relationship with the human nature. The necessity of a philosophical perspective derives from the middle-age's jurisprudence and the

close relationship with Christianity further developed in the centuries with the Age of Enlightenment and the firm reference to rationalism that brought to the creation of several declarations of rights (Rincon-Eizaga, 2009).

Other scholars, on the other hand, (Edelstein, Lauren, Zappalà) focused their research on the history of HR, founding their studies on the stages and milestones that brought the international community to the level of HR and HR protection we have nowadays. In particular, Edelstein in *On the Spirit of Rights* described, through a detailed historical exploration of the evolution of HR, the reasons that brought Europe to the recognition of universal basic rights (Edelstein, 2019). The author focused on natural rights and how the Enlightenment's philosophers shaped the modern western idea of HR. Paul Gordon Lauren in the book *The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen* wrote how HR are the outcome of the visions of philosophers and activists from previous centuries. The book explained how HR developed from their intricate early beginning to their possible future, examining the initial international attempts in the nineteenth century, to the arduous twentieth century characterised by the trauma of two world wars but also by the beginning of a more binding international society, to the beginning of the new century and the visions of the future (Lauren, 2003). While Salvatore Zappalà in his book *La tutela internazionale dei diritti umani* (The International Protection of Human Rights), after defining HR as a product of the society, provided an historical excursus of HR focusing on the figure of the individual at the juridical level by

investigating the several legal documents on the subject matter and the institutions overseeing the respect and protection of HR both at global and regional level. According to the author, however, what is still missing nowadays is an effective mechanism to enhance the protection of HR (Zappalà, 2011).

Several other academic works (Beitz, Holder and Reidy, Sen, Yu) aimed to supply a comprehensive definition of the Western idea of HR. For instance, in the book *The Idea of Human Rights* Charles Beitz expressed his idea of how HR, in the past decades, have reached an unprecedented prominence at international level and have become an international practice, notwithstanding, scepticism towards them linger both at international and domestic level of many countries (Beitz, 2009). Whereas, Cindy Holder and David Reidy in their anthology attempted to answer older and newer questions in order to have a more effective overview on the topic. The book ranged from the research of a common definition of HR, to the impact of culture on the matter, to more current problems such as global economy and environment (Holder and Reidy, 2013). While Amartya Sen in the article *Elements of a Theory of Human Rights* focused on the explanation of a possible theory of HR. By setting HR in the ethical sphere rather than political/legal one, the writer developed reasoning for a future theoretical basis of HR with critical analysis as foundation of the theory (Sen, 2004). Lastly, Yu Keping in the first chapter of his book *Democracy in China: Challenges and Opportunity* clarified the notion of HR and all the small facets this topic includes. The basic definition of HR as '*basic rights which all persons possess*'

is followed by an in-depth classification and by the statement of which political system is more suitable to guarantee the mentioned rights (Yu, 2015).

The existing literature on the western perception of HR and their development is adequately ample and provides the reader with a broader knowledge of what HR are and how they developed throughout the centuries. Furthermore, several authors focused on current topics such as the relations between HR and political systems, global economy and environment.

As counterpart, various scholars (Angle, Chan) aimed their attention at the Chinese definition of HR. In his book, Stephen Angle explored the beginning of HR with Chinese Characteristics from the starting point of the Declaration of Bangkok of 1993 and the importance given to economic priority (Angle, 2002). After a brief discussion of the Chinese violations and the anti-China motions of the 1990s in Geneva, the author introduced the academic debate over HR according to the Chinese way of thinking: here, philosophical considerations of Asian cultural values and Chinese thought are detected and analysed in order to clearly describe HR with Chinese characteristics (Ibid). Phil Chan, on the other hand, after questioning Western HR as the only viable rights, examined the definition of HR with Chinese characteristics and the link between it and the development of international HR law (Chan, 2013). The first part of the text concerned the nature of Chinese HR, focusing on traditional culture and Confucianism, the development of rule of law, rights protection and the relation with Chinese Constitution and laws with focus on many different groups' rights

and the connection between Chinese perception and the international law; while the second and third parts focused more on the political sphere and how the development of HR can begin a path towards democratic process (Ibid).

In contrast to the current literature concerning western idea of HR, literature regarding HR with Chinese characteristics is more limited, due to the novelty of the topic. However, it is possible to identify a clear description of the subject matter; the authors well explained how the Chinese idea of HR is closely connected to traditional values as Confucianism and more contemporary political concepts. Moreover, a discussion on the connection between the idea of HR and political system is illustrated in the second work considered in the review.

In addition, a greatly discussed theme is the increasing influence China is acquiring in many countries of the African continent. Scholars (Alden, Fijałkowski, Kurlantzick, Liu) analysed these new developments in order to better understand the relations between China and these countries. This general influence is an inevitable effect of China's expansion in the continent due to its necessity of raw materials and the necessity to find new markets for the growing economy as stated by Chris Alden in his article *China en África*. As an effect of the expansion of Chinese relations with African countries, China's influence in the continent became undeniable (Alden, 2005). China's attractiveness was interpreted as indisputable by Łukasz Fijałkowski as well. In his article *China's 'soft power' in Africa?* the author described Chinese involvement in Africa and

the several different approaches China is using to spread its soft power in the countries (Fijałkowski, 2011). Similar topic was analysed by Joshua Kurlantzick in his book section *China's Soft Power in Africa*. In this book, the writer examined the beginnings of Chinese accords with African countries and its instruments of soft power, concluding with the opinion that China's influence in Africa can, and will grow in the future (Kurlantzick, 2011). Lastly, Jerry C. Y. Liu in his chapter *Sino-African cultural relations: soft power, cultural statecraft and international cultural governance* focused on the cultural sphere of Chinese influence in Africa and how the impact of cultural values is one of the most important aspects of Chinese soft power in the continent (Liu, 2013).

All the considered works aimed attention at the common topic of the spread of Chinese influence, and all the different facets involved, in the African continent. Taylor (2016), however focused on EU's perception of Chinese influence on HR in China. The Chapter regarded European concerns about China's presence in Africa and how this presence is threatening Western activities in the area (Taylor in Barton and Men, 2016). After a detailed explanation of the Chinese idea of HR, the author pointed out the close China-Africa relationship and stated how Western politicians and academics have wrongly interpreted these exchanges (Ibid). Taylor concluded the chapter by stating that China is in reality "*encouraging Africa to pursue the capitalist path to development*" as PRC did in the past (Ibid).

Due to the novelty of the topic and due to the scarcity of works written on the subject matter of Chinese influence on Human Rights at the international level and more precisely in Africa, the aim of the thesis is to present a better understanding of the Chinese influence on the subject matter of HR. The previous academic writings shall serve as a groundwork in order to place the paper in the context of contemporary research. It plays a paramount role in the background chapter as it provides a guideline for the reader.

2.0 BACKGROUND

The chapter aim is to present the notion of Human Rights as interpreted at the international level, hence the Western definition, the concept of Human Rights with Chinese characteristics and a brief comparison of the two mentioned assumptions. Moreover, it provides an introduction of the United Nations Human Rights Council.

2.1 Human rights at the global level

First traces of human rights can be traced back to Cyrus Cylinder, a tablet containing the statements of the Persian king Cyrus about the abolishment of slavery, believed to be the first human rights declaration in human history (“A Brief History of Human rights,” n.d.). The idea of human rights spread all over the ancient world, but it is only after 1215 and the Magna Charta that it is possible to notice the advancement towards the direction of Human Rights. Great improvements arose since the seventeenth century with the “petition of right” of 1628 in England, followed by the “united states declaration of independence” signed in 1776 and the “declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen” in the after-revolution France (Ibid). The most important step

forward, however, has been achieved in the aftermath of the second world war: after years of atrocities witnessed, countries' representatives from all over the world decided to gather and draw together the United Nations Charter, where the term "human rights" is mentioned seven times (United Nations, n.d.). This document may be defined as the precursor of what is seen as the milestone in the field of human rights: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the UN General Assembly the 10 December 1948.

The declaration lays the foundation and the common standard for the recognition of basic human rights for the people of all the signatory countries, and nowadays some of its articles have been integrated to domestic constitutional laws of many democratic nations all over the world ("A Brief History of Human rights," n.d.). It must be stated, however, that when the commission delegated to write the UDHR, a first question arose on the inclusion of social rights. The reach of a consensus on how to include social rights in the document was complicated: Latin American countries completely supported the incorporation of this set of rights in the bill; the United States and its Western European allies, on the other hand, focused more on individual liberties; Eastern European states led by the former USSR supported the inclusion of economic and social right with a strong focus on the incorporation of social insurance, while Arab and Asian states tended to approve Latin American states' stance (Davy, 2013). The UDHR is therefore a compromise of the four different positions (Ibid). Moreover, it should be noted that the mentioned paper is not a legislative text,

hence it has no legal validity, but it is a set of ideals meant to be respected and protected by the states. But what are human rights? According to the office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, these are fundamental rights for all human beings (office of the High Commissioner, 2019) that each individual has from the first to the last day of his or her life, with no discrimination of any kind and which are interrelated, interdependent and indivisible. The declaration, in its 30 articles, recognise what has been seen as inalienable to anyone, and ranges from the right to life, liberty and security (Art. 3) to the right to take part in the government of the country (Art. 21). It is, therefore, possible to claim that HR can be, in turn, divided into different categories such as civil and political rights -right to life, equality before the law- (in the past supported by the United States and its allies), economic, social and cultural rights -right to work, right to education- (in the past supported by USSR, Eastern European, Arab, Latin American and Asian states). Each government is expected to protect, respect and provide these basic HR. It must be noted, however, that the perspective adopted for the creation of the principles of the declaration has a strong Western influence, notwithstanding the compromise made while writing it; the rights are, by all means, basic rights that all governments strive to achieve, but for some countries, some rights are more taken for granted than others.

As emphasized by the declaration, however, HR have a principle of universality, in other words there is a universal protection of rights based on international and domestic laws (Ibid). Rights are interdependent from one

another and cannot violate the principle of non-discrimination which according to it, all forms of discrimination in relation to HR are prohibited (Ibid). The Declaration of 1948, the many other legal instruments and HR themselves have allowed, in the last seventy years, the development of a more just and peaceful world. As stated by Beitz, HR nowadays have become an elaborate international practice, over the years HR have spread both at civil and political level, governments increased their interest in the protection, while a wide range of non-governmental organisations have developed, even single individuals have grown more active in the protection and advancement of HR (Beitz, 2009).

2.2 Human Rights with Chinese Characteristics

The previously discussed values have been criticized by Asian countries for being deeply-rooted in western culture and for not taking into consideration Asian cultural values (Angle, 2002). In the case of China, Confucian values are an extremely important cultural element that has been shaping the idea of society, moral and the political-juridical field for centuries (Chan, 2013). Contemporary concepts of Chinese HR have developed principally from Confucianism and Marxism, it is therefore understandable that the idea of “individual” is put aside for a more social comprehension of rights. China therefore formed its concept of HR by combining its traditional unique culture, Marxism and the common notion

of HR (Liu, 2017). As stated by the Xinhua News Agency, *“Human rights [are] enjoyed by the collective in addition to [the individual]. The individual’s interests are upheld via the realization of collective interests. So, China attaches importance to collective human rights as well as to individuals’ human rights. This is in contrast to Western countries, where much emphasis is put on individuals’ human rights while collective human rights are neglected”* (Xinhua News Agency 2005 in Barton and Men, 2016).

The communitarian emphasis is the core of HR with Chinese characteristics in line with the Confucian precepts of harmony and filial piety (Chan, 2013). Social stability, security, improvement of living standards and economic development are the basis of the Chinese thought. Basic rights such as access to food, water and housing, stability and development are predominant in the definition of HR with Chinese characteristics (Taylor in Barton and Men, 2016). This mostly because of the nature of PRC: China is an authoritarian state ruled by the Chinese Communist Party, moreover, a country of the size of China with such a large population has to primarily guarantee basic rights and, in doing it, put aside other rights that in the eyes of western countries are a paramount. Freedom, liberties and political rights are moved to the background in order to ensure essential rights and maintain the above-mentioned communitarian emphasis. The mentioned civil and political rights are overridden in order to prioritise social, economic and cultural rights.

In the past forty years, since the beginning of the opening up reforms, China has demonstrated its great commitment to HR by adopting new policies and implementing new laws both at national and local level (The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, 2018). Before 1991, at constitutional level China maintained a detached position towards the subject matter by simply naming “rights” what were internationally accepted as “human rights”. The first white paper on HR was released in 1991, HR were recognised as such, but it also acknowledged the clear differences between Chinese and Western human rights (Ibid). Following this commencement, China signed the UN Conventions on International Human Rights in 1997 and 1998, while 2002 has witnessed the appointment of the protection of HR as a development goal during the 16th National Congress of the party. All these improvements in the field of HR may be seen as a great contribution for the construction of a legal foundation for the matter and a receptive attitude. It must be said, however, that all these results have not been perceived as such from the international community because of the dominating Chinese characteristics (Tipà, 2017). Since the beginning of his mandate, president Xi Jinping has strongly expressed the concept of “*building a community of shared future for all humankind*” (构建人类命运共同体) (Worden, 2017). The concept references to China's position on HR and the notion of HR with Chinese Characteristics that, as previously stated, is closely connected to the idea of community. According to this concept, basic HR are the closely related right to subsistence and the right of development;

along with these two basic rights, citizens are granted by the Chapter 2 of the Constitution to many fundamental rights such as the right to personal liberty, right to dignity, right to equality, rights to elect and be elected, right to supervision, right to property, right to freedom of religion, right to freedom of correspondence and privacy of correspondence, right to education and several others (Liu, 2017). Therefore, the concept of “community of shared future for all humankind” poses its basis on these fundamental rights. Development is of preeminent importance for China while subsistence of Chinese citizens entails many other economic, social and cultural rights.

Over the past forty years, it has become important objective of national development to respect and protect HR (The State Council Information Office of and the People’s Republic of China, 2018), the commitment of the government to the safeguard of HR has been more and more concentrate. This also as a response to the international legislation. The safeguard of HR has led China to exceptional results such as the reduction of poverty, the warranty of safe drinking water and food and clothing. Moreover, housing conditions, public transports, health services, social assistance and environment protection have improved (Ibid). By following HR with Chinese characteristics, the country has witnessed the development and improvement of people’s lives in every aspect; China has also established a comprehensive legal framework in order to protect and enhance HR (Ibid). Since its recognition as the sole China in 1971 (United Nations, 2015), PRC has always expressed its interest in social and human rights.

For instance, Chinese votes at the UNGA have always been prone to be favourable for resolutions on Social and Human rights such as the resolutions 33/163, 34/172, 41/151 on the measures to improve HR and dignity for migrant workers; the resolution 40/114 on the indivisibility and interdependence of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights; or the resolution 41/155 on the strengthening of international cooperation in the field of HR (D. H. L. United Nations, n.d.). It must be stated that these resolutions have received favourable reactions from both PRC and the former USSR, but negative reactions from the United States and other western countries.

2.3 Comparison between Western and Chinese perceptions of Human Rights

As previously stated, there are significant differences between the Western and the Chinese definitions of HR and the most apparent and important are the different priorities given by the two interpretations. As stated before, Western HR policies are hinge on freedoms and political rights, while Chinese HR are more focused on basic rights and economic development. Hence, HR with Chinese characteristics prefer to prioritise different sets of rights as compared to Western HR. Moreover, as affirmed by professor Zhang Weiwei, Western countries consider HR as a legal issue (Sixparknews, 2019) rather than a social

matter. Furthermore, the Chinese consideration of HR as a community-oriented topic opposes to the more individual-centred concept the West has developed through the years.

It is therefore clear that the two definitions are in sharp contrast resulting in the present misunderstandings from both sides. Indeed, it is known how HR with Chinese characteristics are not recognised and highly criticised from western countries since are not focusing on, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, common liberties and political rights.

2.4 The Human Rights Council

The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 2006 decided to establish the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) with the resolution n. 60/251 in order to replace the existing Commission on Human Rights to discuss HR and HR related topics (D. H. L. United Nations, n.d.). It is, to date, *“the principle intergovernmental body system responsible for strengthening the promotion and protection of human rights around the globe, and for addressing and taking action on human rights violations around the globe” (Ibid)*. The council is composed by 47 member states elected by the UNGA, each member is granted with a three-year term that can be consecutively renovated only once. In order to maintain fairness and parity among members, the distribution of seats has geographical

basis. There are several regular sessions all through the year that provide field for the discussion of the subject matter; moreover, it is possible at any time for the council to meet for special session to address HR violations and emergencies. For particularly grave situations, the council has the power to form international commissions of inquiry in order to uncover the trespassers. According to the office of the UN High Commissioner, *“the ultimate aim of this process is to improve concretely the human rights situation in all countries with significant consequences for people around the globe and address human rights violations wherever they occur”* (Ibid). Working side by side with the council there is the Advisory Committee, an organ involving independent experts with the function of study production.

From the creation of the Council until 2019, China has been an active and important member for many years; as a matter of fact, China is one of the founding members of the council and has been present from 2006 to 2012 (two consecutive mandates) and from 2013 to 2019 (two consecutive mandates). These years have witnessed a further implementation and enhancement of HR as proved by the Universal Periodic Reviews (UPR) of the country: an interactive dialogue between the State and all the other UN member states. The UPR consists of questions, comments and recommendations for the given Country at the end of every mandate. In the case of China, many comments and recommendations have been made throughout the years, of which the Country has accepted a considerable amount and implemented some. As for the institutional part of the UNHRC, China has never had formal roles inside the

Council, as a matter of facts, there have never been Chinese officials of the Bureau nor Presidents.

2.5 China-Africa Relations

Chinese presence in Africa are relatively recent, but it has been growing in the past few decades. Despite the long history of interactions between China and the African continent, with first engagements dating back to several centuries (Taylor, 2009), diplomatic relations between China and the African countries have begun to stabilise since 1960s onwards. Nowadays the majority of African countries see PRC as one of the largest investors, traders and aid donors of the continent, while China's interest in the continent depends mostly on the import of crude oil and other raw material (Rotberg, 2008). Nonetheless, China is expanding its influence at both economic and political level: as stated, PRC is one of the most important commercial partners for several countries in the continent and the establishment of eight Special Economic Zones over Africa has increased the economic ties (Ibid); while on the political level diplomacy and cooperation for development are the foundation for future relations (Alden, 2005). Moreover, from the political-ideological point of view, HR with Chinese characteristics have grown in influence among African countries and the objective of the research is to understand to which extent this influence increased and settled.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

The following chapter presents a description of the method used in the paper consisting of the choice of topic, the objective of the paper, the methodological approach and the choice of theory. Furthermore, limitations and delimitations are presented.

3.1 Method

3.1.1 Choice of topic

Chinese soft power and influence inside international organisations has been object of interest for scholars from all over the world in the past years. Moreover, the topic of HR and HR with Chinese characteristics has emerged to be one of the most relevant fields of study in the international relations area. The decision to focus the research on the Chinese influence on HR has been a good choice to make as it offers the opportunity to focus on a newer point of view on the subject of HR and it allows to deeper understand to which extent China is influencing the international relations. The topic is new and of crucial importance in the modern study of international relations as it involves a completely different

point of view on a subject that has always been debated between West and USSR but has never reflected Asian characteristics. Furthermore, the contribution to the present literature includes research on HR with Chinese characteristics and Chinese influence at the international level and soft power in a general sense, but is lacking the topic of Chinese influence in the field of HR. The problem is therefore a development of the existing literature, and the purpose of the paper is to provide an additional contribution to the present research of international relations.

3.1.2 Thesis objective

The overall aim of the thesis is to answer if there is any Chinese influence on the perception of HR at the international level and in specific to countries inside the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC). The decision to focus on specific countries limits the research but allows to better understand if there is influence and to which degree this influence is spreading. In doing so, the ambition is to contribute to existing debates on the actual degree of influence China has nowadays by analysing the chosen material under the chosen specific theoretical framework.

The purpose of the research is to study the voting behaviour inside the UNHRC of members in the period 2014-2018 and after the analysis of the results of the votes, examine the HR domestic situation of the selected countries. By

analysing the cases, the main objective is to find similarities with the Chinese domestic policy on HR and gather conclusions in order to answer the problem formulation.

3.1.3 Methodological approach

In order to answer the problem formulation, an inductive research has been conducted with the question as starting point and through the use and analysis of the collected data within the theoretical framework it has been possible to extrapolate the conclusions.

The overall research was based on a mixed method approach contemplating the use of both quantitative and qualitative data collected after a comprehensive data and literature study. Quantitative data was obtained through the analysis of the votes of the all the UNHRC resolutions adopted with recorded votes from the session n. 25 in 2014 to the session n. 39 in 2018. While qualitative data consisted mostly of academic articles, official governmental statements, national development plans, newspapers' items and data sets and index. The decision to use both quantitative and qualitative data derived from the necessity to reduce the number of cases to consider in order to further understand the conditions of influence and better answer the initial questions.

3.1.4 Choice of theory

The choice of theories was based on the thesis purpose. In order to examine the influence of China on the perception of HR Constructivism and the concept of Soft Power were chosen for their main characteristics: some of the main interests of constructivism are the focus on ideas and beliefs and the attention to norms, while Soft Power focuses mainly on how these ideas and beliefs, together with the country's culture and economy, are able to shape the behaviour of other countries in order to achieve the desired results. The assumptions were used in the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data to better understand how HR are understood and to which extent it is possible to verify Chinese influence on the subject matter. Through the theory and the concept of Soft Power, it has been possible to analyse the votes and examine the case of each country part of the selection to determine the extent of the influence and gather the appropriate conclusions. The characteristics of Constructivism and Soft Power have been the bases that allowed the selection of the mentioned assumptions as the most rational choices as theoretical framework considering the chosen analytical approach. For these characteristics the concept is perceived as the most rational choice as theoretical base.

3.2 Delimitations and limitations

There are several delimitations of the research which have to be stated. The study does not cover the influence China has at the broad level, but it focuses on the interactions between China and countries members of the UN Human Rights Council. The paper mainly focuses on voting behaviour of countries within the context of the UNHRC with reference to Chinese votes; hence, it only takes into account the latest years in which China was present as one of the 47 members of the council. The concerned years are namely the period between 2014 and 2019, when China was member of the council, but the votes only refer to sessions until 2018 since the most recent session's resolutions (40th regular session 25 February - 22 March 2019) are not available to the date of writing. Other delimitations derive from the choice of cases: the decision of consider only countries members of the council limits the research to a restricted number of subjects and the selection of the ones with similar voting behaviour reduces the options to a significantly narrow number of countries. Furthermore, the choice of restraining the analysis only to the involved African countries is an additional delimitation that has to be taken into account. The number has been further circumscribed by selecting only sub-Saharan countries which distinguished themselves with a high percentage of votes similar to the Chinese ones.

Moreover, the development of the analysis may be limited due to confined theories; since both selected theories have defined frameworks that do not consider all the variables the international relations system is made of. As

previously stated, the analytical approach further restricts the research by limiting both the cases and the acquisition of data, restraining the possible outcomes. Other constraints to the choice of data appeared on a lingual perspective: the analysis of papers and data written in English and French was favoured, while fewer Chinese sources were considered. It is therefore evident that each of these delimitations derived from the design of the research prevent the research itself from being generalisable.

4.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The chapter introduces a comprehensive presentation of the theory of Constructivism and the concept of Soft Power. The first part includes the description of Constructivism and its history, its main assumptions and its critique. The second part, on the other hand, consists of a presentation of the concept of Soft Power and Chinese Soft Power. The last paragraph elucidates the use of the theoretical framework in the research.

4.1 Constructivism

International relations in the past century have been characterised by two dominant theories: Realism and Liberalism. However, the end of the last century has been characterised by an event different from the ones that previously defined the international relations. The end of the Cold War was unpredicted by existing International Relations (IR) theories (Nugroho, 2008) and its non-bellucose characteristics were difficult to describe by existing theories. Therefore, the unexpected outcomes of the previous forty-five years opened the field to a new theoretical approach of IR, Constructivism.

As a matter of fact, Constructivism achieved to understand what the previous dominant theories failed to interpret as main reasons behind this event. Actions of single individuals rather than actions of states nor those of international organisations shaped the beginning of last century's final decade, leaving the canonical explanations of realism and liberalism with no real logic. It must be stated, however, that Constructivism cannot be perceived as the counterpart of any of the two above-mentioned theories, but it is rather the opposite of rationalism (Slaughter, 2011). Constructivists overcome the material reality of international relations by combining the development of ideas and beliefs on international relations (Theys, 2017).

The success Constructivism had in analysing the reasons behind the end of the cold war has been possible mostly thanks to the sociological nature of the approach. The constructivist focus on interactions between actors is one of the distinctive characteristics of the theory: interaction between actors determine the perception one has of the other and *vice versa*, who previously was an enemy can become a neutral figure or a friend through a different approach of interaction; identity and beliefs of the actors are, therefore, emphasized (Slaughter, 2011). The interpretation of actions is what matters, through the interpretation of states/organisations/individuals' actions it is possible to better understand the relationships among states in given circumstances. For instance, the actions of an actor can mutate according to the ideas and beliefs the actor holds in a specific context, since the reality is socially constructed (Theys, 2017).

Key concepts for other international relations theories such as power, trade relations or domestic issues are not crucial to Constructivism. The mentioned features are, as stated by Slaughter, objective facts of the world, but their meaning depends on the social context; it is their interpretation what matters.

It must be said, however, that even though Adler gave an overall definition of Constructivism in his work “Seizing the middle ground” as *“the view that the manner in which the material world shape and is shaped by human action and interaction depends on dynamic normative and epistemic interpretation of the material world”* (Adler, 1997), there is no common identification among the scholars of what Constructivism constitute.

4.1.1 The perception of the international system

As for realism and liberalism, also Constructivism understands the international system as anarchic, there is no greatest power that governs the international system. But contrary to the assumptions of the other theories, Constructivism has different definition of how the international system, although anarchical, operates. The anarchy that permeates the interactions between states at the international level does not lead only to competition and war as viewed by realists, nor it results solely in cooperation and peace. As one of the most

important scholars of the approach, Alexander Wendt, said, “*Anarchy is what States Make of it*” (Wendt, 1992), this means that the international system has no single form of interpretation. It is entitled to the states to interpret the international system according to the circumstances they create themselves.

As stated before, the interpretation of the states’ actions depends on the relationship they have with one another; as a result, states act differently in the anarchy of the international system according to the identity of their counterpart.

4.1.2 Ideas, beliefs and identity in Constructivism

Ideas, belief and values are what characterise each one of the states in the international system; moreover, history, political system and political culture have a determining role for this characterisation. Each state has a distinguishing mix of the mentioned features that characterise its identity. For this reason, for Constructivism states are not similar, each one of them has its own identity that influence its way of interaction with other states; the behaviour of a state results being shaped by ideas, norms and beliefs (Mazzei, 2012). As mentioned before, states actions in the international system depend on what they are confronting: similar identities and a long-lasting alliance between two states, can be the foundation of cooperation; but dissimilar identities and enduring conflict

experiences can define competition and a security threat (Nugroho, 2008). According to Theys, states have multiple identities constructed with the interaction with other actors (Theys, 2017) a state can act differently depending on the counterpart. It can therefore be said that the international system is composed by values, beliefs, and norms socially constructed. It is the identity of the single states that form the international structure.

4.1.3 The role of Norms

Social norms have particular relevance in the constructivist concept of international politics. For constructivists, particular emphasis is given to their development, their implementation and the development of new norms different from the existing ones. Following Katzenstein's definition of norm as *'a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity'* (Katzenstein and Social Science Research Council (U.S.), 1996), Constructivism places norms at the international level as one of the central features of the approach. The identity of the state is crucial for this aspect: by conforming to a set identity, a state is expected to observe given norms correlated to that identity (Theys, 2017). This because the state is expected to behave and act in an appropriate and acceptable manner according to its identity¹.

¹ This is referred by Theys as 'the logic of appropriateness', where actors behave in certain ways because they believe that this behaviour is app

Moreover, norms at the international level can be divided into three types: regulative norms, constitutive norms and prescriptive norms. The first type refers to the behaviour of the actors: it sets behavioural appropriate standards in order to coerce states' conduct; the second category concerns the creation of new interests or categories of actions -identities-; the last group includes the norms that establish what are the norms the society should follow (Ibid). Therefore, norms create constructed attitudes states undertake in order to be able to interact at the international level, they conceive benefits for compliance and costs for non-conforming actions (Slaughter, 2011). Norms are the basis of the international society and the states conform to them in order to maintain the status quo their own identity provide them.

4.1.4 The role of International Institutions in Constructivism

The idea of norms at the international level is strictly intertwined to the context of international organisations. The past century has witnessed the emergence of a great variety of institutions at the international level that helped to shape the interactions between states and the international system itself. The great emphasis Constructivism places in non-state actors is related mostly to the interest the international system of institutions lays in beliefs and ideology. State beliefs and identity are often a result of influence of international rules and

norms, in other words, the behaviour of a state is occasionally affected by the norms and by the 'logic of appropriateness' typical of the international system and of international organisations. This is possible mostly because of the solid structure of identities and norms international organisations possess. In other words, international organisations are not only able to influence and modify states' interests through norms, but also to boost their interest and add new facets to the states' identities. To better illustrate this feature, Martha Finnemore presents how international norms of humanity can change states' belief on humanity and in this manner their overall behaviour (Nugroho, 2008).

Contrary to the tenets of the other theories of IR, Constructivism acknowledges international organisations as a definite actor of their own; in fact, as stated by Barnett and Finnemore, sometimes they undertake their own strategies to pursue interests even against the willingness of the single states, the aim of the protection of human rights as an example (Barnett and Finnemore, 2004).

In sum, Constructivism focuses on ideas, beliefs, norms, the relationship between actors, as well as how identity influences actions and behaviour amongst and between actors (Reus-Smit, 2005). Moreover, it places great attention to non-state actors at the international level.

4.1.5 Critique of Constructivism

Constructivism is subject to several critiques. In first place, the lack of a shared and agreed definition of what Constructivism is leaves ample space to critique; as previously stated, there is only one pure definition of the subject matter given by Adler, but it is not recognised as a canonical rationale. Moreover, it can be said that there are no clear shared assumptions among constructivist scholars. Similar to the mentioned issue stands the lack of literature, also object of critiques: there are few purely theoretical works about Constructivism, scholars prefer to focus on empirical papers rather than on works concerning the approach (Zehfuss, 2002). Furthermore, the approach is not a singular doctrine, rather, many different axioms can be led back to the constructivist approach. Following this critique, it is not easy to understand whether Constructivism is a proper theory as Realism or Liberalism are: scholars as Guzzini prefer to understand Constructivism as a meta-theory, while others prefer to categorise it as a philosophical category or a method of empirical research (Ibid). Another critique analyses the nature of Constructivism; as a matter of fact, the approach is closely intertwined with sociology and humanities, while it lacks claims about politics with an inadequate attention to the role of power at the international level (Pekkanen et al., 2014). Other critiques arise from the absence of material cases of international relations while cultural issues prevail in the existing constructivist literature (Ibid). It is unambiguous how this lack of political

debate dishearten critics from being interested in understanding what Constructivism really is (Zehfuss, 2002). Opposed to the constructivist claim that states that ideas, rather than material actions, have impact on international politics stands rationalism. Rationalists believe that actions and values are separable and that research in international relations must be based on empirical validation (Ibid). The last critique faces one of the most important tenets of Constructivism, the norms. As explained by Leheny, an easy critique involves the human rights norms and the scarcity of intention to follow them from the signatory governments. The critique seeks to point out how norms are relatively powerful in shaping states' behaviour. Constructivists, however, claim the strong power of influence of norms as governments felt the constraint to sign notwithstanding the absence of interest in implementing it at the domestic level (Pekkanen et al., 2014), dissatisfactory response according to critics.

4.2 Soft Power

4.2.1 Assumptions of Soft Power

The concept of power refers to the capacity to influence the behaviour of other actors in order to make them do what otherwise they would not do. The notion can be divided into two different categories: the first one, Hard Power, consists

in the use of military and other coercive measure of the security sphere while the second, Soft Power uses attraction to obtain the desired results.

The idea was developed and defined by J. Nye in his 1990 book *Bound to Lead* and from that moment the concept has been a fundamental assumption in international relations and politics. According to the author, soft power is the ability to “influence others in order to obtain the preferred outcomes through attraction and persuasion rather than coercion” (Nye, 2017). Culture, economy, foreign policy and ideology are the basis on which soft power rests as these characteristics are able to influence the behaviour of other states. This may be the instance if the states are “(..) *admiring its values, emulating its example, and/or aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness*” and are interested in following the state at issue (Nye, 2008). Through its culture and its cultural values, a state is able to attract and influence other actors, and thus reach the desired results; similarly, the positive outcomes of a country’s economy and industry may be seen as the reasons behind the interest of other states in the international arena since the countries may use analogous measures to better develop their economies. Furthermore, the way foreign policy is conducted can attract other actors. The field of ideology is one of the most important for the development of soft power not only at regional level but also on a global scale; ideas and values are motivating factors for the influence a country can exercise at international level. The research topic of HR is an unambiguous example of this: the attraction

of one country to another can be based on many aspects and the perception of HR plays an essential role in the determination of this attraction.

As previously mentioned, the ability of a country to promote its culture and its values is crucial for the conservation of soft power, it is therefore important that the promotion of the stated cultural ideology is well shaped in order to be as effective as possible to influence others. Nonetheless, cultural differences must be considered as they may be a problem in the achievement of Soft Power (Nye, 2008); each state bases its identity on a defined set of values that must be considered when others are trying to influence a given country.

In the past years the focus of international relations has shifted from a purely military and coercive power to the presented notion of soft power. The focus on influence has brought scholars and statesmen to discuss soft power as a new form of maintaining the balance of power among states: the 'soft balance of power' or 'soft balancing' consists in preserving the balance at the international level through soft power. The attention placed on ideas and values is closely connected to the constructivist assumptions previously stated and the notion of HR itself. It is therefore relevant to consider soft power in order to better understand the mechanisms behind the Chinese influence at the international level on the idea of HR.

4.2.2 Chinese Soft Power

Beijing's soft power started to develop in 1997, when it decided to maintain the value of the RMB during the financial crisis: in the eyes of the neighbouring countries, China began to be the leading country in the area (Kurlantzick, 2006). Since then, China developed strategies and new foreign policies in order to foster its new-found soft power. The tools used throughout these decades are part of both cultural-ideological and economic domain.

From the economic point of view, China's involvement at the international level has grown over the years; investments in railways, roads, pipelines and telecommunication infrastructure and economic aids have grown and spread to countries all over the world, and the belt and road initiative² have further increased the amount of funds used for investments. Moreover, financed training programmes for health, agriculture and governance are extending the soft power China has in other countries (Albert, 2018).

Culture, on the other hand, has always been an attracting point, and Chinese culture has always played an important part over history (Ding, 2011); culture has not only shaped the relations with China's neighbouring countries, but throughout the years has proved to be able to reach many countries around the world. Confucius institutes and exchange programs are allowing the spread

² Development strategy adopted by the government of the PRC connecting more than 68 countries in the world and promoting economic integration and development. Please, find more information at: <https://eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn>

of Chinese language and culture to an increasing number of people worldwide. Not only academic culture and language, but also popular culture have supported the expansion of Chinese cultural values, granted by the international broadcasting of CCTV and radio stations in Chinese language (Ibid).

4.3 Use of theory

The above-mentioned theories are a supportive tool for the development of the thesis. Both Constructivism and the concept of Soft Power are used as medium of analytical considerations of the Chinese influence in the field of HR to selected countries. Constructivism is used to further discuss the interactions between states inside the international organisation and explain how the precept of HR is perceived and implemented in international relations, moreover, according to Constructivist assumptions HR with Chinese characteristics will be examined as norms and analysed as such in order to understand if involved states are accepting these as new norms and beliefs of the international system.

The concept of Soft Power, on the other hand, is used to discuss and analyse how China has been able to influence the behaviour of the selected countries and to which degree this influence has been conducted so far. The notion is also used to evaluate the degree of influence China is exercising towards the countries and the tools used to achieve the influence. The objective

of the research is to understand to which extent the countries' development is dictated by pure economic factors (Chinese trade and investments included) or by norms and beliefs deriving from their relations with China.

Application of the theoretical framework on both the perception of the idea of HR and the particular aspects that compose the development of the individual countries allows a later examination of the possible outcomes of the research.

5.0 ANALYSIS

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the collected data by using the theories and the concepts presented in the preceding chapters. The first part of the analysis includes an examination of the votes inside the UNHRC for the definition of a pattern needed for the identification of the countries object of the study in the second part of the analysis. Lastly, a theoretical reflection on the findings is provided.

5.1 The analysis of the votes

Since 2006, the UNHRC has been the theatre of discussions over both general HR issues and current grievous and important circumstances in countries around the world. China is one of the founding member states, and as previously indicated, it has been present from the beginning until the end of 2012 and other two consecutive mandates started in 2014 will conclude at the end of 2019. In the past five years, China has always been present to the UNHRC sessions and has casted votes regularly as it is possible to see in appendix A. The analysis has been developed around the examination of the votes of the resolutions adopted in each session in the selected timeframe. The results have allowed the development of a pattern which identifies the countries closer to the Chinese

point of view. After a deeper analysis it will be possible to comprehend if and to which extent the involved countries are using HR with Chinese characteristics as main envisioning of the idea of HR. The theoretical framework serves as path for the analysis; the constructivist assumptions of norms and the international organisation serve as trace to analyse the general behaviour of the countries inside and outside the UNHRC, while Soft Power is used for the examination of the countries beliefs and Chinese influence on them.

5.1.1 China's voting behaviour

As stated in the previous chapters, PRC is currently focusing on delimited aspects of HR as the right to development and the right to subsistence. These two rights are the basis for the further enhancement of the country's conditions of HR and the foundations from which a broader spectrum of HR is going to develop.

Over the years it has been possible to find regularities in Chinese votes that reflect the policies China adopted both domestically and at the international level. By analysing the singular votes, it has been possible to create a pattern of the votes since regularities are present. The scrutiny of the votes of the resolutions of both regular and special sessions underlines coherence of the votes casted and the policies China is adopting. In particular, policies adopted at the international level such as the non-interference policy has had a primary role

in the shaping of Chinese voting behaviour inside the council as reports of situations of HR in third countries, assistance and cooperation have been rejected or the country decided to abstain in order to comply to the policy. Domestic policies on protests, civil society and death penalty have evidently influenced the votes, placing China among the countries against such resolutions; on the other hand, positive votes were casted for resolutions concerning topics close to Chinese domestic policies as the regulation of the possess of firearms, the fight against terrorism and the protection of the family. Over the accounted five years, it has been possible to additionally observe a clear conformity to the basic assumption of the concept of HR with Chinese characteristics: peace, development and the rights to food, safe drinking water and sanitation have been promoted and votes concerning these topics have always been in favour.

There are, however, irregularities in the votes as some of them present characteristics non-ascribable in the previously described pattern. The positive vote to the resolution 38/3 (as it is possible to see in the appendix A) on the enhancement of international cooperation in the field of HR may be seen as contradicting to the non-interference policy. Similarly, notwithstanding the positive vote for the right of self-determination, it may be argued that this vote could be interpreted as conflicting to some of the current domestic policies adopted by Beijing in order to solve domestic issues highly criticised by the international community. Many other votes casted over the years have diverged

from the designed pattern, but the objective of the research does not include the examination of the coherence between votes and policies.

5.1.2 Other members' voting choices

In order to proceed with the analysis, all the votes analogous to Chinese ones of all the members in the past five years have been examined. The research, as visible in the appendix B, produced significant results as the trends have shown the strong inclination of countries from Africa, Asia-Pacific, Eastern Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean groups to cast votes equivalent to China, while equal votes from Western European countries and other states have been less-frequently casted. It is therefore possible to affirm that developing countries are more penchant on side their votes with China. Analogously to Chinese votes, African members have been more inclined to vote positively for economic, social and cultural rights concerning resolutions as the right to development, the right to access food and drinking water, the right of protection of persons with disabilities, the right of self determination and several others, while overall negative votes were casted for resolutions related to the non-interference policy or to sensitive topics such as death penalty or other civil society related issues (e.g.: resolution 32/31 or resolution 31/31. See Appendix A). The second part of the analysis focuses on the examination of countries part of the Sub-Saharan area, their relations with China and their HR policies.

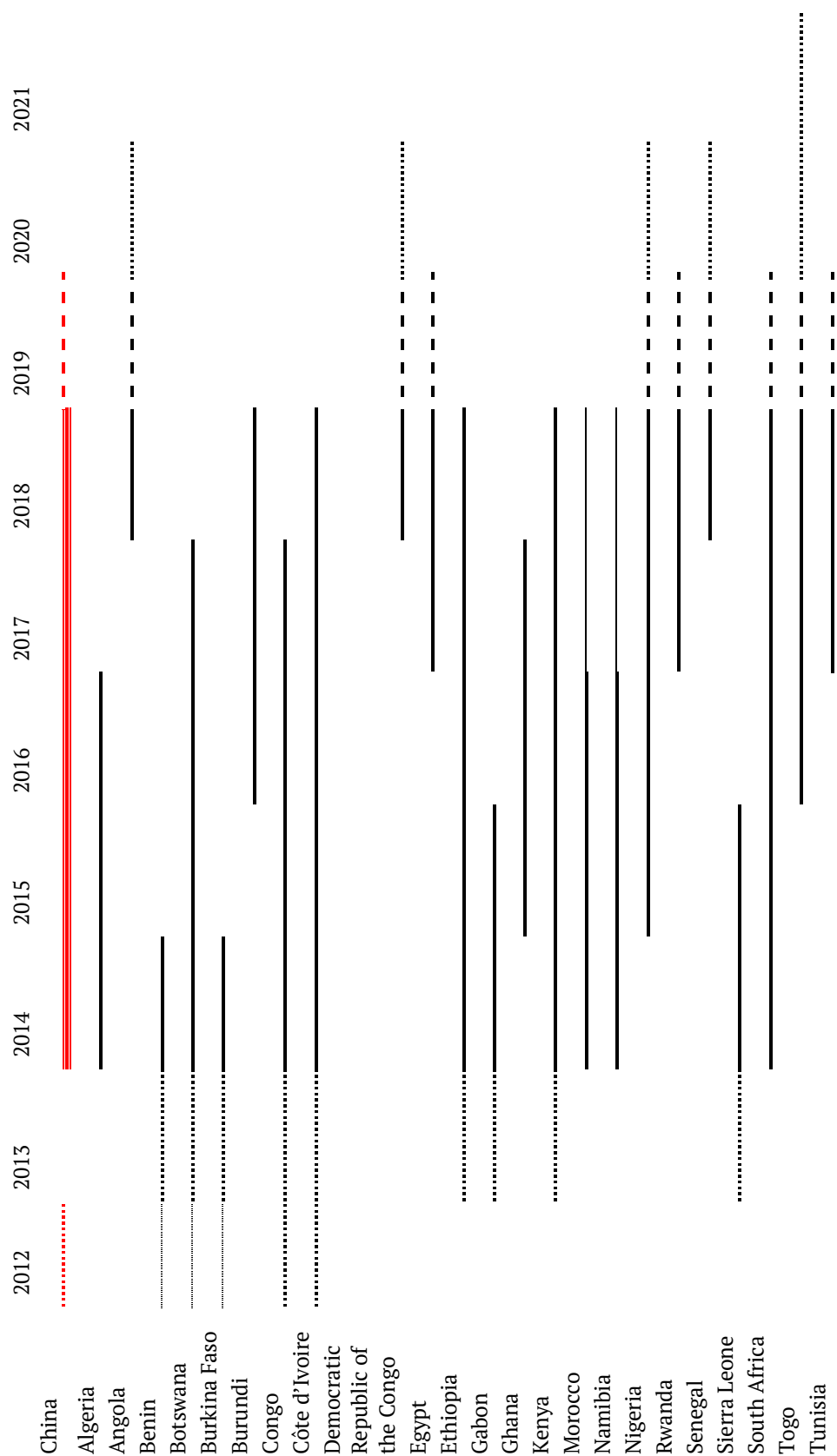


Figure 1 Timetable of the presence of each African country in the UNHRC. Source: Author

5.2 Selection of the study subjects

The research continued by selecting as cases the African countries. The decision was made to have a focus on a limited number of countries to better understand whether China is expanding its influence and its perception of HR to the African continent or not. Furthermore, the choice has a supplementary reason as every considered country is defined by UNCTAD as Developing countries (UN, 2018). It is, therefore, interest of the research to understand if there are any connections between the economic situation of a country and the possible adoption of the Chinese perception of HR. As it is possible to see in Table 1 and Figure 2 the African countries member of the council between the years 2014-2018 were twenty-three, with percentage of affinity with Chinese votes that vary from 39,4% of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to 100% of Burundi. In order to further delimitate the analysis an additional reduction of cases has been made by considering only Sub-Saharan countries with a percentage of correspondence of more of the 65%. This enabled the research to put emphasis on eight countries, namely: Botswana, Burundi, Congo-Brazzaville, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and South Africa as underlined in the following table. Moreover, an additional focus has been made on Burundi and South Africa as particular cases for the discussion of Chinese influence and the adoption of HR with Chinese characteristics.

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF VOTES IN LINE WITH CHINA	TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES	PERCENTAGE
Algeria	73	95	76,8%
Angola	18	33	54,5%
Benin	19	33	57,6%
Botswana	79	131	75,6%
Burkina Faso	21	33	63,6%
Burundi	99	99	100%
Congo	91	131	69,4%
Côte d'Ivoire	103	163	63,2%
Democratic Republic of the Congo	13	33	39,4%
Egypt	56	68	82,4%
Ethiopia	106	163	65%
Gabon	39	64	60,9%
Ghana	60	99	60,6%
Kenya	106	163	65%
Morocco	62	95	65,3%
Namibia	60	95	63,2%
Nigeria	91	131	69,4%
Rwanda	33	68	48,5%
Senegal	17	33	51,5%
Sierra Leone	42	64	65,6%
South Africa	109	163	66,9%
Togo	48	99	48,5%
Tunisia	42	68	61,8%

Table 1 Number of votes for each African country with the respective percentage. Source: Author

The purpose of the following sections is to understand to which extent these countries are conforming to the Chinese concept of HR by analysing their relations with China, their historical records on the protection of HR and the future of the country's HR through their national development plans. The objective is to find regularities that allow to better understand the cases and observe if HR with Chinese characteristics have been exported abroad or it is a concept accepted and utilised only inside the borders of the PRC.

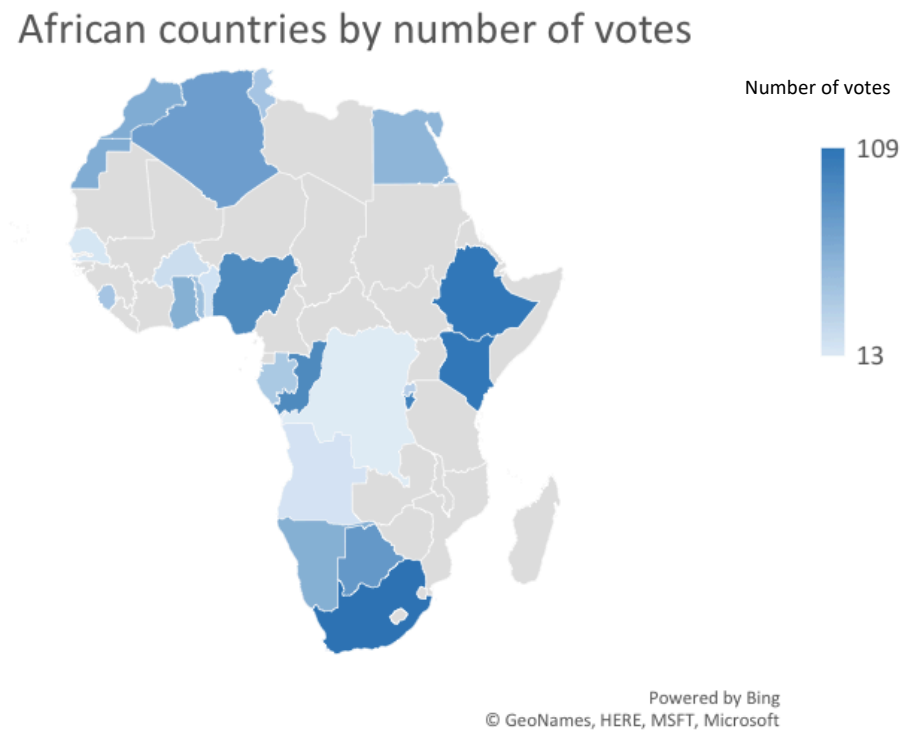


Figure 2 Map of Africa with the 23 members and the respective number of votes. Source: Author

5.3 Influence of China on Sub-Saharan countries

The following part of the analysis presents an in-depth examination of the mentioned Sub-Saharan countries. Previous to the scrutiny, possible bias has been taken into account as one of the potential distortions may include votes casted according to Chinese decisions as Chinese investments may personally favour officials and heads of states of the selected countries.

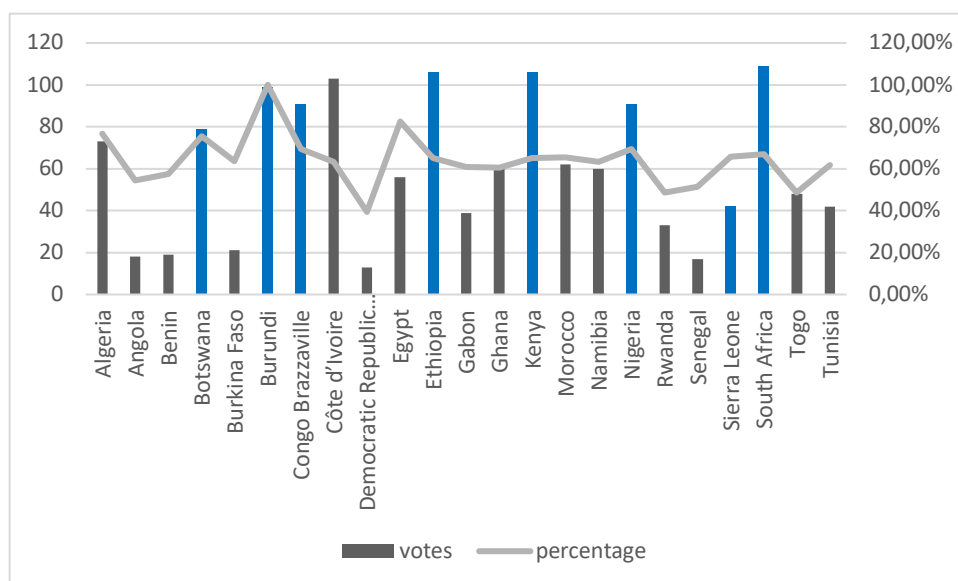


Figure 3 African countries by number of votes and percentages with focus on Sub-Saharan Countries with more than 65%. Source: Author

5.3.1 Interactions between China and Sub-Saharan countries

From the first analysis of the votes emerged that several Sub-Saharan countries members of the UNHRC have supported Chinese votes for the resolutions for more of the 65% of times. These countries are namely: Botswana, Burundi,

Republic of the Congo-Brazzaville, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and South Africa. The forthcoming paragraph briefly examines six of the chosen countries, while Burundi and South Africa are objects of a deeper analysis in the next parts of the chapter.

The countries' membership in the UNHRC has been analysed by stating the years of membership and the findings about their voting behaviour in order to better understand to which extent the countries embraced the notion of HR with Chinese characteristics. Botswana has been member of the UNHRC from 2012 to 2017 and in those years the country has always expressed its deep interest for basic HR such as the right to development, the right to access safe drinking water and non-discrimination rights. Over the years it has been possible to notice some affinity with China and the voting behaviour disclose this closeness to a greater degree: over the four years the two countries have been members of the council together, Botswana and China have shared the same voting behaviour in the 75,6% of cases. In line with Botswana, the Republic of the Congo has been member of the UNHRC from 2012 to the end of 2017. In these years Congolese votes have coincided with Chinese ones on the 69.4% of cases. On the other hand, Ethiopia joined the UNHRC in 2013 and remained in charge as a member until 2018. Over the years, the country has been a stable and efficient member of the council, and the re-election for the years 2016-2018 demonstrate the commitment. Between 2014 and 2018 the representatives of the government of Addis Ababa have expressed analogous votes to their Chinese

counterparts in the 65% of the cases. Analogously to Ethiopia, Kenya stayed in charge for two consecutive mandates entering in 2012 until the end of 2018. Over the five years in which both the African country and China were members of the council, the 65% of Kenyan votes were analogous to the Chinese ones. Another country with two consecutive mandates is Nigeria, that has been part of the UNHRC since 2015 and it will be part of the council until 2020. Over these years the country has worked in the council in order to actively promote and protect HR. As previously demonstrated, Nigeria shares the 69.4% of votes with China over the years 2015-2018 and together with Congo is ranked third in the classification of the countries with voting behaviour similar to China³. On the other hand, Sierra Leone joined the UNHRC in 2013 and in its three years of mandate has been a present member of the council. As previously presented, over the two years of simultaneous presence of the west-African republic and China, their votes have converged in the 65,6% of cases, placing Sierra Leone among the countries more inclined to vote as China does. Diplomatic relations between China and each of the six considered countries commenced starting from 1960s, after the decolonisation. The countries have always had positive and fruitful for all the parties, among which Nigeria, Kenya and Sierra Leone benefit of remarkable relations as ones of the most supportive countries for China; notwithstanding it must be stated that the relations with Botswana and Ethiopia

³ According to the analysis made by the author of this paper in the previous sections.

experienced some arrests due to political issues such as the visit of Dalai Lama in 2017 (Botswana) or the pro Soviet Union sentiment during the cold war (Ethiopia) (Cabestan, 2012). It is clear from the examination that these countries' interests are defined by basic rights such as development, access to drinking water and food, sanitation and the protection of the family, but also by rights and regulations that pertain to the international sphere as international solidarity, the right to peace, the enhancement of a democratic and equitable order together with the elimination of any kind of discrimination and racism (Appendix A). The topic of HR proved to be of crucial relevance for all the countries involved. For Botswana, HR together with the constitution represents the 4th pillar of the development plan "Vision 2036"; while for the Republic of the Congo-Brazzaville the promotion and protection of HR as a practice has been shelved due to the political instability, notwithstanding, the government has continued to promote HR at the international level. In Ethiopia the growth and transformation plan for the years 2015/16-2019/20 aims at enhancing economic growth and reduce poverty by improving agricultural, industrial and scientific development (National Planning Commission, 2016). The plan recognises also the crucial importance of the development of other basic elements such as the reinforcement of people's participation, the consolidation of a good governance and a social welfare (Ibid). "Kenya vision 2030", the National Development Plan is aimed at transform Kenya into an "industrialising country providing a high quality of life to all its citizens by 2030 in a clean and secure environment"

(Commonwealth Governance, n.d.). The plan has three pillars that focus on HR: economic growth as first, social development in a safe environment as second and an enhancement of democracy as third. Food security, universal health coverage and affordable housing are the basis of the plan (Vision 2030 Delivery Secretariat, n.d.). For Nigeria, nowadays HR are protected and promoted by the current constitution and by international treaties and agreements such as the African Charter⁴. HR are of paramount importance also in the National Development Plan “Vision 20: 2020”; according to the plan, the final goal is to promote sustainable social and economic development in a competitive and environmentally friendly manner (National Planning Commission, 2009). Lastly, Sierra Leone’s medium-term national development plan 2019–2023 is projected in promoting and safeguarding HR on a wider extent. For instance, protection of human rights, and equal opportunities for economic development are a cornerstone for the development of the country in the years to come (Government of Sierra Leone, 2019). Notwithstanding these plans for the development and improvement of HR in the future, at the time of writing, only Botswana is considered a free country, while Kenya, Nigeria and Sierra Leone are partially free and Ethiopia is considered not free (Freedom House, 2018).

⁴ The African Charter is an international instrument concerning the promotion and the safeguard of HR signed by the countries of the African continent (Organization of African Unity, 1981).

The brief examination of the countries' national plans pointed out the close relationship between the development of the individual countries and the promotion and safeguard of HR. Each of the six examples has revealed how basic social and economic rights are at the forefront in every national development plan, notwithstanding, civil and political rights are considered as part of the enhancement of the development of the countries. It is therefore difficult to understand to which extent the notion of HR with Chinese characteristics is being adopted by the six, but it is possible to say that the basic traits of the connection between HR and development is present in every country, however, it must be said that there are countries as Nigeria or Sierra Leone that are implementing HR with Chinese characteristics to a greater extent.

5.4 Specific examples of China's influence

5.4.1 Burundi

Burundi has been member of the UNHRC between 2016 and 2018. Over the years the country has been an active member of the council and its voting behaviour has been proven to be very close to the Chinese one. As previously stated, of the 99 votes cast during the three years of mandate, all of them were consistent with Chinese votes with a percentage of 100%; it indicates that Burundi has been the only country inside the UNHRC to unconditionally support China's votes. From

the analysis emerged the profound importance the country has for basic rights as sanitation, drinking water, food, development and the importance given to the improvement of the international system's conditions granted by the enhancement of international solidarity, cooperation on HR, and the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order. The behaviour presented inside the UNHRC can be explained by both the country's definition of HR and its relations with the PRC.

Diplomatic relations between Burundi and China started in 1963 and from that moment on, the mutual trust and cooperation have grown flourishingly until now (Xinhua agency, 2018). Furthermore, China has provided development aid to the country since 1971 with millions of RMB used for new infrastructures and the advancement of Burundian economy. Many cooperation agreements have been signed throughout the years with focus on health, education, energy and agriculture (Ibid).

The past years have witnessed a growth of both the trade and the Chinese investments made in the country. China is now investing in twelve projects with focus on schools, hospitals and the energy sector, and has given grants for the fight against poverty (AidData, n.d.). Moreover, in the past years China donated 100,000 USD to Burundian Red Cross for the reconstruction after a natural disaster (Ibid). In addition, China entirely funded and built the Burundian presidential palace as sign of friendship and cooperation between the countries (Choi, 2019). All these investments have shown the profound relationship China

and Burundi share and allowed China to increase its influence in the country. The trade perspective offers, however, a different outline of the situation; the data of Burundian import-export show China in first place, together with India, as import partner with trade of cereals, electrical equipment, textile and machinery, on the other hand, China is not one of the biggest receiving partners the country has (Trading Economics, 2019a). Notwithstanding, the 77% of Burundi exports to China is composed by ores, slag and ash followed by raw skins and leather (Ibid). Both the copious trading relations and the large amount of investments and grants have allowed China to build a tight relationship with the African country with a great influence as it is visible from the collected data, nonetheless, the years to come are essential for the further improvement and implementation of the influence China can exercise towards Burundi. Chinese Soft Power has grown as a result of the use of the mentioned economic tools: both trade and investments have been decisive in the shaping of influence in the country.

From a HR perspective, it must be stated that there have been escalations of HR violations in the past years: extreme violence has been perpetrated in 2015, year when President Pierre Nkurunziza announced his will to compete for a third mandate and opposition leader Niyombare attempted a coup d'état (Avenue et al., 2018). Not to mention the ethnic tensions between Hutu and Tutsi in the past decades (Bhavnani and Backer, 2000).

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the country is committed to pursue the improvement and expansion of HR as it may be read in the *Plan National de Développement 2018-2027* (PND) (National Development Plan) chapter 3. The PND explicitly mentions democracy and HR putting great emphasis on liberties and justice. The plan elucidates how HR and economic development are progressing at the same time. Key element of the development of HR is a general growth able to bring to the country a stable society prone to expand the present circumstances and guarantee the promotion and protection of HR. It is clear from the plan how Burundi is committed to end inequalities based on whichever category and is determined to establish efficient policies in order to serve the people.

As shown by the first part of the analysis, the ideological perspective of Chinese Soft Power has been of paramount importance; Burundi is one of the few countries always concordant with China, as demonstrated by the 100% of similar votes over the three years at the UNHRC. The political situation of the country of the past years has not been favourable for the flourishing and protection of HR, nonetheless, in 2018 new policies have been implemented and the development plan is an example of the commitment in the promotion and safeguard of HR in the country.

As stated in previous chapters of the paper, ties between HR and economic development are one of the core aspects of HR with Chinese Characteristics; together with the emphasis on the communitarian aspects of HR, economic

development plays a significant role in shaping Chinese perception of HR and it is evident how the approach has shaped Burundian interpretation of HR. As it is visible on the PND, the ultimate objective is to: “*structurally transform Burundi’s economy for a strong, durable, resilient, inclusive growth able to create workplaces for everyone and able to lead towards an improvement of the well-being of the entire society.*” (Republique du Burundi, 2018). It is therefore evident that HR with Chinese characteristics have been, at least in part, adopted by Burundi and that the beliefs and ideas owned by China are integral part of the Burundian perspective.

5.4.2 South Africa

South Africa joined the UNHRC in 2014 together with China and both were elected for a consecutive mandate. From 2014 to 2018 China and South Africa casted similar votes in the 66,9% of the times, ranking the African country in the top five countries sharing the votes with China. South African votes reflected the importance given by the country to topics concerning the international society itself and the single individuals at the international level, not to mention the basic rights South Africa is trying to promote not only at the domestic level, but also at the international level.

In 2018 occurred the twentieth anniversary of China-South Africa diplomatic relations (Chen, 2018). Prior the end of Apartheid in South Africa,

there were no official nor unofficial relations with PRC, but after the fall in 1993, the two countries began to open until the official beginning of diplomatic ties in 1998. Nowadays, the two countries have a deep and friendly relationship, strengthened over time. Since 2007 Sino-South African relations have deepened at both political and commercial level. China is South Africa's largest trading partner while South Africa is China's largest trading partner in Africa with 40 billion dollars volume. These fruitful outcomes allowed the countries to enjoy a comprehensive strategic partnership model for the south-south cooperation⁵. According to April and Shelton, China-South Africa relations are founded on four pillars: the first is overcoming every type of colonisation and racism, the second is rooted on the shared foreign policies approaches, the third lies on the development of the country and of the entire continent and the fourth regards the alliance of the two countries in the context of the BRICS⁶ (Shelton and April, 2015). Trade has grown to the amount of almost 40 billion dollars as bilateral commercial relations, with mineral products, machinery and vegetables as main exporting goods for South Africa and electronic equipment and machinery as main exporting goods for China (Trading Economics, 2019b). Moreover, direct investments between the two countries have been expanding from both sides, in fact, the African country's investments have been more than 700 million dollars

⁵ Please find more about South-South Cooperation at:

<https://unctad.org/en/pages/PublicationWebflyer.aspx?publicationid=2361>

⁶ Brasil, Russia, India, China and South Africa's association of major emerging economies. For more information, please refer to J. Madley and his article Brics available at: <https://search-proquest-com.zorac.aub.aau.dk/docview/1412519643?accountid=8144>

in 2017, placing South Africa in the first place as African investor in China (Chen, 2018). China on the other hand has been increasing its investments to South Africa and in 2017 passed the threshold of 25 billion dollars of direct investments (Ibid); these investments mostly concerned projects on agriculture in the south of the country and platinum plants of the north (AidData, n.d.). Throughout the years, the growing Chinese direct investments have increased the relations between the two countries and have also enhanced the diplomatic ties.

The period of Apartheid not only presented discriminations towards the majority of the population based on the colour, gender and sexual orientation, but also presented the lack of basic HR. The post-Apartheid era has witnessed the emergence of other issues linked to HR such as violence and arbitrary killings, human trafficking, discrimination of the LGBTI⁷ population and corruption (United States Department of State, 2018).

South African and Chinese positions on development and international relations are very similar; it is possible to observe this similarity in the National Development Plan (NDP) for 2030. The NDP establishes the future of the country by considering different sectors: economy, trade, industry, environment and society are all contemplated in order to achieve economic growth, eliminate poverty and reduce inequalities (South Africa and National Planning Commission, 2012). The topic of employment opportunities is considered as

⁷ Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex.

crucial in the development of the country and is tightly related to the matter of HR as described in the plan: *“By 2030, the South African economy should generate sufficient opportunity that enables those who want to work the access and possibility to do so. It should create opportunities and work for all, while ensuring human rights, labour standards and democratic representation.”* (Ibid). Therefore, in order to achieve a successful implementation of the NDP it is of vital importance for South Africa to secure the enforcement of HR protection.

The four pillars of the Sino-South African relations are the starting point of the relations and allowed a deeper understanding and further employment of the notion of HR with Chinese characteristics. Some of the ideas over the promotion and safeguard of HR lay their roots in the profound relations South Africa has towards China and the awareness of its perception of HR. For instance, the first and the third pillar are strictly related to HR: the defeat of colonialism and every form of racism may be seen as the basis of basic rights such as equality and freedom, while development is the foundation of HR with Chinese characteristics. Moreover, the investments made over the years have allowed the creation of new workplace and the development of the living conditions of South African population. The increasing amount of investments is not closely connected to the adoption of some of the characteristics of the Chinese idea of HR, but it is apparent that Chinese trade and investments have a consistent impact on South African economy that may affect the country's behaviour both at domestic and international level. As it has been possible to see in the first part

of the analysis, South Africa has supported Chinese votes in the UNHRC in a significant number of occasions and it may be seen as a favourable reception of the concept of HR with Chinese characteristics. Moreover, it has been possible to identify various items distinctive of the notion of Human Rights with Chinese characteristics in the South African NDP as the eradication of poverty through the development of the labour sector. According to the concept of Soft Power, South Africa has been progressively influenced by China and the adoption of characteristics typical of Chinese concept of HR is an example.

Notwithstanding the differences between the two selected countries' political systems and their relations with China, it is possible to say that HR with Chinese characteristics have been to some extent adopted. Moreover, by the analysis of the other six countries emerged a clear picture of the expansion of Chinese Soft Power and HR with Chinese characteristics. The findings in the selected countries have demonstrated what are the leading influencing characteristics of the Chinese perception of HR: the focus on development, basic rights and the augmentation of the communitarian perception are at the basis of the intensified interest. The decision to focus on the two countries derived from the will to examine how China has been able to similarly influence two Sub-Saharan countries with different background and different HR conditions. As a

matter of facts, according to Freedom House⁸ data of the past years, Burundi is considered not free since 2014, notwithstanding eleven years of improvement, while South Africa have been considered free since 1994, year of the end of Apartheid (Freedom House, 2018).

5.5 Theoretical Reflections

As previously stated, the UNHRC is the principal arena used at the intergovernmental level to discuss the promotion and protection of HR to a global scale. Throughout the analysis it has been possible to observe the interactions among the states member of the council and the ‘influence games’ the countries are playing. It is clear that the notion of HR used by the council and the majority of its members refers to the traditional ideas developed in the West over the centuries, but it is also clear that not all the countries give reference to that concept: China, as an example, has been able to develop a notion of HR that take into consideration and gives more importance to values and beliefs significantly different from the ones regarded as the basis of the modern HR. Even if they are receiving less emphasis, it may be argued that HR with Chinese characteristics are becoming more and more considered by several members of the council. Notwithstanding this sign of potential change at the

⁸ Western NGO specialised in the research and sensibilisation on the topics of human rights, freedom and democratisation. Please find more information at: <https://freedomhouse.org>

international level, it must be recognised that, as Constructivism establishes, international organisations as the UNHRC have their own identities that are constructed over values and beliefs; unless the values over which the institution founds its identity change, it will not be possible for HR with Chinese characteristics become more competitive and influential inside the council. However, many countries at national level are beginning to adopt the Chinese concept of HR: basic rights and economic development are preferred rather than political and social rights.

As pointed out by the analysis, in each of the eight countries part of the study it has been possible to recognise several features typical of HR with Chinese characteristics. The African countries object of the research present as basis for their National Development Plan characters that have been already pointed out as part of the Chinese concept of HR; deep ties between economic development and basic rights are at the forefront of each of the eight countries. Nevertheless, it must be stated that countries such as Botswana and South Africa are promoting and safeguarding not only basic rights and development as the other six countries examined, but they are also protecting and strengthening political and social rights not part of the Chinese concept of HR.

The tenets of Soft Power focus on the use of attraction in order to obtain the desired outcomes (Nye, 2017). In doing so, a country makes use of culture, economy, foreign policy and ideology to influence other actors and achieve the desired results at the international level. In the particular case of this research,

the concept of HR is interpreted as main element of Chinese Soft Power for six of the selected countries, while economic factors are included in the study of Burundi and South Africa. The examination revealed the plans implemented by the eight countries have as main purpose the development of the industrial sector and of the general economy, but they also consider the improvement of the conditions of HR as crucial for the advancement of the country. It may be therefore stated that the national development plans of all the eight African countries considered in this study contemplate both the characteristics Huntington described for the development of the society (Huntington and Fukuyama, 2006). Both the society and the economy are taken into consideration for a further development in the years to come. As previously stated, the interlace between HR and development is a fundamental precept of HR with Chinese characteristics, and all the considered plans are based on this assumption. Thus, Chinese Soft Power has been expanding in Sub-Saharan Africa to the point of influencing, although only partially, domestic policies, and nowadays tenets of HR with Chinese characteristics are present in several countries as one of the most important doctrines for the development and safeguard of HR.

6.0 DISCUSSION AND ASSESSMENT OF THE PROBLEM FORMULATION

The following chapter includes the discussion on the findings with the assessment of the problem formulation and the sub-question. Furthermore, reflections over the future of Human Rights in Africa are presented.

6.1 The findings

The first section of the analysis presented a deep examination of the votes casted by China and the other members of the UNHRC in the period considered. As stated, China has been one of the founding members of the Council and throughout the years has actively been involved in multilateral arenas for the promotion and safeguard of HR. For China HR are of paramount importance and with the development of a different interpretation it has been able to better protect basic rights; rights such as access to food and drinkable water, the right to development and the right to peace are the foundations of HR with Chinese characteristics and together with a general economic development are allowing millions of people to provide for basic necessities and are eliminating poverty from the country. As stated in the white paper China produced as a review of the past 40 years, the development of HR in the country has been increasing year

after year and living standards have significantly improved since the beginning of the opening up reforms in 1978 (The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, 2018). Both the constitution and the leading Communist Party confer considerable importance to HR and the country is making every effort in order to further develop, respect and protect HR (Ibid). As previously analysed, Chinese votes in the UNHRC have been deeply influenced by the country's perception of HR, and notwithstanding the known differences from the Western perspective, there are commonalities that brought all the members of the Council to agree. Examples of these common interests are the right to self-determination, the regulation of firearms and the regulation of arbitrary detention as visible in the appendix A. This serves to understand that HR with Chinese characteristics are not a completely different notion from the conception the West have, the main different is the focus China gives to some rights rather than others.

It is known that since the opening up Chinese influence has been growing exponentially. The last decades have been characterised by an incomparable economic growth and an increasing number of countries has started to follow the path China has created in the hope of an intense and rapid development. The country not only is influencing other states on the basis of bilateral relations, China has also started to put more emphasis on its own agenda for HR when at the UNHRC and the UN in general (Godement et al., 2018). HR with Chinese characteristics are becoming increasingly important for countries around the

world that are having difficulties in implementing the Western concept of HR. As it has been possible to see from the results of the analysis, many developing countries are lining up with China when voting resolutions of the UNHRC; this could be understood as mere coincidence, but it must be recognised that the focus on development rather than political and social rights is more appealing for countries that are trying to eradicate poverty. Not only the eight considered Sub-Saharan countries, but also other African countries as Algeria and Egypt, Latin American countries as Bolivia, Cuba and Venezuela or Asian countries as Bangladesh, Philippines and Viet Nam are examples of countries with high percentages of same votes inside UNHRC that have also close relations with China. This alignment derives mainly from the shared political ideologies and strategies of development (Piccone, 2018).

The aim of the research was to answer the research question:

“Is the Chinese perception of Human Rights influencing Sub-Saharan States’ consideration of this concept? If so, why and to which extent is this influence developing?”

As it is possible to observe in the analysis, a rising number of countries have started to follow Chinese voting behaviour and are more inclined to implement the concept of HR with Chinese characteristics. Therefore, it may be said that the first part of the problem formulation has a positive answer. As for the second part of the problem formulation, in the last years, the influence China has over some countries has been growing because of the focus the concept has given to

development and basic rights. As already stated, developing countries are more inclined in pursuing and protecting rights that can help the country to develop and allow the population to have higher living standards. Notwithstanding, the positions on the view of China vary significantly in countries all around the world. According to a recent survey of Pew Research Centre, in 2018 the world has been divided in the perception of China, with the 45% of favourable opinions opposed to the 43% of unfavourable positions (Devlin, 2018). As it is possible to notice, the survey stressed the continuously growing influence China has, but it must be noted that in the field of HR European, North American and some Asian countries (namely Japan and South Korea) share a negative view of Chinese implementation of promotion and safeguard of HR (Ibid). Nonetheless, as it has been also possible to interpret from the analysis, African countries and other developing countries share a more positive perception of China in the field of HR. The mentioned influence derives not only from the Chinese perception of HR more favourable for economic development and with fewer ties to political and social rights, but also from the successful bilateral relations China has been able to develop with the considered countries. As the second part of the analysis illustrated, PRC undertook bilateral relations with each one of the eight examined countries in order to further enhance both the diplomatic and economic ties; not only the trade volumes have grown, but also financial aids have been deployed (both China to African countries and African countries to China), moreover, the emphasis placed on culture and cultural exchanges has

promoted a positive perception of China. The different attitude China decided to maintain in its relations with African countries might be the key element that allowed favourable positions towards the Asian country. Hence, the development of Chinese influence over the eight considered countries has been significant and it is still in process. As shown in the analysis, Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and South Africa's positions on HR have been influenced by the notion of HR with Chinese characteristics (to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the country involved).

From the analysis' development emerged that the countries that more resembled Chinese voting behaviour are, as previously mentioned, developing countries; the focus on a defined number of countries with shared characteristics has further illustrated which countries shared voting opinions with China in the UNHRC over the period of time considered. Moreover, the analysis clarified the intertwining economic development and the promotion and safeguard of HR share: as it has been possible to observe, basic HR such as the right to food or the right to drinking water are strongly related to the economic growth, hence to the degree of development of a country.

6.2 Further reflections on human rights in Africa

At the time of writing, the research has revealed the deep-rooted relation between the attention to economic development and the perception of HR a country has. The involved African countries, in their national development plans, have mainly placed the emphasis and the resources in the economic development of the country rather than the promotion of HR as intended by the Western society. The decision of emphasise the importance of economic growth derives from the poverty status most of the countries are experiencing. The enhancement of additional political and social rights might be seen as unnecessary if basic rights as subsistence, access to basic living standards and security are not guaranteed. The inclination towards the Chinese perspective of HR is, hence, imposed by the current situation the countries are suffering; even though some of the countries are more economically developed than others, their focus on basic rights demonstrate their determination to give priority to economic stability and development in order to strengthen the country's image at the international level. Nevertheless, the focus on HR with Chinese characteristics does not exclude a priori the future development of the rights set aside at present time. As mentioned in the literature review, according to Norberto Bobbio HR are not a set of fixed notions but rather they change and adjust over the time; rights denoted as crucial at a certain point in time may be overtaken by different rights that over the years have arisen. Thus, HR with Chinese characteristics have been developed to provide for specific

circumstances that are different from the ones the West is experiencing and different from the ones China will experience in the future. The implementation of HR with Chinese characteristics by African countries confirm this assumption since Chinese development is an example many countries are willing to follow in order to pursue economic growth.

7.0 CONCLUSION

The research commenced with the analysis of the votes inside the UNHRC between the years 2014 and 2018. The examination concerned not only the similarities in the voting behaviour between China and other countries, and in detail the eight Sub-Saharan countries, but also the topics objects of the votes. The results of the analysis have emphasised the interactions and the alignments inside the UNHRC. From the findings emerged that a prevalence of developing countries is aligned with the votes China casted for resolutions over the years considered. The relations between members of the council have revealed Chinese aptness to influence other countries in the field of HR by using the definition of HR with Chinese characteristics as new normative framework. The norms and beliefs part of the Chinese notion of HR have been embraced by some of the countries and it may be stated that this started to re-shape the constitutive norms that constitute the international arena of HR. The research demonstrated how several countries have opened to new perceptions of the idea of HR as the traditional concept illustrated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is, at present, resulting not completely suitable for countries that present certain characteristics as the process of development. Additionally, in the current stage, the implementation of the mentioned concept is revealing deficiencies as treaties and other bodies have no legal binding. The decision to focus on a

limited number of countries allowed to better interpret the reasons behind the lining up: the eight countries examined revealed the propensity in the adoption of the notion of HR with Chinese characteristics. The close relationships between China and the mentioned countries are encouraging this embracement, but there are other notable causes behind. As previously stated, main assumptions of the concept of HR with Chinese characteristics are the improvement of living standards with the guarantee of basic rights as food and drinking water, the assurance of social stability, security and peace and the right to development. All these features are seen as suitable for the pursue of economic growth and the eradication of poverty, crucial matters for developing countries, and the close connection between the promotion of these basic HR and economic growth are of paramount importance. Moreover, great importance has been given to the idea of community as part of the notion of HR with Chinese characteristics and is one of the most noteworthy aspect since it is part of the concept expressed by president Xi Jinping “*community of shared future for all humankind*”. The concept has been developed and reiterated in the past years as part of the promotion of HR with Chinese characteristics and peaceful development.

The investigation proceeded with the analysis of the individual countries, with focus on Burundi and South Africa, and their application of the concept of HR with Chinese characteristics. The examination of the eight countries revealed how the mentioned feature have been introduced in several national

development plans and have created the basis for domestic HR policies. Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and South Africa, at different levels, have started to implement notions of HR with Chinese characteristics and at present seem more prone to follow the concept rather than focusing exclusively on the traditional conception of HR. It is therefore possible to state that Chinese Soft Power has been effective in the selected countries of Sub-Saharan Africa in the development and expansion of the concept of HR with Chinese characteristics.

Through the analysis it has been possible to answer the problem formulation and despite the fact that the findings have no generalisability, it appears that the presented countries have developed their HR protections focusing on notions closer to HR with Chinese characteristics rather than the traditional notion. The study may be seen as a *principium* for further research on the Chinese influence in the field of HR. As stressed in the literature review, the publications on the subject matter are scarce and additional research may be of great significance in the years to come.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that, as previously considered, the concept of HR is not static, and it has developed over the time, new rights have been included; for this reason, the integration of different perspectives and practices is crucial for the enhancement of the notion of HR: knowledge deriving from different cultures and traditions is necessary for the advancement of the concept and its protection.

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APPENDIX A

Session	Resolution	China	Countries that Agreed with China
39th Regular Session (10-28 September 2018)	39/1: Promotion and protection of human rights in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Pakistan, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	39/2: Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar	Against	Burundi, Philippines
	39/4: Promotion of a democratic and equitable international order	In Favour	Angola, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	39/5: The use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination	In Favour	Angola, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	39/8: The human rights to safe drinking water and sanitation	In Favour	Angola, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland,

			Togo, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	39/9: The right to development	In Favour	Afghanistan, Angola, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	39/12: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas	In Favour	Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	39/14: Situation of human rights in Burundi	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	39/15: The human rights situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	39/16: Human rights situation in Yemen	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Egypt, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
38th Regular Session (18 June - 6 July 2018)	38/2: Human Rights and international solidarity	In Favour	Afghanistan, Angola, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	38/3: Enhancement of international cooperation in the field of human rights	In Favour	Angola, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	38/12: Civil society space: engagement with international and regional organizations	Abstaining	Burundi, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kyrgyzstan, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)]
	38/14: situation of human rights in Belarus	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Egypt, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

	38/16: the human rights situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Iraq, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	38/18: The contribution of the Human Rights Council to the prevention of human rights violations	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Egypt, Kyrgyzstan, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
37th Regular Session (26 February-23 March 2018)	37/1: The deteriorating situation of human rights in Eastern Ghouta, in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/3: integrity of the judicial system	In Favour	Angola, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Nepal, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, South Africa, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/10: the right to food	In Favour	Afghanistan, Angola, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/11: 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	In Favour	Angola, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/21: human rights and unilateral coercive measures	In Favour	Angola, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

	37/23: promoting mutually beneficial cooperation in the field of human rights	In Favour	Angola, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/29: The human rights situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/30: Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Iraq, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/32: Situation of human rights in Myanmar	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Philippines, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/33: Human rights in the occupied Syrian Golan	In Favour	Afghanistan, Angola, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/34: Right of the Palestinian people to self-determination	In Favour	Afghanistan, Angola, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/35: Human rights situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Afghanistan, Angola, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/36: Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan	In Favour	Afghanistan, Angola, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Germany, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Saudi

			Arabia, Senegal, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/37: Ensuring accountability and justice for all violations of international law in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Afghanistan, Angola, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Iraq, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/40: cooperation with Georgia	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Philippines, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	37/42: Contribution to the implementation of the joint commitment to effectively addressing and countering the world drug problem with regard to human rights	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Egypt, Iraq, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
36th regular Session (11-29 September 2018)	36/1: composition of staff of the office of the united nations high commissioner for human rights	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	36/2: Mission by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to improve the human rights situation and accountability in Burundi	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Iraq, Kenya, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	36/3: The use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	36/4: Mandate of the Independent Expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

	36/9: the right to development	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	36/10: Human rights and unilateral coercive measures	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	36/17: the question of death penalty	Against	Bangladesh, Botswana, Burundi, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Japan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, United States of America
	36/19: Renewal of the mandate of the Commission of Inquiry on Burundi	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Congo, Cuba, Egypt, Ghana, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	36/20: The human rights situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Iraq, Philippines, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	36/21: Cooperation with the United Nations, its representatives and mechanisms in the field of human rights	Abstaining	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Nigeria, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)]
	36/22: Promotion and protection of the human rights of peasants and other people working in rural areas	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	36/24: From rhetoric to reality: a global call for concrete action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

	36/30: Technical assistance and capacity-building in the field of human rights in the Democratic Republic of the Congo	In Favour	Albania, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Mongolia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
35th Regular Session (6-23 June 2017)	35/3: human rights and international solidarity	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	35/4: promotion of the right of peace	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	35/8: Enhancement of international cooperation in the field of human rights	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	35/13: Protection of the family: role of the family in supporting the protection and promotion of human rights of older persons	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	35/21: The contribution of development to the enjoyment of all human rights	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Philippines,

			Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	35/26: The human rights situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Iraq, Kyrgyzstan, Philippines, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	35/27: Situation of human rights in Belarus	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Egypt, India, Philippines, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	35/31: Cooperation with and assistance to Ukraine in the field of human rights	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Philippines, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
34th Regular Session (27 February -24 March 2017)	34/3: Mandate of 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	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/8: Effects of terrorism on the enjoyment of all Human rights	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Nigeria, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/11: The negative impact of the non-repatriation of funds of illicit origin to the countries of origin on the enjoyment of human rights, and the importance of improving international cooperation	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/12: the right to food	In Favour	Albania, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Mongolia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

	34/13: human rights and unilateral coercive measures	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian State of)
	34/23: Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran	Against	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/26: The human rights situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Iraq, Kyrgyzstan, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/27: Human rights in the occupied Syrian Golan	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Brazil, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/28: Ensuring accountability and justice for all violations of international law in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/29: Right of the Palestinian people to self-determination	In Favour	Albania, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Mongolia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/30: Human rights situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Albania, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Mongolia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa,

			Switzerland, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/31: Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan	In Favour	Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/34: Mandate of the Intergovernmental Working Group on the Effective Implementation of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action	In Favour	Albania, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Mongolia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/36: Elaboration of complementary standards to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination	In Favour	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	34/37: Cooperation with Georgia	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
33rd Regular Session (13-30 September 2016)	33/3: Promotion of a democratic and equitable international order	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	33/4: The use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia,

			South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	33/10: The human rights to safe drinking water and sanitation	In Favour	Albania, Algeria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, Ethiopia, France, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Latvia, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Netherlands, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	33/14: The right to development	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	33/19: Human rights and transitional justice	Abstaining	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Nigeria, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam]
	33/21: Protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism	Abstaining	Burundi, El Salvador, India, Paraguay, Philippines, Russian Federation, Togo, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)]
	33/23: The human rights situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Algeria, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	33/24: Situation of human rights in Burundi	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Morocco, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	33/30: Arbitrary detention	In Favour	Albania, Algeria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Latvia, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, the former

			Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
32nd Regular Session (13 June – 1 July 2016)	32/2: Protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity	Against	Algeria, Bangladesh, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Morocco, Nigeria, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Togo, United Arab Emirates
	32/9: Human rights and international solidarity	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	32/12: Impact of arms transfers on human rights	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, South Africa, Switzerland, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	32/23: Protection of the family: role of the family in supporting the protection and promotion of human rights of persons with disabilities	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	32/25: The human rights situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Algeria, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	32/26: Situation of human rights in Belarus	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, India, Nigeria, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	32/28: Declaration on the Right to Peace	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India,

			Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	32/29: Cooperation with and assistance to Ukraine in the field of human rights	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	32/31: Civil society space	Against	Congo, Cuba, Nigeria, Russian Federation, South Africa, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
31st Regular Session (29 February – 24 March 2016)	31/1: Composition of staff of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	31/4: Commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Right to Development	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	31/11: 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	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	31/17: The human rights situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Algeria, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	31/19: Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran	Against	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Ecuador, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Russian Federation, South Africa, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam

	31/22: The negative impact of the non-repatriation of funds of illicit origin to the countries of origin on the enjoyment of human rights, and the importance of improving international cooperation	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	31/25: Human rights in the occupied Syrian Golan	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	31/30: Effects of terrorism on the enjoyment of all human rights	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Maldives, Morocco, Nigeria, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	31/31: Protecting human rights defenders, whether individuals, groups or organs of society, addressing economic, social and cultural rights	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Nigeria, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	31/34: Human rights situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Albania, Algeria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Georgia, Germany, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Panama, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	31/35: Ensuring accountability and justice for all violations of international law in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, South Africa,

			Switzerland, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	31/36: Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Panama, Philippines, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	31/37: The promotion and protection of human rights in the context of peaceful protests	Against	Burundi, Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
30th Regular Session (14 September – 2 October 2015)	30/2: Human rights and unilateral coercive measures	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	30/5: The question of the death penalty	Against	Bangladesh, Botswana, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Nigeria, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, United States of America
	30/6: The use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	30/10: The grave and deteriorating human rights and humanitarian situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Algeria, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	30/12: Promotion of the right to peace	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam

	30/13: Promotion and protection of the human rights of peasants and other people working in rural areas	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	30/15: Human rights and preventing and countering violent extremism	Abstaining	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, El Salvador, Kazakhstan, Namibia, Pakistan]
	30/16: From rhetoric to reality: a global call for concrete action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	30/17: Forum on people of African descent in the diaspora	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	30/28: The right to development	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	30/29: Promotion of a democratic and equitable international order	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam

29th Regular Session (15 June – 3 July 2015)	29/3: Human rights and international solidarity	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	29/10: Human rights and the regulation of civilian acquisition, possession and use of firearms	In Favour	Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, Gabon, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Latvia, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Portugal, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	29/16: The grave and deteriorating human rights and humanitarian situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Algeria, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	29/17: Situation of human rights in Belarus	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, India, Kazakhstan, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	29/22: Protection of the family: contribution of the family to the realization of the right to an adequate standard of living for its members, particularly through its role in poverty eradication and achieving sustainable development	In Favour	Algeria, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	29/23: Cooperation and assistance to Ukraine in the field of human rights	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	29/25: Ensuring accountability and justice for all violations of international law in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Estonia, France, Gabon, Germany, Ghana, Indonesia, Ireland, Japan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of

			Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
28th Regular Session (2 – 27 March 2015)	28/1: Composition of staff of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	28/3: Ensuring use of remotely piloted aircraft or armed drones in counter-terrorism and military operations in accordance with international law, including international human rights and humanitarian law	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Cuba, El Salvador, Gabon, Ghana, Indonesia, Ireland, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	28/5: The negative impact of the non-repatriation of funds of illicit origin to the countries of origin on the enjoyment of human rights, and the importance of improving international cooperation	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	28/7: Renewal of the mandate of the open-ended intergovernmental working group to consider the possibility of elaborating an international regulatory framework on the regulation, monitoring and oversight of the activities of private military and security companies	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	28/8: 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	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam

	28/14: Human rights, democracy and the rule of law	Abstaining	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam]
	28/17: Effects of terrorism on the enjoyment of human rights	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Maldives, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	28/20: The continuing grave deterioration in the human rights and humanitarian situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Algeria, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	28/21: Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran	Against	Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	28/22: Situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Against	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	28/24: Human rights in the occupied Syrian Golan	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Qatar, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	28/25: Right of the Palestinian people to self-determination	In Favour	Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Latvia, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam

	28/26: Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan	In Favour	Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Latvia, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	28/27: Human rights situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Brazil, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Germany, Ghana,* India, Indonesia, Ireland, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Latvia, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
27th Regular Session (8 – 26 September 2014)	27/2: The right to development	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Czech Republic, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	27/9: Mandate of the Independent Expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	27/10: The use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru,

			Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	27/16: The continuing grave deterioration in the human rights and humanitarian situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Algeria, Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	27/17: Promotion of the right to peace	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	27/21: Human rights and unilateral coercive measures	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	27/30: 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 activities of vulture funds	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	27/32: Human rights, sexual orientation and gender identity	Abstaining	Burkina Faso, Congo, India, Kazakhstan, Namibia, Sierra Leone]
26th Regular Session (10 – 27 June 2014)	26/2: The question of the death penalty	Against	Botswana, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kuwait, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates
	26/6: Mandate of the Independent Expert on human rights and international solidarity	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam

	26/9: laboration of an international legally binding instrument on transnational corporations and other business enterprises with respect to human rights	In Favour	Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Philippines, Russian Federation, South Africa, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	26/11: Protection of the family	In Favour	Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	26/16: Human rights and the regulation of civilian acquisition, possession and use of firearms	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Czech Republic, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	26/23: The continuing grave deterioration in the human rights and humanitarian situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Algeria, Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
	26/25: Situation of human rights in Belarus	Against	Cuba, India, Kazakhstan, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	26/26: Promotion and protection of the human rights of peasants and other people working in rural areas	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	26/30: Cooperation and assistance to Ukraine in the field of human rights	Against	Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
25th Regular Session (3 –	25/1: Promoting reconciliation, accountability and human rights in Sri Lanka	Against	Algeria, Congo, Cuba, Kenya, Maldives, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam

28 March 2014)			
	25/4: Integrity of the judicial system	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russian Federation, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/9: The negative impact of the non-repatriation of funds of illicit origin to the countries of origin on the enjoyment of human rights, and the importance of improving international cooperation	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/15: Promotion of a democratic and equitable international order	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/16: Mandate of 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	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/22: Ensuring use of remotely piloted aircraft or armed drones in counterterrorism and military operations in accordance with international law, including international human rights and humanitarian law	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Botswana, Brazil, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Gabon, Indonesia, Ireland, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/23: The continuing grave deterioration of the human rights and humanitarian situation in the Syrian Arab Republic	Against	Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

	25/24: Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran	Against	Cuba, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/25: Situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Against	Cuba, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/27: Right of the Palestinian people to self-determination	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Czech Republic, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/28: Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Czech Republic, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/29: Human rights situation in Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Czech Republic, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/30: Follow-up to the report of the United Nations Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Czech Republic, Estonia, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Montenegro, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan,

			Peru, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/31: Human rights in the occupied Syrian Golan	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
	25/38: The promotion and protection of human rights in the context of peaceful protests	Against	Cuba, India, Kenya, Pakistan, Russian Federation, South Africa, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam
28th Special Session (18 May 2018)	report of the Human rights council on its twenty-eighth special session. 28/1: Violations of international law in the context of large-scale civilian protests in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Afghanistan, Angola, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Iraq, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
27th Special Session (5 December 2017)	Report of the Human Rights Council on its twenty-seventh special session. 27/1: Situation of human rights of Rohingya Muslims and other minorities in Myanmar	Against	Burundi, Philippines
25th Special Session (21 October 2016)	Report of the Human Rights Council on its twenty-fifth special session. 25/1: The deteriorating situation of human rights in the Syrian Arab Republic, and the recent situation in Aleppo	Against	Algeria, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Cuba, Russian Federation, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
21st special session (23 July 2014)	Report of the Human Rights Council on its twenty-first special session. 21/1: Ensuring respect for international law in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem	In Favour	Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Maldives, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), Viet Nam.

APPENDIX B

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF VOTES	TOTAL VOTES IN THE PERIOD
AFGHANISTAN	10	33
ALBANIA	13	100
ALGERIA	73	95
ANGOLA	18	32
ARGENTINA	41	65
AUSTRALIA	2	33
AUSTRIA	6	33
BANGLADESH	73	100
BELGIUM	17	102
BENIN	19	33
BOLIVIA	93	102
BOTSWANA	79	131
BRAZIL	78	136
BURKINA FASO	21	33
BURUNDI	99	99
CHILE	34	66
COSTA RICA	18	33
COTE D'IVOIRE	103	163
CONGO BRAZZAVILLE	91	131
CROATIA	9	70
CUBA	154	168
CZECH REPUBLIC	6	33
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO	13	33
ECUADOR	63	102
EGYPT	56	68
EL SALVADOR	67	102
ESTONIA	11	66
ETHIOPIA	106	163
FRANCE	14	98
GABON	39	64
GEORGIA	12	102
GERMANY	25	168
GHANA	60	99

HUNGARY	9	70
ICELAND	1	10
INDIA	98	135
INDONESIA	95	135
IRAQ	51	70
IRELAND	4	66
ITALY	6	33
JAPAN	23	136
KAZAKHSTAN	47	66
KENYA	106	163
KUWAIT	21	33
KYRGYZSTAN	65	102
LATVIA	13	102
MALDIVES	60	98
MEXICO	49	129
MONGOLIA	53	102
MONTENEGRO	11	66
MOROCCO	62	95
NAMIBIA	60	95
NEPAL	18	33
NETHERLANDS	14	102
NIGERIA	91	131
PAKISTAN	74	99
PANAMA	40	102
PARAGUAY	50	102
PERU	32	33
PHILIPPINES	93	135
PORTUGAL	17	102
QATAR	84	135
REPUBLIC OF KOREA	23	168
ROMANIA	6	33
RUSSIAN FEDERATION	92	98
RWANDA	33	68
SAUDI ARABIA	118	168
SENEGAL	17	33
SIERRA LEONE	42	64
SLOVAKIA	4	33
SLOVENIA	18	102
SOUTH AFRICA	109	163
SPAIN	6	33
SWITZERLAND	21	102

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA	9	98
TOGO	48	99
TUNISIA	42	68
UKRAINE	7	33
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	116	168
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND	21	168
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	2	126
VENEZUELA	159	168
VIET NAM	75	98