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HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD WIDE ECONOMIC RELATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

In international relations today, as in the past, no supranational government exists with the right to control and direct the other states which make up the international community. We can only say that, since they were adopted, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Pacts on Human Rights) have not really been applied.

This discrepancy between the declarations of intent and the actual behaviour of states is not new. Indeed, 1688 was the year that Great Britain adopted the Bill of Rights; July 4th 1776 is the date of the Proclamation of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, based on the principle of man's natural rights; 1789 was the year France adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

At the time of their adoption these declarations were, without doubt, progressive and they laid down those rights of man which were considered natural and inalienable; the right to liberty, to equality, to property, to safety and to resist oppression. They also reaffirmed the sovereignty of the nation as the unique source of authority and of law, and the possibility for each and every citizen to participate in the political life of the country. Unfortunately these beautiful principles were trampled underfoot by the governments in office, who not only set up social systems of inequality based on the exploitation of the masses, but also, through colonial conquests, carried out a ruthless policy of unlimited enslavement, of savage despoilment and bloody repression.

During the First World War, ironically enough, it was the colonial powers who while claiming to be fighting for freedom, immediately appealed to the nationals of their colonies, often recruiting them by force, to fight in a war which was certainly not going to release them from the chains of colonialism.

The limits of human rights can also be seen in the application of the principle of equality within the nation in question. People in Africa, Asia and America were deprived of liberty, exploited and oppressed. Lincoln was right when he said that when the rights of people are respected, that people can guarantee the respect of human rights. Without the former the latter is meaningless.

Unfortunately we are still a long way off from such an ideal, in a world where the wealthy powers persist in treating the populations of other countries as fair game and as a vulgar supply of labour.

This is why it is the duty of each and every government which calls itself democratic

to see to it that human rights are scrupulously safeguarded in its own country. This ought to be the ardent aspiration of all peoples throughout the world.

The guarantee of the rights of persons and the safeguard of the commonwealth should be of major concern to any state which claims to be working in the interest of its population.

I. Human Rights and Development

1. Human rights in the development process

It should not be necessary to repeat the usual litany of horrific statistics about starvation, disease, illiteracy and absolute poverty in order to emphasize, first, that these questions constitute fundamentally important human rights issues *per se*, and, secondly, that any comprehensive human rights programme which does not address such issues risks losing all credibility. The general theme of human rights in the development process raises an enormous range of issues, most of which have been very inadequately addressed to date by human rights researchers.¹⁾

An indication of some of these issues was provided in the UN report on the national dimensions of the right to development. It dealt, *inter alia*, with the impact on the respect for human rights of: income and wealth distribution patterns; rural development strategies; population policies; cultural values; the process of militarization and policies of militarism; participation in decision-making; access to legal resources; the role of the public sector; and discrimination in the context of development policies. The report also considers a variety of propositions which are frequently invoked in order to justify policies which downgrade or ignore human rights such as, for example, the argument that the achievement of an advanced level of economic development is a condition *sine qua non* for the respect of human rights. If Third World leaders and others are to be persuaded that respect for human rights is not only compatible with, but also indispensable for, the success of their economic development objectives, human rights researchers must be able to identify the means by which these objectives can be put into practise. The fact that some of the relevant issues have been raised within the context of the UN's human rights programme is an important step, but it can only represent a beginning.

2. The impact of international structures

The new directions approach has focused particular attention on the international economic order as a structure which has a major impact on the human rights situation. In this context, it must be noted that there is nothing new in suggesting that international economic policies should be based upon respect for human freedom and dignity and accepted only insofar as they promote it. The Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944²⁾, as subsequently included in the Constitution of the ILO, contains just such a policy commitment. The real challenge, however, which has all too rarely been addressed by researchers, is to devise

specific policies and procedures by which to give substance to such general objectives. As long as researchers simply opt out of such difficult tasks, they are abdicating responsibility in an area which is vital to the success of achieving human right goals.

To date much of the research which has been conducted has taken place within the framework of the UN – either in the context of the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which in some respects has become an institutionalized source of studies and research, or in the form of studies or reports prepared by the Secretariat. It is also essential that these “inhouse” studies be complemented (and scrutinized) by the work of academic teachers and researchers. Important as it is, the role of the UN in such matters is a limited one. Both the constraints under which the UN operates, and the fact that the challenge of promoting respect for human rights begins at home, serve to underline the importance of detailed and relevant research at a national level. Since governments are in most cases highly unlikely to initiate such research, the responsibility rests largely on the shoulders of teachers and researchers themselves.

II. The Impact of the World Crisis on the Underdeveloped Countries

1. The crisis in the developed countries

From 1972–82, the adverse economic situation affected practically all countries of the world. Moreover the UN has pointed out that :

the recession in Western industrialized countries has been the main reason for the poor results in the world economy, the reduction in economic activity produced both a great increase in unemployment – which in turn depressed salaries – and a reduction in the supply of commodities.³⁾

2. The crisis in the underdeveloped countries

It has been estimated that in the underdeveloped countries the number of the unemployed and underemployed totals 400 to 500 million people (one third to one half of the labour force), that the per capita income is 7 to 40 times lower than in the developed capitalist countries, and that dire poverty – physical hunger, deplorable housing and almost non-existent medical care and education – affects over one billion human beings.

The corresponding impact of these developments on the balance of trade and, therefore, on the current balance of payments, caused the impressively rapidly increasing external debt of oil-importing, underdeveloped countries. Furthermore the upsurge in developed countries of a concentration of power, capital and production, and the extraterritorialization of these processes by the emergence of transnational corporations have had far-reaching consequences for the underdeveloped world. This evolution has led to a situation, where exaction procedures in the underdeveloped world are not only performed through unequal trade and foreign private investment but also through external debt.

3. Other aspects of the situation

The problems faced by the underdeveloped countries today have worsened notoriously in the past three or four years: they are not limited to the impact that the world recession has had on them. There are other aspects to which we must at least make reference. The arms race is one such problem.

Recently, the contrast between the underdeveloped countries' financial requirements and the potentially suicidal squandering of world resources on the arms build-up has been more paradoxically highlighted by the fact that such squandering has equalled, if not surpassed, the total external debt of such countries as Asia, Africa and Latin America. This

has led to restrictions that have severely affected their people's income, employment and living standards.

It is estimated that more than a billion people in the underdeveloped world suffer from malnutrition, including over 500 million who are starving.

The worsening world food situation is a post-war phenomenon that coincides with the upsurge of neo-colonialism. On an overall world scale, this problem tends to appear, not as a discrepancy between production and consumption but rather as a sum of inequalities in the structure of distribution. The \$ 24 billion cereal deficit, for example, stands in contrast with a \$ 32 billion surplus in the developed countries.⁴⁾

At subregional, regional and national levels, food deficits are generally due to inadequate agrarian structures (latifundia, minifundia, etc.) and technical backwardness in land usage.

The heads of states or governments of the Third World reaffirmed their deep conviction that a lasting solution to the problems of the developing countries can only be achieved by a constant and fundamental restructuring of international economic relations through the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

In the autumn of 1979 the General Assembly of the UN unanimously agreed that "global and sustained negotiations" in the areas of commodities, energy, trade, development and financial problems should be promoted during the Eleventh Special Session in 1980 at which time a New General Strategy for Development should also be adopted.

The non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 unhesitatingly supported these initiatives even when the proposals for a dialogue between developed and underdeveloped countries implied holding negotiations outside the UN framework as was the case of the Paris Conference (1976), and of the Cancun Meeting (1981).⁵⁾

The climax of a process lasting several decades was the adoption, in May 1974, initiated by the non-aligned countries, which was later taken up by the Group 77, supported by the socialist countries and accepted – though reluctantly – by the developed capitalist countries: of the programme for the establishment of the New International Economic Order. This programme – subsequently enriched by agreements adopted by UNIDO, UNCTAD and other conferences – had the historic merit of being the first to be launched at the United Nations through the original action of the underdeveloped countries and with their unanimous support. The programme contained sound political stands (anti-colonialism, anti-racism, defense of the right to self-determination and sovereignty over natural

resources) and equally fair economic demands (in favour of commodities, official development assistance, reform of the national monetary system etc.).

The sustained action for the implementation of the principles of the New International Economic Order gave strength, coherence and unity to the underdeveloped countries in their untiring pursuit of a world based, not on exploitation, but on international cooperation; a world that would favour any effort to break the vicious circle of backwardness and dependence for more than 100 countries where three-quarters of the world population is concentrated together with almost all of the hunger and poverty.

4. The most recent effects of the economic crisis in the underdeveloped countries

For the underdeveloped countries as a whole, 1981 and 1982 were years of general economic catastrophe. Dragged along by the crisis generated in the developed capitalist economies, they – as always – paid the highest price for a situation they had not created and they were used to soften its worst effect.

Plummeting export prices and very high interest rates sent debt servicing soaring, making new loans extremely expensive or impossible to obtain and reducing investment in production. The deterioration in the terms of trade, the reduction in the volume of exports, the rise in interest rates, trade and financial barriers – which hampered access to foreign loans and imposed harsh loan conditions – were the salient features of the underdeveloped world's economic reality.

According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 1981 was a year of disaster and economic ruin for the African continent.⁶⁾ The average growth of slightly over 3 per cent attained by the African countries barely keeps ahead of the population growth and shows no improvement in the critical living conditions of the African masses. Moreover, preliminary estimates made by the same Commission show a decrease of 1.4 per cent growth in 1982 as compared to 1981.

5. Main trend in 1982

During 1982, the international economy showed the following crucial aspects :⁷⁾

- the effects of the monetary-oriented economic policies implemented in the major developed capitalist countries;
- growing international trade tensions;
- and

the growing deterioration of the underdeveloped countries' economic situation basically stemming from the worsening of their trade and the international financial situation.

There are several reasons why cooperation between Third World countries is necessary. The first and more general reason is the fact that it is an instrument against neo-colonial dependence stemming from old historical links with former metropolises. If anything shows with absolute clarity the historical path our countries have followed, it is the injurious dependence on the market economy of developed countries. The Third World's great economic diversity and the variety of its material and human resources and development levels indicate important possibilities for efficient economic complementation with one another.

Most of world trade used to be between the developed capitalist countries and the underdeveloped world (colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries at the time). But that structure started to change radically in the post-war period, to the extent that the accelerated growth of world trade in the past decades took place mainly among developed nations.

The result is that: the non-oil exporting underdeveloped countries' share in total world exports dropped from almost 25 per cent in 1955 to an average of slightly over 11 per cent in 1970–1980.⁸⁾ That is to say, underdeveloped countries representing most of the world's population and territory participate in just over one tenth of world trade.

Cooperation among underdeveloped countries, defined as collective self-reliance, does not mean the creation of a self-contained system nor the creation of an economic bloc, but rather the broadening of international economic cooperation to develop as yet untapped possibilities and to implement the New International Economic Order. This cooperation does not attempt to waive or replace any of the legitimate claims on economic cooperation raised by our countries in fundamental documents such as the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States. Far from it, it aims at strengthening our joint claims with greater soundness and endorsement.

Thus, cooperation among underdeveloped countries must be based on the coordination of internal efforts and include an important, real and effective form of control over transnational activities, coupled with full sovereignty over their resources and economic activities.⁹⁾

Experience shows that cooperation among underdeveloped countries must furthermore

recognize the heterogeneity of the Third World in regards to underdevelopment levels, with a view to preventing a few countries with a certain level of industrialization and exporting capability from reaping most of the benefits.

III. The Options of the Third World States

The present international order has mainly contributed to the consolidation and concentration of economic power in a few nations and to the maintenance of more than two-thirds of mankind in poverty and dependence, or even opposition.

While these may be strong words, there is considerable truth in them. Among the major features of the historical international processes have been the formation of empires, the slave trade, colonialism, de-colonization and the formation of new patterns of dominance and dependence. There have been conquests, liberations and revolutions. Today's world is deeply marked by the consequences of past conflicts. Existing states are themselves the products of wars and civil strifes. The present distribution of power in the world society reflects the victories and losses of the past.

There are many different ways of mapping the contemporary world structure. One popular distinction is between the First, the Second, the Third and the Fourth Worlds.¹⁰⁾

For the Third World as a whole, the feature is the inequality in regard to the industrialized North. This fact distinctly influences the Third World's options for development.

Two different approaches have emerged. One is the autocentric one – seeking to obtain equality in technology and economy mainly by one's own efforts. The other approach consists in the continued integration into the world market and economy, where its adherents seek to improve the conditions for its economies within that order.

The first strategy can be termed the autocentric / self-reliant one, where dissociation plays a key role. The other can be called the subordinative / associative strategy, where exploitation of comparative advantages is the essential element.

1. Sovereignty and transfer of technology

As we know, the general declaration of human rights is not a problem of sovereignty; nevertheless, the relationship between international guarantees for human rights and the sovereignty of states is of fundamental importance.

The discussion on sovereignty was debated several times at the League of Nations. After 1945, its successor, the United Nations Organisation, tried to clarify its definition in Article 2 para. 7. This states that no member of the UN is at any time allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of a member state. The modern theory about a state does not make sense without sovereignty – whether municipal or international. With the introduction of human rights, the UN established a commission to deal with international law – leaving the

question of sovereignty wide open.

Today, nations feel threatened by the developed countries and they would like to distance themselves from them, despite the cultural and economic links that remain.

The help that is given by the rich countries to the developing nations more often than not promotes the donor's self-interests, especially in economic and political fields. Nevertheless, this kind of aid is very highly valued by the developing nations.

One of the conditions for the success of what one might term "technological imperialism" is the existence of a social group in dependent countries, who promote and give it legitimacy.

The cream of the intellectual bourgeoisie runs the system, controlled by the ruling class. Corruption becomes the main source of income for the new elites and through this mechanism university education becomes a passport to the privileged class.

One recalls that the necessity to fight colonialism in Africa after the Second World War created greater political awareness among the masses on a democratic basis and promoted a national front representing different classes and social strata. But this system, which was patronized by the colonial masters, also brought a lot of suffering to the peasants.

Today colonialism is of a more subtle nature; to fight against it, one needs united and structured long-term measures.

Foreign influences, such as international pressure, imported ideology, which do not take into account the economic, social and political realities in Africa, are the main reasons for the general instability on the African continent.

If fundamental changes for the good of Africa are to be realized, they will have to be based on the realities of the continent and introduced step by step, and not merely as by-products of fashionable political and moral principles.¹¹⁾

2. Structure of development policy

Some important imperatives for a sound development policy will be spelled out: dissociation, internal restructuralization and a new division of labour among the economies of the Third World.

2.1 Dissociation

Historical experience of capitalistic and socialistic development processes that resulted in more or less viable structures shows that without a period of self-centredness, the duration

of which may vary from case to case, an intensive development of productive forces is hardly possible. Mercantilism, phases of purposive protective policy, enforced or voluntarily self-imposed autarchy, constitute, in the light of these systematic aspects, merely variations of one and the same requirement.¹²⁾

Even assuming dissociation, trade with dominant metropolitan economies is possible, but that trade should be a consequence of an inward-oriented dynamic process in the sense that it is merely expedient and does not determine the dynamic impetus of the entire reproduction process. Trade must be pursued selectively with the intention of building up a viable internal structure.

2. 2 Restructuring

Restructuring relates to the building up of coherent structures in the countries of the Third World themselves. In an international economy, different levels of development and productivity exist so that less efficient economies will always be able to buy goods more cheaply from more efficient economies than they themselves could produce. However, if trade is continued in such an asymmetrical structure, comparative cost calculations result in peripheralization of the less productive economy.

Thus the less productive economy misses out the learning costs that are indispensable to building up a long-term viable economy.¹³⁾ This is why local industries in developing countries are often unable to compete properly in world markets and historically have even gone through phases of industrial regression, i. e., the elimination of already acquired levels of industrial development.

2. 3 New international division of labour

A third imperative of development policy relates to evolving new forms of division of labour between the economies of the Third World. Nowadays the term "collective self-reliance" is used to describe this imperative. But an international division of labour will have little success without the dissociation from the dominant industrial societies. If the Third World remains integrated in the world market as it is today, the idea of collective self-reliance is interesting but without any real significance for development policy, as new market arrangements extending beyond individual economies would simply mean new possibilities for penetration by the metropolitan economies.

Dissociated from the world market, the peripheries would have the chance of develop-

ing their economies in relation to each other, i. e., by mutually complementary processes. In this connection, importance would be attached not merely to division of labour in the economic sense, but also to the building up of subregional, regional and continental infrastructures with provision for common transport and communication systems. This would contribute towards the dehierarchization of the present international society and hence to the formation of effective counterweights to the so-called metropolitan economies.¹⁴⁾

3. Development as an impetus to change

Today no one denies that development is a process which is highly determined by economic factors to such an extent that there is a strong tendency today for many people to view development merely from a technological and economic viewpoint. This leads to expressing the state of development of a country only by reference to numbers and to the quantity of production. Obviously, such a criterion cannot apply to the real situation. The impossibility of economic development without regard to cultural aspects has to be pointed out. Culture is not merely a constitutive element of development, but one of its foundations.

Culture, for example, that of the African villages, can be compared with a multifaceted reproduction factory, pouring out material as well as intellectual products.

If Africa were content with the simple adoption of foreign technology, development would be unstable and one-sided. Development, without cultural innovation, would mean no "growth" and simply exploitation by foreign development.

When trying to cling to its own values, African culture was shouted down for being out of date and rigid. Gradually, people adopted the attitude of the West. We live in a world where the dignity of human beings and their development are dependent on the possibility of participation in the process of history. The existence and non-existence of special technologies, a special basis of knowledge and corresponding "know-how" determine the relations of power between different nations and so strengthen the patterns of dependence and humiliation.

Under these circumstances, underdevelopment seems to be like a state of imbalance and restraint, like a sclerosis hampering and non-receptive to new situations. A disproportionate shifting is created between problems posed and the means to solve them. Of course, the whole situation is made more difficult by colonial heritage, underdevelopment and economic inequality.

Development cannot merely be regarded from the angle of economic growth. This on its own would not help the process of transition. The essential task must be the motivation of people to take their own affairs into their own hands again, for example, to take over control of the means of production.

Therefore certain rules should be observed, for example, artificial development should be stopped. Above all, no artificial development may be accepted. A certain degree of wealth can coexist in underdeveloped countries in just the same way as shortages and hardship can be an expression of development and transition. Today a society can only keep its identity if it puts itself on a par with more developed societies, by being ready to assimilate useful progressive technology into its own system and attempt to use it; at the same time, its own potential for innovation and improvement is critical.

Naturally, this presumes profound transformation. Society must be reconstructed. New tools and means, new aims, a new organisation of life and work will cause changes and will oblige society to search for a new ethic. The changes have to take place continuously and according to the logic and dynamics of the society concerned. Even if those transformations are profound, the identity and personality of the society must be maintained.

The desire for development and advancement caused by contacts and the examples of others is essential and, if channeled in the right direction, will lead quickly to progress.

4. The impact of the present world crisis

There is, at present, a world economic crisis which has eliminated the optimism widely held some years ago concerning the prospect of world trade. Stagflation has given rise to protectionism and unemployment in the West, thereby bringing about a much less available market. Western countries are trying to limit imports and boost exports, by reducing international purchasing power and at the same time hoping for an expanded market, the combination of which is impossible. For Third World countries which have opted for export-oriented production, the problem is becoming critical and for those among them who have experienced a great gap in income distribution, the crisis is likely to lead to political upheaval.

Another factor to be taken into account is the effect of the microchip technology, which has substantially reduced the role of labour in production, especially since the attraction of Third World production has been one of cheap labour. It is possible, therefore, that we may see a switch in some of the Third World countries to an export-oriented agricul-

tural production, since agriculture still depends on labour-intensive production. The impact of such export-orientation may be further to reduce food for people living in the Third World itself.

5. Political participation and the will of the people

How far is the exercise of the will of the people, by genuine and free elections, prevented in Africa today? Are the limitations due

- to a policy of self-reliance and dissociation from the world market, where those who pursue goals which run counter to self-reliance are excluded from the political arena?
- to a policy of subordination to the world market, in this case excluding those (in particular workers' organisations, trade unions) who might otherwise demand better wages and higher social expenditures, and who therefore, in the opinion of the government, may reduce the comparative advantages on the international market?
- to a concentration of power and autarchic rule unrelated to the development model pursued?

Finally, and most importantly, how can general and equal participation be restored to all, in such a way that the will of the people does in fact become the basis of government? How can the rural and the urban poor be brought to participate in development, both locally and nationally?¹⁵⁾

For democracy and social justice in any country, the following points must be adhered to :

- a. respect for the integrity of the individual, equality before the law and the right to trial;
- b. the realisation of social and economic rights: the rights of trade unions;
- c. the right to a satisfactory environment. The individual is entitled, under the law of human rights, to respect for her or his integrity. Nobody shall be subject to arbitrary arrest, to slavery or forced labour, or to torture;
- d. the right of peoples to peace and security;
- e. the end of discrimination against minorities, women etc . . .

IV. The African Concept of the Contrasts Between the Regional and Global Development Strategies

It is evident on the basis of both the Lagos Plan of Action (as one example of a regional development strategy) and the World Bank Report (representing a strategy drawn up at the global level) to show the existence of many common areas between the two concepts, primarily because both have Africa as their target. At the same time, one cannot overlook the bias or tendency by the global architects to gloss over or treat lightly issues which at the regional level are considered to be of crucial importance, perhaps because of their tendency to rely on the rule of averages.

1. Areas of common agreement between the two

Both, the LPA and the World Bank Report, agree on the main causes of the lack of development and economic growth in Africa. Both are also in agreement that action or strategies to accelerate development should be initiated and that the results are subject to short, medium and long term gestation periods. The most fundamental areas include population, urban growth, forest and soil conservation, land use, regional economic cooperation and integration, structural reforms, industrialization, external assistance etc. . .

There is also a great measure of concurrence between the two with regard to certain strategies which could be considered for adoption. Similarly, they both stress agriculture as a priority area.

2. Differences of emphasis between the two

The World Bank Report differs from the LPA in its global overviews of causes, prescriptions and timing of intervention. A few examples are sufficient to illustrate this point. The regional diagnosis places blame on external factors, while the World Bank Report place a majority of the blame on internal factors. The Plan sees the issue of targets and objectives in the light of national and collective self-reliance, and especially in the light of the development of the national, subregional and regional markets, while the Report tends to advocate the idea of continuing to feed external markets. The Plan views agriculture just as does the Report, as a motor for development and economic growth, except that the former sees it in the broader context of interrelating it with other sectors in the economy. The Report on the other hand seems to concentrate more on agriculture at the expense of other sectors. The issue of strategies in the Plan stresses internally-oriented and intersectorial

development, whereas the Report gives prominence to agriculture-based and export-oriented strategies in order to increase foreign exchange earnings.

Some of the recommendations in the Report regarding reforms of the African economic structures could be said to amount to exerting considerable pressure on recipients, in particular, when African countries seeking external assistance are pressured as a condition for such assistance into structural reforms which give the donor rather than the recipient a free hand in determining its economic policies. The Report's analysis of tied-aid and especially of the extent to which it can adversely affect the rate of development and economic growth is rather scanty. Similarly, the effects that recommended increases in external assistance will have on debt accumulation do not seem to have been adequately addressed. Furthermore there is no guarantee that the mechanical relationship between reform and increased assistance indicated in the Report would work.

The analysis of the above issue brings to mind the fact that all aid has eventually to be repaid. This is why today's Africa expresses disquiet about burdening those of its unborn generations with having to pay for service debts incurred before they are even born.

Implementing most of the strategies proposed in the Report requires a heavy outlay in money and human resources. This conflicts with the observation made in the Report that the present world context is not conducive to the release of sufficient development resources. The African economy itself has suffered from having to import manufactured goods at higher prices due to the oil price increase and yet export their goods at lower prices in order to remain competitive. It is unlikely therefore that the recommendations in the Report are likely to justify optimism for possibilities of accelerated development in Africa, especially among the least developed and non-oil producing countries.¹⁶⁾

V. The Principles of Solidarity

The right to development can be approached and advocated in two general ways. One is to show that it stems from already existing rules of international law, from recognized 'sources' thereof. Some writers, such as Vey Mestdagh, maintain that the right to development is a 'general substantive principle of law.'¹⁷⁾ Experts on the right to development, among them experts from non-aligned countries, enumerated eleven principles which they held to constitute the 'basis of the rights to development.' 'Self-determination as an equal right of all peoples, equality of opportunity of all nations and individuals, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of states, as well as their sovereign equality; non-aggression, the peaceful settlement on an equitable basis, with a view to eliminating existing disparities in the world and ensuring prosperity for all, injustices which have been imposed by forces and which deprive nations of the means necessary for their normal development; the fulfilment in good faith of international obligations; the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights.'¹⁸⁾

Another approach is to recognize that the present transformation of international law is deeply influenced by a new international morality. This attitude is implied in the forceful critique of 'classical' international law, which is perceived as a product of powerful developed countries and imposed as a part of an overall system of 'structural violence.'¹⁹⁾

The positive legal order is compared with a desired situation which is claimed to be present in broadly held moral rules and values. Accordingly, law must change and can incorporate new rules, recognize new rights.

'The development *problematique* can thus be defined objectively: the society, its economy and policy, ought to be organised in such a manner as to maximise, for the individual and the whole, the opportunities for self-fulfilment. Development, as the etymology suggests, means removing the husk – that is overcoming domination, liberating, unfolding. Development is the unfolding of people's individual and social imagination in defining goals, inventing means and ways to approach them, and learning to identify and satisfy socially legitimate needs.'²⁰⁾

Development is almost coterminous with participation. In addition to maximum individual autonomy, this means an active say in all matters affecting the political, economic and cultural spheres. In view of this, one can say that no one aspect of development can be stressed without great harm at the expense of other aspects. Development is definitely not merely the strengthening of governments to do what they see fit, but also parallel structural

changes within the state.

There are three main forms of the principles of solidarity in the present stage of the evolution of law:

1. obligations on all states separately to take account in their actions of the interests of other states (or their subjects);
2. mutual (bilateral or multilateral) financial or other assistance to overcome economic difficulties (including technical assistance to developing countries and trading preferences for those countries to compensate for deficits);
and
3. organized coordination of economic policies.²¹⁾

A true principle of solidarity presupposes a community of interests – unity in the group which enables it to show its mutual dependence – and there can be no principle of solidarity if only one of the three forms given is absent.

Self-interest in the will or intention of the individual state may be regarded as a realistic point of departure for evaluation of the participation of states in the international community of today.

1. Substance of the right to development

In contrast to the right to development as a broadly formulated general principle of law as recognized by the international community, the next step must be to specify the rights and obligations and to define them as precisely as possible. Recent UN resolutions on the right to development state that equal opportunities for development are as much a right / prerogative of states as of individuals.²²⁾ Notwithstanding the somewhat ambiguous UN texts on this matter, the former cannot be said to be a human right in the proper sense.

Up till now a distinction has been made in human rights jargon between individual and collective rights; in my view the second category can comprise only those rights exercised by individuals in groups, i. e. the right of association and assembly, trade union rights, etc.. The right to self-determination is also classed as a human right, but this is a right of peoples and not of states.²³⁾

In this connection the wording used by the Human Rights Commission and the General Assembly could give rise to confusion.

At this point it is important to note that the UN has recognized the two aspects of the right to development – i. e. an individual and an (inter-) state aspect – and that these

aspects have been brought together in a resolution. The coupling of the individual right with the right of states is the most innovative element of the right to development. I shall base my detailed consideration of rights and obligations on this combination.

2. The right to development

The individual aspect of the right to development has been described by the UN as a human right, but I have maintained that it cannot be interpreted as something other than a right of an instrumental nature. Until now we have been concentrating on the individual, which is the logical consequence of the fact that the bearers of human rights are ultimately individuals or groups of individuals. We have seen that people should also be central to the question of development. The state bears primary responsibility for the development of the community and thus for the realisation of the most elementary rights of individuals. However, the right to development is also, as the Human Rights Commission and the General Assembly have explicitly stated, a right which states themselves should also be able to claim.²⁴⁾

This conclusion is a necessary consequence of previous texts adopted by the UN in this connection. At the end of the previous section I mentioned a number of resolutions which referred to the international context as well as to national policy. The Declaration on Social Progress and Development states in clear terms that social progress and development are in the common interests of the international community, which should take joint and individual action to supplement national efforts to improve the standard of living.²⁵⁾ I would also refer to the relevant articles in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two 1966 covenants, and to the outline of the principle of solidarity and the principle of substantive equality which I put forward as an argument to support the consensus on the right to development as a general principle of law.

Van Dijk rightly states that it is one of the essential characteristics of international law on human rights that it not only imposes an obligation on states to implement those rights within their own boundaries but also renders states co-responsible for implementation in other countries.²⁶⁾ This co-responsibility involves more than mere supervision and correction; where a state falls short of the international standard because it lacks the necessary resources, or where the government does not possess the means and power needed to mobilize in sufficient measure the resources available in the country to that end, other states have the duty to help it to reach that standard. This duty to assume co-responsibility consequently constitutes the basis for the inter-state component of the right to development. The

bearer of the right is the impoverished state, the bearer of the obligation the state which is in a position to provide assistance.²⁷⁾

VI. The Right to Development as a Human Right

The purpose of this section is not only to discuss whether or not a right to development exists. We consider it very useful that 'The International Dimensions of the Right to Development as a Human Right in Relation with Other Human Rights Based on International Co-operation' be discussed. This should include a discussion on the Rights to Peace, taking into account the requirement of the New International Economic Order and the Fundamental Human Needs.²⁸⁾

1. Content of the right to development

The strategy for the Third Development Decade and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States affirm that:

- the development process must promote human dignity;
- its aim should be the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population on the basis of its full participation in the process of development and a fair distribution of the benefits;
- each state has the right and responsibility to choose its means and goals of development, fully to mobilize and use its resources, to implement progressive economic and social reforms and to ensure the full participation of its people in the process and benefits of development;
- all states have the duty, individually and collectively, to cooperate in eliminating obstacles that hinder such mobilisation and use.

The promotion of human rights is both an instrument and a goal of development. The right to development must, therefore, emphasise respect for all human rights, be they economic, social and cultural, civil and political. A development strategy based on the denial of any one of these rights is a negation of the concept of development.²⁹⁾

There is a general consensus for the following elements to be part of the concept of development:

- the realization of the potentialities of the individual in harmony with the community should be seen as the central purpose of development;
- the individual should be regarded as the subject and not object of the development process;
- the individual must be able to participate fully in shaping his / her own reality.

A declaration that development is a human right is important, in part because it will

reflect an international effort to give legal recognition to crucial rights of victims of under-development. This underscores the importance of law as a governing framework for self-reliant development and the need for legal resources to help secure this realization.

2. Self-reliant development

Adoption by developing countries of self-reliant development would result in:

- maximum utilisation of national resources;
- greater national control over productive assets of the economy;
- minimising dependence on external forces and ensuring a more autonomous development through selective integration into the international economy;
- instituting far-reaching social, political and institutional reforms in order to reduce economic inequalities and increase participation in the political process.

3. Redress of inequality of resource allocation within and between nations

Equality of opportunity is at best a partial step toward realising development as a human right. It is essential to redress extreme inequalities and to ensure progress towards the satisfaction of certain minimum needs at individual, group, national and international levels.

Concern with results as well as opportunities implies that:

- positive assistance be given to poor and weak individuals, groups and nations, consistent with and in support of their self-organisation to achieve their own development;
- the organisation and pursuit of self-development by dominant and powerful individuals, groups and nations must not be allowed to prevent or obstruct the efforts to develop of those who are poorer and weaker.

A combination of limited resources, inequitable structural relations and conditions and disparate goals inevitably gives rise to conflicts and tensions, whose equitable resolution requires that priority be given to the right to development of the weak, impoverished and deprived. This principle applies equally to individuals, groups and states.³⁰⁾

The right to development as a human right must be framed in terms which ensure access, participation and accountability to the intended beneficiaries of the right, be they individuals or states.

4. Access

For this process to operate, all individuals, social groups and states must have three integrally interdependent types of access:

- the necessary tangible resources to achieve their basic needs for productive remunerated work, adequate diet, health care and hygiene, shelter, fuel, clean water and air;
- the necessary intangible resources, particularly education and information, to enable them better to utilise these material resources, and to participate in the process of development; and
- government and institutions, public and private, which allocate these tangible and intangible resources.³¹⁾

The links between development and peace, security, disarmament and demilitarisation are fundamental. Accordingly, development is a matter of international concern imposing obligations upon all states.

The primary obligation rests upon each state to promote the development of its people. A state promoting its own development within its available resources is entitled to the support of other states in implementing its policies, as well as in seeking to reform structures of international relations that frustrate its efforts to achieve self-reliant development.

Towards these ends the industrialised countries should cooperate with developing nations to achieve a new international economic order in which a more equitable distribution of the world's resources and wealth are ensured and respect for and realisation of human rights enhanced.

5. Two strategies open to the Third World countries

What strategies are open to Third World countries in the face of the injustice of the present world economic order, strategies which they can pursue, separately or in cooperation, in order to obtain justice?

Two basically different conceptions have been outlined above. One focuses on an integration of the Third World countries with the industrialized nations. The final result is seen as a welfare world in which there is the same level of consumption and technological capacity in all parts of the world.

The second option is dissociation and self-reliance.³²⁾ Facing the impact of the unjust international economic order, in particular the deformation of the economy of dependent countries which follows from it, some states have preferred to withdraw more or less com-

pletely from their participation in the international division of labour in order to organize their own societies in a more self-reliant way. Such policies have occurred at various stages in recent history and have been pursued by many countries, with rather different political ideologies. Sometimes it has been a transitional stage in order better to be able later to participate in the international system on a basis of equality, but those which have pursued dissociation as a more long-range strategy are the Socialist countries.³³⁾

A new international economic order would:

- reform the structures of international trade and institutions;
- entail support by the industrialized countries for the efforts of developing countries to meet the basic needs of all their people as the first priority, in particular by
 - ensuring secure food supply and freedom from hunger for their people,
 - restraining the more exploitative practice of powerful individuals, groups and enterprises, and
 - providing for a more adequate and effective transfer of resources from industrialized to developing countries.

6. A New International Economic Order – between submission and dissociation

We do not know what the New International Economic Order will be.³⁴⁾ For this reason, A. Eide makes some remarks on this point. Elements in the demands put forward so far include the following:

the stabilization of the prices of the raw material as measured by the costs of processed goods; industrialization in Third World countries; easier access for goods produced in the Third World to the markets of the industrialized countries; the transfer of resources to finance the development of the Third World countries; international monetary reform; transfer of technology; restructuring the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system, in particular the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund; cooperation and collective self-reliance among Third World states.

With some simplification it might be said that the aim of a new international economic order is to remove inequalities between countries and to reduce poverty within nations, by way of international negotiations and regulated adjustments. This goal is not necessarily acceptable to the countries of the North; not that they object, in abstract terms, to the goal of equality, but they are reluctant to accept steps which significantly reduce their superiority – in technology, industry, commerce, military power and in influence over the multi-

national companies.³⁵⁾

It is still difficult to give an exact definition of the concept of New International Economic Order. For some it contains above all the hope of the industrialized countries to be able to get out of a recession which has all the signs of being a structural crisis, by recognising their interdependence with Third World countries and by inviting them – at long last – to take part in a North-South dialogue. The reaction and opposition to the existing situation, as expressed by the Third World immediately after the Second World War caused the ‘socialist revolution style’ national liberation movements which led, in 1950 for example, to the People’s Republic of China.

These Third World national liberation movements can be divided into two groups: the revolutionaries who were prepared to carry liberation through to a social revolution, and the anti-imperialist nationalists who stopped short of the exigencies of social transformation. At Bandoeng (1955) some openly disagreed with the general political orientation and defined themselves above all as ‘non-aligned,’ a concept which can only be understood in the context of the polarization between East and West. The revolutionary core of this group gave birth to the Group of 77 of today.

As we know, the Third World, a grouping of former colonies, is the result of the capitalist world. The carving up of Africa was essentially due to the economic necessity of increasing supplies of raw materials and food products in order to satisfy the needs of Europe.³⁶⁾

There followed the years of illusion when colonies became politically independent but were in fact still governed by a minority. This ‘bourgeoise,’ though often genuinely nationalistic, was not able to embark upon the social revolution that is essential for full economic independence. This in part has also been the fault of institutions set up by departing colonial powers – institutions which were conceived out of mistrust and therefore never very efficient. The administration, the economic plan, even town planning remain a function of imperatives built up by forces external to the developing countries and thus a function not oriented to their true needs.

Apartheid, far from being a relic of the past, is a result of this process of exploitation and advanced capitalism (i. e. maximum profit) by the developed world. The principles of liberty and democracy as they are extolled by the West appear incompatible with the dictatorships that capitalism set up in the Third World.

7. The call for a New International Economic Order

In recent years there has been growing awareness that, in spite of all efforts developed by the UN and its specialized agencies to achieve peace, freedom and justice, and in spite of the progressive development of international law on human rights, existing international structures still work to the advantage of the powerful and to the detriment of the weak, resulting in the latter's increasing dependency and impoverishment. This led to the call for a New International Economic Order as formulated and proclaimed by the UN in 1974 in a Declaration and Programme of Action.³⁷⁾

8. The structural causes of injustice

It is indeed of great importance that we identify the structural causes of injustice which have a crucial impact upon the human rights and conditions of millions of people. These conditions are largely determined by such factors as inequitable economic relations, racial discrimination, acts of aggression and militarisation. These structural and contextual factors are inherent in unjust international relations which are too often largely governed by economic self-interest, military power and patterns of political and cultural dominance. It is for this reason that many voices demand structural changes in international relations, in particular a new international economic order. It should be added, however, that a new international economic order which concerns itself with relations among nations cannot be an end in itself. The corollary of equity and justice among nations should be equity and justice within nations.³⁸⁾

The final object of our endeavours is the dignity and well-being of the individual. Consequently, we also have to strive for a new social order and a new human order. The basic standards for the new social and human order already exist and are embodied in the International Declaration of Human Rights.

We are discovering more and more in the UN that human rights situations have to be examined in their structural and global contexts, particularly in their international dimension. However, we should avoid making the error of attributing the violations and inadequate respect of human rights exclusively to international structures or external factors. We should not lose sight of the fact that domestic policies and practices of political and economic repression and discrimination, killings, torture, arbitrary arrests and detentions also contribute immensely to the suffering of people.

Too often, violations of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms are the result of

abuse of power by selfish rulers, of the arrogance of those who claim to be rulers and of racist ideologies.

Third generation rights, which include the rights to development, the right to peace, to a healthy and ecologically balanced environment and the right to the ownership of the common heritage of humanity, are predicated essentially on the notion of solidarity among people.

Obviously, the idea of solidarity does not apply to third generation rights; for it would be impossible to imagine the first and second generations without some minimum of solidarity. Nevertheless, solidarity is central to third generation rights – they cannot have any content unless there is a common effort. The sharing of responsibility, or the obligations of solidarity, acquire a central role when discussing peace or the common heritage of humanity; for, unless there is acceptance and active pursuit of joint responsibilities, these rights will not be observed on a global basis.

9. Development as a science of optimisation

The idea of development was conceived only recently: its 'terminology came to the forefront shortly after the Second World War.'³⁹⁾ Not so long ago development was still identified with growth. According to Austruy, 'less than 10 years back it was thought wiser to consider the concepts of growth and development as synonymous.'⁴⁰⁾ With Marshall during the sixties the concept of development began to take shape, but it was Francois Perroux who contributed most to defining its scope. Perroux analysed the economic trends that have carried societies along and distinguished between various levels. These are: an expansion (a temporary irreversible increase in economic quantities), growth proceeded increases over long periods of time with consequent modifications in economic structures, development as such (a range of changes in mental and institutional patterns, conditions for the prolongation of growth), and last of all, progress (the significance of what has been achieved giving a purpose to the development process).⁴¹⁾

Perroux grasped the concept of development and elucidated its meaning⁴²⁾ as a metamorphosis of structures, a driving force for structural change.

10. The justifications of the right to development

Development certainly appears to us as a right, insofar as we abide by the definition of a right proposed by philosophers rather than jurists, as in the case of Saint Thomas Aquinas,

who said 'a right is what the virtue of justice attempts to establish.'

Development is the right of every individual. It is directly related to the most fundamental of all rights, the right to life.⁴³⁾ Every individual has a right to live and a right to live better, which in J. M. Domenach's view implies conditions 'which guarantee his / her safety and dignity, and contribute to his / her capacity to be happy.'⁴⁴⁾

The legitimacy of this right is based on political and economic considerations and is founded on moral grounds and in accordance with legal standards.

The developed countries, those of the northern hemisphere, derive from their relations with the underdeveloped countries a certain number of advantages, which in turn give rise to certain obligations on their part. These obligations, which generate among their partners from the southern hemisphere the feeling that they can rightfully express their own demands, are no more than an equitable compensation for the exorbitant profits which they derive from international trade.

CONCLUSION

The discussion in this paper is concerned with the correlation of fundamental rights and the integration and development of the Third World. Fundamental rights are understood here in their widest context, as civil and political rights and moreover as economic, social and cultural rights.

Recently the plight of the underdeveloped countries has been exacerbated by the financial squandering of world resources on the arms build-up. The extent of this wastage is put into its real proportions when one considers that such payments have surpassed the total external debt of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the same time the world food problems are worsening, a phenomenon that coincides with the upsurge of neo-colonialism. Trends like this give rise to the theory that only the introduction of a new world economic order will relieve the situation for underdeveloped countries. To this end countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America have been very active in international forums like the General Assembly of the United Nations and other international organisations. An important step for human rights has been the fact that these issues have been raised within the context of the UN's human rights program. However both the constraints under which the UN operates and the fact that the challenge of promoting respect for human rights begins at home, serve to underline that the real challenge will lie with human right researchers to devise specific practical policies and procedures by which to give substance to general objectives.

If one agrees that the right of development can only be ultimately realized through the introduction of a new world economic order, then by implication the traditional order must also be revised. No less important in this regard is the formation of an international social order with the aim of providing social justice to all nations.

Some aspects of developmental strategies have been discussed on the basis of theoretical models concerned with socio-economical inequalities. The models suggest that the poorer among the developing countries would benefit from an uncoupling from developing countries if it were accompanied by an increased redistribution of advantages from developed countries including, for instance, the availability of technological know how.

Economic inequalities, however, cannot be explained or solved by the effects of individual causes. They must be seen in their totality; in other words, other political factors must also be taken into consideration.⁴⁵⁾

The divisions between North and South has created the present crisis of humanity.

It has several interrelated causes: the confrontation of different cultures, value systems and political systems, an arms race producing ever more destructive weapons and rapidly increasing technological progress are among the most important. These problems have been further compounded with overpopulation and hunger in the Third World. The divisions look like becoming even more one-sided – it has been forecast that by the year 2000, 80 % of humanity will live in the Third World.

The old equilibria have been destroyed and a new state of equilibrium under the conditions created by equality and by a change of cultural consciousness has not yet been reached. If catastrophic events are to be avoided before the equilibrium has established itself, these menacing problems will have to be tackled systematically and in a spirit of international and intercultural co-operation. Peaceful co-operation and mutual respect and understanding are the preconditions for such work. At the present time there is no other area in greater need of development than international solidarity. Solidarity must be the basis for common action in order to find satisfactory humanitarian and political solutions at all levels – sub-regionally, regionally and universally.⁴⁶⁾

Solidarity is not only a human obligation but a long term requirement of self interest.

NOTES

- 1) See Alston, Ph. 1983. "Researching and Teaching the New Directions in Human Rights" *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 15–22, Oslo.
- 2) *ibidem*, p. 20.
- 3) *UN. Informe mundial económico*, 1981–82. Retranslated from the Spanish.
- 4) FAO data.
- 5) Castro, F. 1983. *The World Economic and Social Crisis (its impact on the underdeveloped countries, its somber prospects and the need to struggle if we are to survive)*, Havana.
- 6) "Survey of Economic and Social Conditions in Africa 1980–81," Document L. 260 / Rev. 1, p. 5.
- 7) *UN. World Economic Survey 1981–82*, New York, pp. 3–7 and 14–17.
- 8) UNCTAD 1982. *Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics*.
- 9) Castro, *op. cit.*
- 10) See Szentes, T. 1971. *Une interprétation restreinte du dualisme dans les théories du sous-développements*, Budapest.
- 11) Mbaya, E. R. 1982. "Sovereign Equality and Right to Development," Contribution to International Seminar on Human Rights and Development, Gaborone.
- 12) See Schiller, Karl 1960. "Zur Wachstumsproblematik der Entwicklungsländer," *Kieler Vorträge*, N. S. Nr. 15, Kiel, pp. 8–9.
- 13) See Senghaas, Dieter 1979. "Dissociation and Autocentric Development; An Alternative Development Policy for the Third World," *Applied Sciences and Development*, Editor: Dr. J. Hohnholz, Institute for Scientific-operation, Tübingen, Federal Republic of Germany, pp. 43–55.
- 14) See Black, Cyril and Cie: *The Modernization of Japan and Russia: A Comparative Study*, London.
- 15) See. Alston, Ph. and A. Eide 1982. Discussion Paper, Prepared for the "African Seminar on Human Rights and Development," May 24–29, Gaborone.
- 16) See Chileshe, J. H. 1982. "Retrospective on Development: Regional and Global Approaches," 25th Anniversary World Conference on the Society for International Development, Baltimore, July, 18–22.
- 17) K. d. Vey Mestdagh 1981. "The Right to Development," *Netherlands International Law Review*, p. 40.
- 18) E / CN. 4 / AC. 32 / WP. 17 of December 3, 1981.
- 19) A representative view is found in Bedjaoui, M. 1979, *Towards a New International Economic Order*, Paris: UNESCO.
- 20) Cf. Galtung, J. 1964. "A Structural Theory of Aggression," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 2,

No. 2, pp. 95–119.

- 21) Verloren, van Themaat, P. 1979. *Rechtsgrondlagen van een Nieuwe Internationale Economische Order*; The Hague, p. 199.
- 22) CHR / RES (XXXVI) and A / Res / 34 / 46.
- 23) Mbaya, E. R. 1983 *Menschenrechte im Nord-Südverhältnis*, Cologne, unpublished.
- 24) CHR / Res / 5 (XXXV) in conjunction with A / Res / 34 / 46.
- 25) A / Res / 2542 (XXIV), Article 9; also A / Res / 32 / 117(1977)
- 26) van Dijk, P. 1980. *5 NJCM bulletin*, p. 18.
- 27) In this connection see also van Boven, T. C. 1970 “Some Remarks on Special Problems Relating to Human Rights in Developing Countries,” *Revue des Droits de L’homme*, Vol. III, p. 383.
- 28) E / CN 4 / 1334
- 29) See “Rural Development and Human Rights in South-East Asia” 1981. Conclusions of ICJ / CAP Penang Seminar by International Commission of Jurists, Geneva.
- 30) *ibidem*.
- 31) *ibidem*.
- 32) See Eide, A. 1980. “Choosing the Path to Development (National Options and International Regulations – The impact for Human Rights),” *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 11 No. 4, p. 354.
- 33) A project is under way, carried out by Dieter Senghaas at the Department of Social Science of the University of Breme, to examine the various strategies of autocentric and self-reliant development. Some of my observations below are drawn from preliminary results of that project.
- 34) One of the background papers of Wil. D. Verway to the Geneva seminar, “The Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Realization of the Right to Development and Welfare: A Legal Survey (HR / General / 1980 / BP 5)” was particularly useful for his review of the legal elements contained in the discussion of a NIEO. The task we face is to clarify which of these elements will have positive, and which will have negative, effects for the combined goals of international equality, the right to be different, and the realisation of human rights. Some of the measures he described will contribute to further submission in an unjust international order, others will go in the opposite direction.
- 35) See Eide, A. 1980. *op. cit.*, p. 354.
- 36) Maurice, Albert “Stanley” – *Unpublished letters*, Publicity Office, Sa, Brussels.
- 37) van Boven, Theo C. 1980. “Human Rights and the New International Order” *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 11 No. 4, p. 370.
- 38) *ibidem*, p. 371.

- 39) Perroux, F. 1963. *L'économie du XXème siècle*, Paris, p. 155.
- 40) See Jacques Austry cited in Perroux, F. 1965. *Le scandale du développement*, Paris, p. 88.
- 41) *ibidem* p. 88.
- 42) "Development is a combination of mental and social changes in a population which can enable it cumulatively and durably to increase its overall product in real terms." (Perroux (1963), p. 159).
- 43) Przewoznik, Frantyszek, 1976. "The Right of Life as a Basis of Human Right," *Human Rights Journal* Vol. IX, 4, p. 585.
- 44) Domenach, J. M. 1971. "*Aide au Développement, Obligation Morale?*" Centre for Economic and Social Information, United Nations, New York.
- 45) Lacharrière, de G. 1964. *Commerce extérieur et sous-développement*, Paris, p. 238.
Feuer, G. 1974. *Les principes fondamentaux du droit du développement*, Paris.
- 46) Lacharrière, de G. 1970. *Commerce extérieur et développement or égalité spécialité des états*, Paris.

