Is There a Human Right to Development?

Stephen P. Marks, Harvard University

Monday, July 10, 2017
9:00 – 11:00 am
The Right to Development: Origin of concept and of the Declaration
### RTD-basic chronology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Idea of human right to development proposed</td>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Declaration on the Right to Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981-1998</td>
<td>Four working groups, various mandates</td>
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<td>1993</td>
<td>Vienna Declaration</td>
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<td>1998</td>
<td>Open-Ended Working Group on the Right to Development created</td>
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<td>Millennium Summit Declaration</td>
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<td>2002</td>
<td>Monterrey Consensus</td>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>Concept paper requested from Sub-commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>I.E. completes mandate and High-level Task Force created</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>High-level Task Force examines impact assessment and MDGs in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-08</td>
<td>TF applies and refines criteria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-10</td>
<td>FT prepares and submits to WG consolidated findings, criteria and suggestions for further work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>February 24-25 - Berlin Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>October WG to consider next steps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>SR on RTD appointed by GA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>JGU examines RTD at Summer School on Human Rights and Development at Harvard</td>
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</table>
The Right to Development: A Concept Born in Africa

Kéba Mbaye

(April 6, 1924, Kaolack, Senegal – January 12, 2007, Dakar, Senegal)


Preamble: “it is henceforth essential to pay a particular attention to the right to development.”

Article 22

1. All peoples shall have the right to their economic, social and cultural development with due regard to their freedom and identity and in the equal enjoyment of the common heritage of mankind. 2. States shall have the duty, individually or collectively, to ensure the exercise of the right to development.
1986 DECLARATION ON THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

Proclaims the following Declaration on the Right to Development:

Article 1

1. The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.

2. The human right to development also implies the full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, which includes, subject to the relevant provisions of both International Covenants on Human Rights, the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources.
Main ideas of independent expert (chair of OEWG until 2010)

- Nature of RTD: Development as a process

- The right to this process belongs to individuals and states.

- International cooperation means that the donor community must contribute resources.

- Development compact is a method to match states duties with those of the international community
African System

African Union Commission, OHCHR & ECA meeting in November 2009.

Complainants allege that the Endorois’ right to development has been violated as a result of the Respondent State’s creation of a Game Reserve and the Respondent State’s failure to adequately involve the Endorois in the development process and the failure to ensure the continued improvement of the Endorois community’s well-being.
Interpretation

- 277. The African Commission is of the view that the right to development is a two-pronged test, that it is both constitutive and instrumental, or useful as both a means and an end. A violation of either the procedural or substantive element constitutes a violation of the right to development.
Conclusion of the African Commission

February 4, 2010

298. The African Commission is of the view that the Respondent State bears the burden for creating conditions favourable to a people’s development. It is certainly not the responsibility of the Endorois themselves to find alternate places to graze their cattle or partake in religious ceremonies. The Respondent State, instead, is obligated to ensure that the Endorois are not left out of the development process or benefits. The African Commission agrees that the failure to provide adequate compensation and benefits, or provide suitable land for grazing indicates that the Respondent State did not adequately provide for the Endorois in the development process. It finds against the Respondent State that the Endorois community has suffered a violation of Article 22 of the Charter.
What next?

Recommendations:
1. In view of the above, the African Commission finds that the Respondent State is in violation of Articles 1, 8, 14, 17, 21 and 22 of the African Charter. The African Commission recommends that the Respondent State:
   (a) Recognise rights of ownership to the Endorois and Restitute Endorois ancestral land.
   (b) Ensure that the Endorois community has unrestricted access to Lake Bogoria and surrounding sites for religious and cultural rites and for grazing their cattle.
   (c) Pay adequate compensation to the community for all the loss suffered.
The Right to Development: Content of the right as clarified in 2000-2010
Bård A. Andreassen and Stephen P. Marks (eds.)

Development as a Human Right
Legal, Political and Economic Dimensions

2nd edition

Implementing the Right to Development
The Role of International Law
Stephen P. Marks, Editor

The Politics of the Possible
The Way Ahead for the Right to Development
Stephen P. Marks
June 2011
PART ONE: SITUATING THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

Chapter 1: The emergence of the right to development
Chapter 2: The Declaration on the Right to Development in the context of United Nations standard-setting
Chapter 3: The challenge of implementing the right to development in the 1990s
Chapter 4: Conceptualizing the right to development for the twenty-first century

PART TWO: UNDERSTANDING THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

Chapter 5: Self-determination of peoples and sovereignty over natural wealth and resources
Chapter 6: Active, free and meaningful participation in development
Chapter 7: Equality, non-discrimination and fair distribution of the benefits of development
Chapter 8: The human rights-based approach to development in the era of globalization
Chapter 9: A human rights approach to democratic governance and development
Chapter 10: Poverty
Chapter 11: Women, human rights and development
Chapter 12: Indigenous peoples
Chapter 13: Global governance: old and new challenges
Chapter 14: International solidarity in an interdependent world
PART THREE: COOPERATING FOR THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

Chapter 15: A right to development critique of Millennium Development Goal 8
Chapter 16: Development, good governance and South-South cooperation: the African Peer Review Mechanism
Chapter 17: The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness
Chapter 18: Mainstreaming the right to development into the World Trade Organization
Chapter 19: The Cotonou Agreement and economic partnership agreements
Chapter 20: Debt relief and sustainability
Chapter 21: Sovereign debt and human rights
Chapter 22: The Intergovernmental Working Group on Public Health, Innovation and Intellectual Property
Chapter 23: Climate change, sustainable development and the clean development mechanism

PART FOUR: IMPLEMENTING THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

Chapter 24: The indicators framework of OHCHR applied to the right to development
Chapter 25: The right to development and implementation of the Millennium Development Goals
Chapter 26: National experience with the right to development
Chapter 27: A regional perspective: article 22 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights
Chapter 28: Towards operational criteria and a monitoring framework
Chapter 29: Theory into practice: a new framework and proposed assessment criteria
Chapter 30: The high-level task force criteria
Chapter 31: The role of international law
Chapter 32: The right to development in practice: provisional lessons learned
Chapter 33: The right to development at 25: renewal and achievement of its potential
Realizing the Right to Development and a new development agenda
Upstream and downstream from the criteria and sub-criteria

- Core norm (1)
- Attributes (3)
- Criteria (18)
- Sub-criteria (69)
- Indicators (150)
“Core norm”

• “...right of peoples and individuals to the constant improvement of their well being and to a national and global enabling environment conducive to just, equitable, participatory and human-centred development respectful of all human rights.”
Three attributes

- Attribute 1: Comprehensive and human-centred development policy (institutional/policy)
- Attribute 2: Participatory human rights processes (process/how)
- Attribute 3: Social justice in development (outcomes/what)
Human Rights Council
Fifteenth session
Working Group on the Right to Development
Eleventh session
High-level task force on the implementation of
the right to development
Sixth session
Geneva, 14–22 January 2010

Right to development

Report of the high-level task force on the implementation of
the right to development on its sixth session (Geneva, 14–22
January 2010)

Chairperson-Rapporteur: Stephen Marks
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Addendum

Right to development criteria and operational sub-criteria
### Attribute 1: Comprehensive and human-centred development policy

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<td>1 (a) To promote constant improvement in socio-economic well-being⁴</td>
<td>1 (a) (i) Health</td>
<td>Public expenditures on primary health;¹ life expectancy at birth;² access to essential drugs;³ low birthweight babies;⁴ child mortality;⁵ HIV prevalence;⁶ births attended by skilled personnel⁷</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (a) (ii) Education</td>
<td>Public spending on primary education;⁸ school enrolment rates;⁹ school completion rates;¹⁰ international scores for student achievement¹¹</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 (a) (iii) Housing and water</td>
<td>Public expenditure on public service provision;¹² access to improved drinking water and sanitation;¹³ homelessness rate;¹⁴ cost of housing relative to income;¹⁵ slum populations¹⁶</td>
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<td>1 (a) (iv) Work and social security</td>
<td>Long-term unemployment;¹⁷ involuntary part-time employment;¹⁸ public expenditure on social security;¹⁹ income poverty rates below national and international lines²⁰</td>
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¹ See General Assembly resolution 41/128, annex, second preambular paragraph, art. 3.
² Ibid., art. 4.
³ Ibid., art. 2.
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Attribute 2: Participatory human rights processes

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## Attribute 3: Social justice in development

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<td>Income inequality;&lt;sup&gt;127&lt;/sup&gt; disaggregated outcome data by population groups, for example, male-female, rural-urban, ethnic/racial and social-economic status (see indicators for 2 (c) (vi))&lt;sup&gt;128&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<sup>17</sup> See General Assembly resolution 41/128, arts. 3 and 10; General Assembly resolution 64/172, para. 10 (a); the Monterrey Consensus (A/CONF.198/11), paras. 7, 38, 53, 57, 62 and 63; and Human Rights Council resolution S-10/1, para. 3.

<sup>18</sup> General Assembly resolutions 41/128, arts. 1.1, 2.3, 3.1, 6.3, 8.1 and 10; and 64/172, paras. 9, 10 (e), 27 and 28.

<sup>19</sup> General Assembly resolution 41/128, first and second preambular paragraphs, arts. 1.1, 2.3 and 8.
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The Right to Development: Real differences or political theatre?
Politics or “political theatre”

Real Political Differences

1. Structure of the global political economy
2. Priorities between HR and D
3. Country ownership
4. Institutional jurisdiction and policy coherence

False Political Differences

1. Indeterminacy of the norm
2. Inappropriateness of indicators
3. Necessity of a legally binding instrument
Real Political Difference 1: Structure of the global political economy. Can RTD correct the unjust global economic system?

• “the criteria should address the structural imbalances and hence impediments to equitable development on a global scale” (Report of the Open-ended Working Group A/HRC/19/52, 19 December 2011, para. 18)

“Expresses its deep concern, in this regard, about the negative impact on the realization of the right to development due to the further aggravation of the economic and social situation, in particular of developing countries, as a result of the ongoing international energy, food and financial crises, as well as the increasing challenges posed by global climate change and the loss of biodiversity, which have increased vulnerabilities and inequalities and have adversely affected development gains, in particular in developing countries.” (GA Resolution A/RES/69/181, para. 22)
Real Political Difference 2: Priorities. Is it a human rights-based approach to development or a development approach to human rights?

RTD is not “about mainstreaming all human rights into the development process. Instead, it is about mainstreaming and implementing development-oriented policies at all levels, in order to further improve the capacity of States to ensure the full enjoyment of all human rights.” (NAM position)
Real Political Difference 3: Does RTD respect “country ownership of development policies through, in alia, policy space”?

• The right and the duty to formulate national development policies applies only to those “that aim at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals, on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of the benefits resulting therefrom.” (art. 2).

• Increased resources in whatever form (aid, loans, debt forgiveness, investment, etc.) should not be expected for policies that fail to meet that standard.

• “Access to Resources and Technology: country ownership of development policies or conditionality based on “constant improvement of the well-being’, … participation … and in the fair distribution of the benefits”
Real Political Difference 4: Institutional jurisdiction and policy coherence

• Collective Responsibility: “States acting collectively in global and regional partnerships” is listed first in the enumeration of three types of obligations.

• Criterion 1(e): “Create an equitable, rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory international trading system

• The legal authority to commit international institutions to fulfill RTD obligations rests with the governments that create and oversee them. Can entities like WTO and the World Bank be legally responsible for implementing the right to development?

• What Incentives beyond a nice idea?
False Political Difference 1: Indeterminacy of the norm, too vague, meaningless

• “the Declaration on the Right to Development was, from its inception onward, politically very weak. It was politically engineers as bad law: vague, internally contradictory, duplicative of other already clearly codified rights, and devoid of identifiable parties bearing clear obligations... [it was] so watered down that it became meaningless” and “has been devoid of any real impact.” (Uvin, p. 43)
False Political Difference 2: Use of indicators

• “The NAM has consistently pointed out … that the elaboration of indicators is not part of its mandate. However, the final output submitted by the task force has included a list of indicators, for which there was no mandate. Hence, those indicators were not incorporated in the NAM evaluation exercise. Also, they lack any legal basis to be considered as such during discussions within the Working Group.”

• “use of indicators would further marginalize developing countries by emphasizing national responsibilities while not guaranteeing fulfillment of international obligations and a proper enabling environment.”

• (Detailed Comments and Proposals of NAM on the Draft Criteria and Operational Sub-criteria for the Implementation of the Right to Development Introductory Remarks, Written submission received in 2012)
TF Reassurance on indicators

• “The development of indicators was not an exercise in ranking or even judging countries, but rather in providing to the Working Group operational sub-criteria in the form of a set of methodologically rigorous tools that can be used in determining where progress is occurring or stalling, and the next steps for promoting implementation of the right to development.” (Add. 1, para. 73)
Nature of indicators used

• “The indicators selected for inclusion reflect pressing contemporary concerns and established tools of measurement and data collection, as identified by international institutions, used to measure progress in meeting commitments arising from international agreements and conferences dealing with human rights and such matters as debt, trade, poverty reduction, financing of development and climate change.” (Add. 2, para. 14)
Selection of indicators

• “The indicators included ... are selected from among a much larger set of relevant structural, process and outcome indicators ... Preference was given to indicators that were likely to show variations among countries and over time, and thus illustrate changes in human well-being. There is a mix of indicators primarily useful for describing development outcomes and indicators (structural and process) in providing guidance for future action (outcome).” (Add. 2, para. 15)
Two rationales for using indicators

• 1. Open the way for a monitoring mechanism, informal or treaty-based. ... “The right to development cannot be useful to alter approaches to development unless and until the actions of those responsible for development are assessed using professionally crafted tools of measurement.” (Add.1 para. 75)

• 2. Treat RTD on a par with other human rights, as called for by the GA, in light of trends to assess all other human rights using indicators.
False Political Difference 3: International legal instrument of a binding character

• NAM Summit, “the Heads of State and Government agreed to ... Urge the UN human rights machinery to ensure the operationalisation of the right to development as a priority, including through the elaboration of a Convention on the Right to Development by the relevant machinery … [and to] Propose and work towards the convening of a United Nations-sponsored High-Level International Conference on the Right to Development.” Sharm el Sheikh 2008 (same in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia 2003, Havana 2006, Teheran 2010)
The Right to Development: Do we need a treaty?
• Commission on Human Rights, at the behest of the NAM, called on the Sub-Commission to prepare concept paper, including feasibility of an “international legal standard of a binding nature,” (Resolution 2003/83 on August 25, 2003, 47 in favor; the United States, Australia and Japan against; and Canada, Korea, and Sweden abstained.)

• The conclusion of the Sub-Commission member entrusted with the concept document “that the development of binding legal standards is premature at this time” (Concept Document on the Right to Development. Working paper submitted by Florizelle O’Connor, UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/2005/23, June 24, 2005.)
Human Rights Council compromise language

• “That, upon completion of the above phases [of the work plan], the Working Group will take appropriate steps for ensuring respect for and practical application of these standards, which could take various forms, including guidelines on the implementation of the right to development, and evolve into a basis for consideration of an international legal standard of a binding nature, through a collaborative process of engagement.”

8. … Working Group taking steps …, which could take various forms, including the elaboration of guidelines on the implementation of the right to development, and evolve into a basis for the consideration of an international legal standard of a binding nature through a collaborative process of engagement;
Consensus, but … NAM

• Explanation of position by the Non-Aligned Movement

• 60. The Non-Aligned Movement interprets the phrase “international legal standard of a binding nature”, contained in paragraph 52 of the conclusions and recommendations, to mean “internationally legally binding convention.”
• Japan voted against the RTD resolution in 2001 and 2006.

• It is particularly outspoken on a legal instrument: “The representative of Japan said his Government was firmly committed to development and had contributed greatly to that end. It was the primary obligation of the State to realize that right [and] inappropriate to prescribe it as a legal obligation among States. For that reason, he had voted against the draft.”
Canada …

- Canada … does not believe it is appropriate for the Working Group or high-level task force to consider the development of a legally binding instrument on the right to development…Canada interprets paragraph 52 to not mandate the Working Group or task force to look specifically at a binding instrument, but rather that the paragraph is suggestive that, in the future, this may be an option of many that may be considered. Canada will join consensus with this understanding.
• The EU joins consensus on this paragraph on the understanding that it does not imply a process leading to an international legal standard of a binding nature. Rather, the EU considers that paragraph 52 describes an open-ended process of developing criteria promoting the operational implementation of the right to development.
25. The European Union (EU) expressed its strong commitment to sustainable development, the eradication of poverty and equitable globalization. It reiterated its support for the right to development, on the basis of the indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights and the multidimensional nature of development strategies. While national development efforts must be supported, States had primary responsibility for the realization of the right to development by their citizens. The ambitious programme of work of the Working Group was attainable and EU was willing to pursue a consensual approach to rise above polarization and focus on what united rather than what divided. (A/HRC/27/45, 7 July 2014, para. 25)
Resolution adopted by the Human Rights Council

27/2
The right to development

The Human Rights Council,

8. Takes note with appreciation of the continuation of the process of considering, revising and refining the draft criteria and the corresponding operational sub-criteria, and welcomes the completion of the first reading of the draft criteria and operational sub-criteria;

9. Acknowledges the need to have the contributions of experts, regrets the low attendance of invited experts from international organizations at the fifteenth session of the Working Group, and in this context urges their broader engagement and re-emphasizes the importance of engaging further and inviting to the sixteenth session of the Working Group experts from relevant United Nations agencies, funds and programmes and institutions, as well as other multilateral institutions and forums, international organizations and other relevant stakeholders;

10. Also acknowledges the need to further consider, revise and refine the draft criteria and corresponding operational sub-criteria mentioned in paragraphs 5 and 8 above, as mandated by the Human Rights Council in its resolution 21/32;

11. Decides:
(b) That the criteria and corresponding operational sub-criteria mentioned in paragraph 5 above, once considered, revised and endorsed by the Working Group, should be used, as appropriate, in the elaboration of a comprehensive and coherent set of standards for the implementation of the right to development;

(e) That the Working Group will continue, at its sixteenth session, to accomplish its mandate including, in particular, to consider, revise and refine the draft right to development criteria and corresponding operational sub-criteria;

22nd meeting
25 September 2014

[Adopted by a recorded vote of 42 to 1, with 4 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour:
Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Chile, China, 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

Against:
United States of America

Abstaining:
Japan, Republic of Korea, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland]
Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 18 December 2014
[on the report of the Third Committee (A/69/488/Add.2 and Corr.1)]

69/181. The right to development

6. Welcomes the launching, by the Working Group, of the process for considering, revising and refining the draft right-to-development criteria and corresponding operational subcriteria, with the first reading of the draft criteria and operational subcriteria;

8. Emphasizes the importance of the Working Group taking appropriate steps to ensure respect for and practical application of the above-mentioned standards, which could take various forms, including the elaboration of guidelines on the implementation of the right to development, and evolve into a basis for the consideration of an international legal standard of a binding nature through a collaborative process of engagement;
14. Also decides to appoint, for a period of three years, a Special Rapporteur on the right to development, whose mandate will include: (a) To contribute to the promotion, protection and fulfilment of the right ... and the 2030 Agenda ...; (b) To engage and support efforts to mainstream the right ... (c) To contribute to the work of the Working Group; (d) To submit any specific study requested; (e) To submit an annual report ...