

economic development, going beyond the simple provision of physical infrastructure, social services, and administration.

These ideas bear a noticeable resemblance, in their essentials, to those advanced by Professor Arthur Lewis, who was actually a member of the expert group, in his book *The Theory of Economic Growth*, published a few years later.⁹ (Interestingly, domestic measures and policies were to resurface in the 1980s, in some circles, as the new hallmark of development wisdom.) Measures by developed countries in support of development were limited to a show of self-restraint in refraining from subsidising certain products competing with the exports of underdeveloped countries. International action was restricted to increasing World Bank lending, and organising technical assistance through an international development authority.

The impact on UN development activity was to be seen in the spread of 'development planning', the techniques and priorities of which were spelled out in the expert group's report; in the sectoralising of international assistance, and the related evolution of technical assistance, and the related evolution of technical assistance programmes; and in the targeting of development resource transfers from developed countries. The UN First Development Decade, which was actually proclaimed in 1962, was in effect an operationalised version of basic ideas contained in the original expert group's report.

This first phase of the UN's involvement with economic development was also characterised by the absence of a collective presence on the part of the developing countries; by the implicit assertion of a wholly convergent process of world development; and by the assumption of an essentially benign external policy environment, and hence the irrelevance of negotiated policy reform addressing the structures and arrangements underpinning international economic relations.

2 The second phase: 1963–82

The second phase in the evolution of the UN's involvement with economic development extends from 1963 to about 1982. The impulses for new orientations in this period were many. They included the decolonisation process, the radical transformation this effected in the UN's membership, and the interest of many of the newly independent nations in socialist doctrines. As the period progressed a clearer perception emerged of the reality that political independence did not itself bring economic growth and development. These countries began to articulate the need for a framework of international economic relations that would be more conducive to the realisation of their economic aspirations. This perception, triggered by the more blatant abuses by transnational enterprises and reinforced by these countries' awareness of their potential power as a source of supply and as a market for the industrialised world, contributed to the evolution of a new outlook on relations between the developed and developing countries.

By the mid-1960s the UN was ripe for a major revision of its development philosophy. This time the intellectual underpinning was provided by the developing world itself, in the form of the doctrines of Raul Prebisch and his collaborators at the Economic Commission for Latin America. Although these ideas were being shaped from the latter part of the 1940s onwards,¹⁰ they did

9 W Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth*, 1955, London: Allen & Unwin.

10 UN, Economic Commission for Latin America, *The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems*, 1950, New York: UN, Dept of Economic Affairs; and Hans Singer, 'The Distribution of Gains between Investing and Borrowing Countries', *American Economic Review*, 40, no 2 (May 1950) at p 47.

not emerge in the form of specific propositions for North-South, or, as it was then called, centre-periphery, relationships until the first UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was held in 1964, with Prebisch as its Secretary General.¹¹

The notions that informed the new approach to development theory and practice were radically different from those of the 1950s and the First Development Decade. The new approach asserted the existence of a process of inequalising exchange between the North and the South, as the latter's terms of trade of primary commodities exports for manufactured imports persistently deteriorated, as economic surplus was transferred from the South to the North through transnational enterprises, as mercantilist policies restricted access to technology, and as international capital limited structural change and constrained the potential for growth. A distinguishing feature of the new theories was that they ruled out the possibility of self-correcting forces operating spontaneously to restore equilibrium in the world economy. Persistent divergence between North and South was seen as the natural order. If these tendencies were to be corrected, deliberate policy actions would have to be taken, and thus international policy negotiations would become a special and continuing responsibility of the UN. There was accordingly a concentration on improving the international economic environment to promote development across a broad front. This was an attempt to rectify the gaps and shortcomings of the post-war system (encompassing IMF, IBRD, and GATT), which had given insufficient weight to the development issue. In this sense, the original, virtually exclusive, preoccupation with 'measures requiring domestic action' as the critical determinant of development was relegated to a less important place in the UN approach to economic development.

During this period therefore the focus of attention in the UN, and especially in UNCTAD, turned to the negotiation of international policies and principles, organised on the basis of four country groupings – the Group of 77 (developing countries), the developed market-economy countries, the socialist countries of eastern Europe, and China. The main areas of negotiation were commodity prices, trade in manufactures, the international monetary system, the transfer of technology, transnational corporations, restrictive business practices, international shipping, and, at a general level, the economic rights and duties of states. Many of these negotiations led to agreements, codes, and resolutions, some with greater legal significance than others.¹² Underlying these processes was a belief that market forces alone could not be relied upon to promote development, even if the policies of developing countries were optimal. Governmental intervention in cases of market failure was therefore necessary to support the development effort, and national strategies would have to be adjusted to one another with a view to a consistent set of international economic policies supportive of the development of the Third World.

11 *Towards a New Trade Policy for Development: Report by the Secretary General of UNCTAD, 1964*, New York: UN.

12 Examples include the International Commodity Agreements, the Agreement establishing the Common Fund for Commodities, the Code of Conduct on Liner Conferences, the Set of Principles and Rules on Restrictive Business Practices, the Generalised System of Preferences, the Resolution on Debt Relief for the Least-developed Countries, and the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of States. Negotiations on proposals for Codes of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology, and on Transnational Corporations, ran into intractable difficulties which have yet to be resolved.

At the same time, it must be said, a difficult path was being pursued by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank where, increasingly, access to their resources was being made conditional on the adoption of domestic measures and policies recommended by them. During this period too there was an impressive growth in technical and financial assistance to the various sectors of economic activity in developing countries, intended to enhance these countries' domestic capabilities. In the field of technical co-operation there was a considerable expansion in the range and volume of activity by the UN Development Programme (UNDP), which was formed in 1965 by a merger of the UN Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the UN Special Fund. This expansion was itself to give rise to continuing questions about the UNDP's priorities, coherence, and cost-effectiveness.

The action taken by OPEC in 1973 was seen by developing countries as a successful, even if painful, example of the assertion of endogenous control over national resources and as an inspiration to refashion the international economic system in the interests of efficiency and equity. This naturally gave a strong new impetus to the 'policy negotiation' approach to international economic co-operation for development. It lent credence to the possibility of fundamental change, and to the aspiration that a world of economic equity and justice, as envisaged by the developing countries, might actually be created. The 1974 Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and its accompanying Programme of Action embodied this new message of strength and purpose.¹³ The impulses for change deriving from this sense of commodity power were so strong that the period from 1973 might well be considered a distinct sub-phase, or even a new phase altogether. Essentially, they underscored the developing countries' conviction that change was needed in the structure and operation of the international economic system, and that such change could be effected through a process of global negotiation, in a context of the developing countries' strengthened bargaining power, and of the concrete realities of global interdependence. It is worth noting, for example, that the NIEO was ostensibly proclaimed to reassert and strengthen the 'spirit, purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations'.

Despite the language and the ambitiousness of the programme of international economic reform, as well as the more explicitly confrontational approach of the post-1973 period, many of the measures envisaged for their realisation dated back several years. However, in practical terms the new consciousness of and stress on 'permanent sovereignty over natural resources' gained in influence, while the notion of interdependence emerged more explicitly and with greater clarity as a rationale for international economic management. These approaches, together with the basic ideas associated with the founding of and developments in UNCTAD, merged with the older development currents of the 1950s to influence the shape of the International Development Strategy as proclaimed for the second and third UN Development Decades (which began respectively in 1971 and 1981).¹⁴

3 The third phase: the decade of the 1980s

The third phase dates from the early 1980s. The new strength and hopes inspired by the NIEO were to be relatively short-lived. By about 1982 the servicing of the massive petrodollar borrowing of developing countries ran into severe difficulty

13 General Assembly Resolution 3201 (S-VI) of 1 May 1974.

14 General Assembly Resolution 2626 (XXV) of 24 October 1970 and 35/56 of 5 December 1980.

as recession in the North, brought about by anti-inflationary monetary and fiscal policies, curtailed the export earnings of developing countries.¹⁵ Besides this, a number of other influences had a modifying effect on the UN's development philosophy. There was much disappointment over the failure to negotiate or implement important aspects of the international agenda – international commodity agreements, the Common Fund for Commodities, the Code of Conduct for the Transfer of Technology, and the NIEO. The weakening of commodity power generally, including that of OPEC, diminished the Third World's bargaining power. The revival of the arms race, and continuing East-West tensions, put the North-South dialogue lower on the agenda of international concerns.

The period witnessed a return, primarily at the insistence of the developed market-economy countries, to a preoccupation with national measures and policies of developing countries, similar to that of the 1950s. In major Western economies, the ascendancy of neo-classical economics with its faith in market forces, together with the trend towards deregulation and privatisation, went hand in hand with a reduced interest and investment in forms of international management. These tendencies signalled a diminished concern with negotiated international policies for the promotion of international economic co-operation for development. They also pointed to a greater role for the private enterprise sector in the promotion of international co-operation and development.

Not surprisingly the period saw a weakening of the development consensus underlying the UN's work in this field. Fundamental differences became apparent in economic philosophies, and in perceptions of the capabilities of governments in national and international policy-making. The role of governments and of intergovernmental institutions, on the one hand, and of private market forces, on the other, became the subject of renewed controversy. Disagreement surfaced about the interplay of domestic policies and the external environment, and of the public and private sectors of economic activity. Indeed, governments came to hold divergent views even on how agreed common interests are best pursued in an international and multilateral context; such was the case, for example, on issues of global economic management, trade policies in the context of increasing protectionism, international monetary reform, the evolving international debt strategy, and resource flows to the developing world.

Yet there was no attempt to abrogate the goals and objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Third Development Decade.¹⁶ On the contrary, member states registered their concern about the substantial deterioration of the situation of many developing countries, particularly in Africa, together with the disquieting dimensions that the problem of indebtedness had assumed for a larger number of them.

Meanwhile, increased interdependence within and among the different groups of countries through trade and production went hand in hand with, and was reinforced by, closer financial linkages. These, in turn, enhanced the influence of international finance over trade. Propelled by new developments in information and communications technologies, domestic financial markets increasingly became part of and subordinate to international markets; and the markets for

15 UNCTAD, *Trade and Development Report*, 1986, Geneva.

16 See the Agreed Conclusions section of *Report of the Committee on the Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third UN Development Decade*, UN doc A/40/48, New York, 1985.

different assets themselves became more intermeshed. The role of private international markets in the net flow of financial resources, particularly between developed and developing countries, assumed vast proportions. The international financial system as a whole became more sensitive to changes in the ability of developing countries to service their debts. Consequently, as countries became more exposed to international financial influences, the impact of fluctuations in world monetary and financial conditions on their output, employment, and price levels became more pronounced.

4 The fourth phase: from the turn of the decade

In the early 1990s the world community may be moving into a new, more mature phase of international economic co-operation for development. The shifts that have been under way for some years in approaches to economic and social organisation, and in perceptions of development policy, accelerated around the beginning of the decade. Much of the new momentum derived from the dramatic developments that took place in the central and eastern European countries, including the Soviet Union, leading to the introduction of democratic forms of government in place of existing regimes and the suppression of central planning systems by moves towards market-based economies. The challenges posed by the shifts just mentioned are described in the second part of this chapter, but they have laid bare many of the ingredients for a fresh development consensus.¹⁷

The retreat from multilateralism has come to a halt, prompted possibly by calculations of long-run self-interest on the part of the major industrialised countries – manifested, for instance, at the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development¹⁸ – and partly by considerations of common interest and mutual benefit. Development itself is increasingly seen as a people-centred and equitable process whose ultimate goal must be the improvement of the human condition. Political arrangements are regarded as viable and important for the development process to the extent that they are based on consent, and the observance of human rights is widely accepted as a source of creativity, innovation, and initiative. A convergence of views has occurred on the necessity of supportive frameworks of broad economic policy, both national and international.

Reliance on market forces and competitiveness, and the fostering of entrepreneurial initiative, have become common features of the pursuit of economic efficiency. Approaches to sustainable growth are no longer confined to such criteria as the avoidance of high inflation, large payments imbalances, and sharp cyclical swings: they now encompass the improvement of medium-term growth potential through, for instance, policies that improve the functioning of markets, enlarge human capital, enhance labour mobility, promote openness to international trade, encourage competitiveness, and incorporate respect for the environment. The sharp rise in the level of concern for the health of the global environment and for the long-term security of the planet's ecology base has underscored the need to manage natural resources wisely and to evolve production and consumption patterns in ways consistent with the protection of the environment. Moreover, countries accept that high priority must be accorded to such aspects of the development process as the eradication of poverty and

17 General Assembly Resolution S-18/3 of 1 May 1990 entitled 'Declaration on International Economic Co-operation, in particular the Revitalisation of Economic Growth and Development of the Developing Countries'; and 'A New partnership for Development: the Cartagena Commitment' in *Report of UNCTAD on its Eighth Session*, February 1992, UN doc TD/364 of 6 July 1992, pp 6–60.

18 See Chapter 1.

hunger, human resources and institutional development, and improved population policies, as well as protection of the environment.

The proposition that, while the external economic environment is critical for small and open economies, developing countries have the primary responsibility for their own development remains unquestioned: there is no substitute for sustained national policies aimed at liberating and mobilising the latent energies and impulses for development within developing countries, at promising efficiency in the allocation and use of resources, and at taking advantage of the opportunities for trade, investment, and technological progress provided by the changing global environment. Indeed, it is these policies that have determined and will continue to determine how changes in external variables affect the pace of development.

Another factor now widely seen as inseparable from the success of development efforts is the quality of public management. The concept of good governance – or, less controversially, good management – has many dimensions, and it is ultimately defined by a wide variety of historical, cultural, social, and political considerations. As currently understood it encompasses governmental action to establish appropriate frameworks and rules of the game for the effective and proper functioning of markets, and a healthy climate for economic activity.¹⁹ This purpose entails the provision of physical and social infrastructure, the pursuit of sound macroeconomic policies, the creation of a conducive policy environment, and the development of human resources required to support economic activity, as well as policies that promote efficiency in the use and allocation of resources. It also requires clear legal and regulatory frameworks, transparent processes for rule-setting and decision-making, and efficient institutions for the management of resources.

Good management should furthermore stimulate entrepreneurship and productivity growth; help to expand employment opportunities; and promote, or where necessary undertake, functions which cannot be adequately initiated or performed by the private sector. It calls, in addition, for the use of economic and regulatory instruments when markets left to themselves are unable to deal with the phenomenon of externalities and public goods, or to integrate environmental costs adequately into economic activities. Questions of income distribution also need to be addressed, including economic and social safety nets, and assistance to disadvantaged groups to gain access to market opportunities. Likewise, public intervention may be required to foster competition, particularly where concentrations of market power create excessive rents. Finally, strengthened systems of dispute settlement and conflict resolution, with an appropriate role for courts of law and guarantees of their independence, are essential.

As already indicated, the international aspects of good management are also important. Most governments acknowledge, in varying degrees, that the efforts of developing countries in particular to improve their domestic economic policy framework will not have the desired outcome without a supportive international economic environment. Such an environment is seen as depending critically on greater dynamism in the global economy, and on the loosening of such constrictions on development as external indebtedness, inadequate development finance, high trade barriers, depressed commodity prices, and adverse terms of

19 *Accelerating the Development Process: Report by the Secretary General of UNCTAD to the Eighth Session of the Conference, part 2, Chap 1, Market Forces, Public Policy and Good Management; and Report of UNCTAD on its Eighth Session, 1992.*

trade. The industrialised countries, it must be said, accept the importance of appropriate national macroeconomic growth and structural policies aimed at non-inflationary growth and structural adjustment and at avoiding undesired exchange-rate fluctuations and financial market disturbances. What would be even more helpful is a strong commitment to narrowing their imbalances in a manner that would benefit other countries, to stepping up their efforts to invigorate world economic growth, and bringing about a supportive and predictable international economic environment for development.

UN bodies have played a key role in the shaping of these common attitudes. They have also sought to encapsulate the guidelines stemming from them into such major texts as the resolution adopted at the 18th Special Session of the General Assembly in May 1990;²⁰ the International Development Strategy for the Fourth Development Decade, adopted in December 1990;²¹ the Cartagena Commitment adopted by UNCTAD VIII in February 1992;²² and, from a different vantage point, the final outcome of the 1992 Rio Conference on the Environment and Development.

In the short time that has passed since these texts were adopted, the results have been mixed. Perceptions of certain problems, particularly poverty eradication and environmental protection, have sharpened, and greater recognition of the paths to be followed has emerged. But the recession in the developing market economies, and the persistence of an unsupportive economic environment, not to speak of the 1991 Persian Gulf war and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, have weakened some of the basic premises of the guidelines these documents embody. The gap between international commitments made, and action taken by some of the key actors, has been large.

Effectively mobilised, the common attitudes just mentioned could evolve into a conviction that world economic stability and growth depend on higher levels of international co-operation for the management of interdependence. Interdependence could become a consistent vehicle of growth and development, bringing benefits for all in a positive sum game, on two conditions. One is that national policies, particularly those of the economically powerful, are formulated in a mutually reinforcing fashion to favour constructive adjustment and adaptation in the world economy. The other is that co-operative efforts are pursued to improve the systems, structures, and arrangements that have thus far underpinned international economic relations, particularly as regards trade, money, and finance.

Whether the necessary political determination among countries can be mustered to build on these perceptions so as to reactivate growth and development in the world economy is another matter. The vast enterprise that it entails requires countries both rich and poor to promote a new partnership for development based on the recognition of sovereign equality, mutual interests, and shared responsibilities. Its success depends crucially, of course, on the concerted efforts of the UN together with the family of organisations that has been built up around it.

20 GA Resolution 18/3 of 1 May 1990.

21 GA Resolution 45/199 of 21 December 1990, annex, 'International development Strategy for the Fourth UN Development Decade'.

22 *Report of UNCTAD on its Eighth Session, 1992.*

If the UN is effectively to address the challenges that these unprecedented changes pose for development, its capacity to deal with their various facets in an integrated manner – and within a coherent conceptual framework – will have to be enhanced. It is to be hoped that the current wave of reform in the UN, which follows closely upon far-reaching institutional reforms undertaken in UNCTAD, will make a stronger contribution to this objective.²³

DECLARATION ON THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations relating to the achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian nature, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Recognising that development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims 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 benefits resulting therefrom,

Considering that under the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in that Declaration can be fully realised,

Recalling the provisions of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,

Recalling further the relevant agreements, conventions, resolutions, recommendations and other instruments of the United Nations and its specialised agencies concerning the integral development of the human being, economic and social progress and development of all peoples, including those instruments concerning decolonisation, the prevention of discrimination, respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms, the maintenance of international peace and security and the further promotion of friendly relations and co-operation among states in accordance with the Charter,

Recalling the right of peoples to self-determination, by virtue of which they have the right freely to determine their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development,

Recalling further the right of peoples to exercise, subject to relevant provisions of both International Covenants on Human Rights, their full and complete sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources,

Mindful of the obligation of states under the Charter to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all

23 Kenneth Dadzie, Secretary General of UNCTAD, 'The UN and the Problem of Economic Development', in Roberts and Kingsbury (eds), *United Nations, Divided World*, 1994, Oxford: Oxford University Press at pp 298–31.

without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, Considering that the elimination of the massive and flagrant violations of the human rights of the peoples and individuals affected by situations such as those resulting from colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, all forms of racism and racial discrimination, foreign domination and occupation, aggression and threats against national sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity and threats of war would contribute to the establishment of circumstances propitious to the development of a great part of mankind,

Concerned at the existence of serious obstacle to development, as well as to the complete fulfilment of human beings and of peoples, constituted, *inter alia*, by the denial of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, and considering that all human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interdependent and that, in order to promote development, equal attention and urgent consideration should be given to the implementation, promotion and protection of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and that, accordingly, the promotion of, respect for, and enjoyment of certain human rights and fundamental freedoms cannot justify the denial of other human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Considering that international peace and security are essential elements for the realisation of the right to development,

Reaffirming that there is a close relationship between disarmament and development and that progress in the field of development would considerably promote progress in the field of disarmament and that resources released through disarmament measures should be devoted to the economic and social development and well-being of all peoples and, in particular, those of the developing countries,

Recognising that the human person is the central subject of the development process and that development policy should therefore make the human being the main participant and beneficiary of development,

Recognising that the conditions favourable to the development of peoples and individuals is the primary responsibility of their states,

Aware that efforts to promote and protect human rights at the international level should be accompanied by efforts to establish a new international economic order,

Confirming that the right to development is an inalienable human right and that equality of opportunity for development is a prerogative both of nations and of individuals who make up nations,

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 realised.

2 The human right to development also implies the full realisation of the right of peoples to self-determination, which includes, subject to 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.

Article 2

1 The human person is the central subject of development and should be the active participant and beneficiary of the right to development.

2 All human beings have a responsibility for development, individually and collectively, taking into account the need for full respect of their human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as their duties to the community, which alone can ensure the free and complete fulfilment of the human being, and they should therefore promote and protect an appropriate political, social and economic order for development.

3 States have the right and the duty to formulate appropriate national development policies 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.

Article 3

1 States have the primary responsibility for the creation of national and international conditions favourable to the realisation of the right to development.

2 The realisation of the right to development requires full respect for the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

3 States have the duty to co-operate with each other in ensuring development and eliminating obstacles to development. States should fulfil their rights and duties in such a manner as to promote a new international economic order based on sovereign equality, interdependence, mutual interest and co-operation among all states, as well as to encourage the observance and realisation of human rights.

Article 4

1 States have the duty to take steps, individually and collectively, to formulate international development policies with a view to facilitating the full realisation of the right to development.

2 Sustained action is required to promote more rapid development of developing countries. As a complement to the efforts of developing countries, effective international co-operation is essential in providing these countries with appropriate means and facilities to foster their comprehensive development.

Article 5

States shall take resolute steps to eliminate the massive and flagrant violations of the human rights of the peoples and individuals affected by situations such as those resulting from colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, all forms of racism and racial discrimination, foreign domination and occupation, aggression and threats against national sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity, threats of war and refusal to recognise the fundamental right of peoples to self-determination.

Article 6

1 All states should co-operate with a view to promoting, encouraging and strengthening universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without any distinction as to race, sex, language and religion.

2 All human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interdependent, equal attention and urgent consideration should be given to the

implementation, promotion and protection of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

3 States should take steps to eliminate obstacles to development resulting from failure to observe civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights.

Article 7

All states should promote the establishment, maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security and, to that end, should do their utmost to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control as well as to ensure that the resources released by effective disarmament measures are used for comprehensive development, in particular that of the developing countries.

Article 8

1 States should undertake, at the national level, all necessary measures for the realisation of the right to development and shall ensure, *inter alia*, equality of opportunity for all in their access to basic resources, education, health services, food, housing, employment and the fair distribution of income. Effective measures should be undertaken to ensure that women have an active role in the development process. Appropriate economic and social reforms should be made with a view to eradicating all social injustices.

2 States should encourage popular participation in all spheres as an important factor in development and in the full realisation of all human rights.

Article 9

1 All the aspects of the right to development set forth in this Declaration are indivisible and interdependent and each of them should be considered in the context of the whole.

2 Nothing in this Declaration shall be construed as being contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, or as implying that any state, group or person has a right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the violation of the rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenants on Human Rights.

Article 10

Steps should be taken to ensure the full exercise and progressive enhancement of the right to development, including the formulation, adopting and implementation of policy, legislative and other measures at the national and international level.