

## Challenges and Opportunities for Implementing the Declaration of the Right to Development

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### Abstract

The 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development was a milestone for both human rights and development. The Declaration recognizes that the right to development (RTD) is an inalienable human right and introduced an alternative and holistic approach to development that goes beyond the economic field to include social, cultural and political development. Although there are current concerns about the pace of progress in fulfilling the RTD, this Policy Brief examines the linkages of the right to development and different global initiatives tackling current challenges for different aspects of the RTD. This brief shows that there has been broader support by countries and people since 1986 to fulfill the RTD although much still needs to be done for addressing income and other inequalities while empowering people in the processes of formulating and implementing people-centered development policies. Despite challenges, the brief also examines some promising opportunities for the RTD.

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*La Déclaration sur le droit au développement de 1986 a marqué une étape importante à la fois pour les droits de l'homme et pour le développement. Elle consacre le droit au développement en tant que droit humain inaliénable et introduit une approche différente et holistique du développement qui va au-delà du développement économique pour inclure le développement social, culturel et politique. La présente note de synthèse, tout en faisant état des inquiétudes suscitées par la lenteur du processus de mise en œuvre de la Déclaration sur le droit au développement, examine les liens qui existent entre le droit au développement et les différentes initiatives lancées à l'échelle mondiale afin de répondre aux défis qui se posent en ce qui concerne certains aspects de la Déclaration. Elle montre que, depuis 1986, la Déclaration sur le droit au développement bénéficie d'un soutien de plus en plus large de la part des pays et des populations, même si beaucoup reste à faire pour remédier aux inégalités de revenus et autres et permettre aux populations de disposer des moyens d'élaborer et de mettre en œuvre des politiques de développement axées sur les peuples. En dépit des difficultés rencontrées, elle souligne les perspectives prometteuses qui s'ouvrent pour la Déclaration sur le droit au développement.*

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*La Declaración sobre el derecho al desarrollo de 1986 fue un hito para los derechos humanos y para el desarrollo. La Declaración reconoce que el derecho al desarrollo es un derecho humano inalienable, e introdujo un enfoque alternativo y holístico del desarrollo que va más allá del terreno económico para recoger también el desarrollo social, cultural y político. Aunque actualmente existen preocupaciones sobre el ritmo de los avances en la realización del derecho al desarrollo, en este informe de políticas se examinan los vínculos entre el derecho al desarrollo y las distintas iniciativas mundiales que hacen frente a los retos actuales respecto de diferentes aspectos del derecho al desarrollo. En el presente informe se indica que los países y las sociedades han brindado mayor apoyo desde 1986 para hacer efectivo el derecho al desarrollo, aunque aún queda mucho por hacer para abordar la desigualdad de los ingresos, entre otras, al tiempo que se empodera a la población en los procesos de formulación y aplicación de políticas de desarrollo centradas en las personas. A pesar de los retos, el informe también analiza algunas oportunidades prometedoras relativas al derecho al desarrollo.*

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The 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development<sup>1</sup> was a milestone for both human rights and development. The Declaration recognizes that the right to development (RTD) 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.”<sup>2</sup> As such, the Declaration was the first international instrument to explicitly express the individual as well as the collective right to development at a global level, emphasising the importance of inclusive participation in development both as a means and as a goal.

The Declaration introduced an alternative and holistic approach to development which goes beyond the economic field to include social, cultural and political development<sup>3</sup>. This approach aims at addressing the structural and systemic problems leading to inequality and marginalization of the poor and the vulnerable, and also stresses the ‘human person’ as the central subject i.e. the active participant and beneficiary of development. States have the duty to cooperate to create an enabling local and global environment for development and to eliminate obstacles to development. The RTD aims at addressing the structural and systemic problems leading to inequality and marginalization of the poor and the vulnerable.

The Right to development is a right by itself and it also serves as a means for the full enjoyment of all other rights. It is comprehensive, crosscutting and multidisciplinary in nature. This is well reflected in the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (Banjul Charter), which explicitly states that,

*“... it is henceforth essential to pay a particular attention to the right to development and that civil and political rights cannot be dissociated from economic, social and cultural rights in their conception as well as universality and that the satisfaction of economic, social and cultural rights is a guarantee for the enjoyment of civil and political rights;”<sup>4</sup>*

Full implementation of the RTD would require changes in various degrees to the existing economic, social, cultural, legal, fiscal, political systems and governance structures. It also requires financial resources and enhanced human capacity which take time to develop. Thus, to achieve the RTD is not an easy task. It cannot happen in a big bang manner and can only be realized through an incremental process.

Currently, there is pessimism, and concerns about the fulfillment of the RTD. Some people think there is little progress made with its implementation and a few even say that the RTD should be ‘dissolved’<sup>5</sup>. However, a closer examination, taking into consideration the progress made in the world which can be linked to or inspired by the right to development, would reveal a more optimistic picture. Such a panorama view would assess the fulfillment of the RTD beyond the achieve-

ments directly attributable to the various mechanisms on the Right to Development under the Human Rights Council including the Working Group on the Right to Development, Special Rapporteur on the Right to Development and the experts on the right to development. The design and implementation of the above initiatives actually also constitute global progress made in the implementation of the RTD as they have this right embedded in the action programmes. Although, much still needs to be done, they have demonstrated not only the broadening support by countries and people to the RTD but also the actual progress in achieving the goals of the RTD including addressing income inequality, other inequalities and also facilitated the empowering of people in the processes of formulating people-centred development policies.

### Progress Made in Implementing the RTD

The 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development was initiated by the developing countries. The declaration went through a voting procedure in the United Nations (UN) General Assembly with 146 countries in favour, 1 country (the United States) against and 8 countries abstaining (Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Sweden and the United Kingdom)<sup>6</sup>.

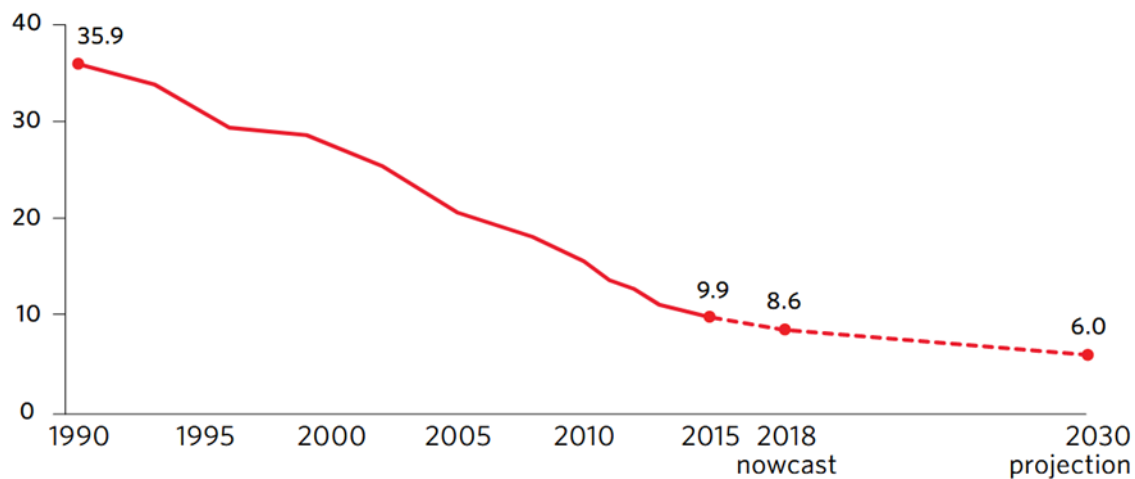
Seven years later, at the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights in 1993, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action was unanimously endorsed by UN Member States. It reaffirmed that the Right to Development is a universal and inalienable right and an integral part of fundamental human rights. This universal support was a remarkable achievement for the RTD, showing that the value and the concept of the RTD had been more broadly accepted in such a short period of time.

Another seven years later, the United Nations Millennium Declaration was adopted at the United Nations Millennium Summit held in 2000, with the presence of record numbers of Heads of States and Governments. The Millennium Declaration committed the international community to making the right to development a reality for everyone.<sup>7</sup>

The most outstanding achievement of the Millennium Development Goal (MDGs) was poverty alleviation, as the number of people living on less than \$1.90 a day had been reduced by more than 1 billion between 1990 and 2015 and under ideal circumstances, is projected to reach under 6% by 2030 (see Figure 1). Poverty, especially extreme poverty, goes beyond mere income deprivation and includes an array of social impairments and erosion of human rights, including those covered by the RTD. The multidimensional perspective of MDGs is consistent with the right to development as articulated in the RTD Declaration, and the eradication of extreme poverty is absolutely essential for realizing the Right to Development.

In 2015, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was adopted by the UN General Assembly<sup>8</sup>. The 2030 Agenda was informed by the RTD and it considerably reinvigorated the implementation of the RTD. The human

Figure 1: Proportion of people living below \$1.90 a day, 1990-2015, 2018 nowcast and 2030 projection (percentage)



Source: United Nations, The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2019, p. 22

(<https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2019/The-Sustainable-Development-Goals-Report-2019.pdf>)

rights principles and standards are therefore strongly reflected in this ambitious new global development framework. Sustainable development and inclusiveness are the corner stones of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in its three dimensions – economic, social and environmental – in a balanced and integrated manner<sup>9</sup>. In the fight for the RTD, it is necessary to also safeguard the right to development of our future generations, which would embody, *inter alia*, saving the planet from environmental degradation and fighting against all kinds of inequalities. Therefore, inter-generational equality and fairness have also been reflected in the 2030 Agenda:

*“We will implement the Agenda for the full benefit of all, for today’s generation and for future generations. In doing so, we reaffirm our commitment to international law and emphasize that the Agenda is to be implemented in a manner that is consistent with the rights and obligations of States under international law”<sup>10</sup>.*

The conceptualization of the RTD has gone far beyond the economic development agenda and has shaped discussions in several other areas including peace, disarmament and climate change, including *inter alia*, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030 of 2015 and the New Urban Agenda, adopted at the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III), of 2016.

In the area of disarmament and peace for example, the right to development has been an important element taken into consideration to reduce the arms race globally. During the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development of the United Nations in 1987, measures were discussed about how to divert resources to be released from disarmament to development and create favourable conditions for international, economic, scientific and technological cooperation. Indeed, the final document emphasized that resources released as a result from disarma-

ment “should be devoted to the promotion of the well-being of all peoples, the improvement of the economic conditions of the developing countries and the bridging of the economic gap between developed and developing countries.”<sup>11</sup> Although not using the language from the Declaration, the Final Document of the International Conference references the objective of ensuring “that the resources released by effective disarmament measures are used for comprehensive development, in particular that of the developing countries” as stated in Article 7 of the Declaration of the Right to Development. Thereafter, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) established the Group of Governmental Experts on the relationship between disarmament and development by resolution 57/65 of 22 November 2002 that recommended the international community to make reference on the contribution that disarmament could make in meeting the Millennium Development Goals in 2015, as well as the importance of the disarmament-development relationship itself<sup>12</sup>.

Similarly, the relationship between development and climate change and environmental protection is clearly reaffirmed in the concept of sustainable development. It is important to emphasize that the right to development has significantly influenced these discussions. For instance, the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development adopted by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 recognized that the “right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations.”<sup>13</sup> In order to do so, states must cooperate to achieve the eradication of poverty and to conserve, protect and restore the health and integrity of the Earth’s ecosystem<sup>14</sup>.

The Rio Declaration also introduced the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities considering the responsibility of developed countries that they “bear in the international pursuit of sustainable development in view of the pressures their societies place on the global environment and of the technologies and financial re-

sources they command.”<sup>15</sup> Similar language was included in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) that incorporates the obligation of States parties to cooperate to promote a “supportive and open international economic system that would lead to sustainable economic growth and development in all Parties, particularly developing country Parties [...]”<sup>16</sup> while “taking into full account the legitimate priority needs of developing countries for the achievement of sustained economic growth and the eradication of poverty.”<sup>17</sup> In the same line, the Paris Agreement establishes in its preamble that Parties to the Agreement should respect, promote and consider their respective obligations on human rights, including the right to development when taking action to address climate change.

In this context, the Declaration on the Right to Development has guided and shaped these discussions by considering that, at the international level, States have the obligation to cooperate among each other to “facilitate the realization of the process of development,”<sup>18</sup> which includes not only the objective of contributing to “the efforts of developing countries to solve their social and economic problems [...]”<sup>19</sup> but also the promotion of “equitable economic relations and a favourable economic environment at the international level [...]”<sup>20</sup> on the basis of sovereign equality, interdependence, mutual interest and co-operation among all States, as well as to encourage the observance and realization of human rights.

The fact that these instruments have upheld the spirit of the right to development shows the significant progress that discussions on the RTD have achieved throughout the years. On the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the RTD Declaration, the then United Nations Secretary-General (UNSG) Ban Ki-moon considered that in three decades since the adoption of the Declaration, the world has changed dramatically, in particular considering that emerging economies were major players in global trade and dynamics.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the UNSG also recognised that “developed and developing countries continued to struggle with problems ranging from financial crises to poverty, and equitable growth to rising inequality.”<sup>22</sup> In this context, the efforts that States have taken to achieve the full implementation on the right to development have now been reinvigorated through the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Declaration not only laid the ground for all of these processes, but it also has a future role in emphasizing the direction that current international efforts must take in order to eliminate extreme poverty, reduce inequalities and fight against climate change, while building resilience to climate change around the world.

Finally, one of the most important elements to consider when discussing the progress made in the recognition on the right to development is how it has been translated into the international principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capa-

bilities in the context of the UNFCCC.<sup>23</sup> The application of this principle, in conjunction with other international efforts reflected in this section, are an important illustration of the progress made in the implementation of the right to development, although much more is required for its full realization.

## Challenges to Implement the Declaration on the RTD

The world is currently facing unprecedented challenges in implementing the RTD. While the adoption of the MDGs and the SDGs marked the height of multilateralism in recent years, the situation has deteriorated significantly since then. However, when taking into consideration the developments in upholding the spirit of the RTD in various fields, it appears that important progress has been made so far, though not as much as we would wish it to be.

- **Multilateralism is under attack**, while nationalism and populism are on the rise. This is particularly visible in the area of international trade, which is an engine of growth for many countries and vulnerable groups. A rising tide of unilateral trade measures, a weakening multilateral trading system and growing protectionism are all adding to a slowdown in global economic growth and development. As the UNSG said, “Multilateralism is under fire precisely when we need it most”<sup>24</sup>. Further, disengagement on human rights and environmental protection fronts by some countries has taken place and this has its negative impact on the implementation of the RTD.

- **Climate change induced natural disasters threaten the survival of entire communities**, peoples and nations. As greenhouse gas emissions are increasing, global temperatures are rising at an unprecedented level. Sustainable development requires us to protect our habitats, our environment and reduce our carbon footprint so that the future generations’ wellbeing is not being compromised by the current irresponsible behaviour of some. However, climate change adaptation funds are not forthcoming to the extent needed<sup>25</sup> and technology transfer in the related areas has not taken place as required by the UNFCCC. It is imperative to address climate change crises with a view to promoting development, including through actions aimed at supporting robust economic growth, poverty eradication and sustainable development. Increasing and strengthening the inter-linkages among developing countries will be critical for providing momentum to their sustainable development efforts, reducing the growing inequalities and the complete eradication of extreme poverty.

- **Inequality has been widening**. The share of income going to the richest 1 per cent of the population increased in 59 out of 100 countries with data from 1990 to 2015 (see Figure 2). Financialization has facilitated the concentration of wealth in a few hands. With the post 2008 crisis expansionary monetary policies lasting for a long period of time and the low interest rate environment, search for yield has become a more prevailing phenomenon. The Special Rapporteur on the Right to Development, in his 2018 report

Figure 2: Share of income earned by the top 1 per cent, 1990 and 2015



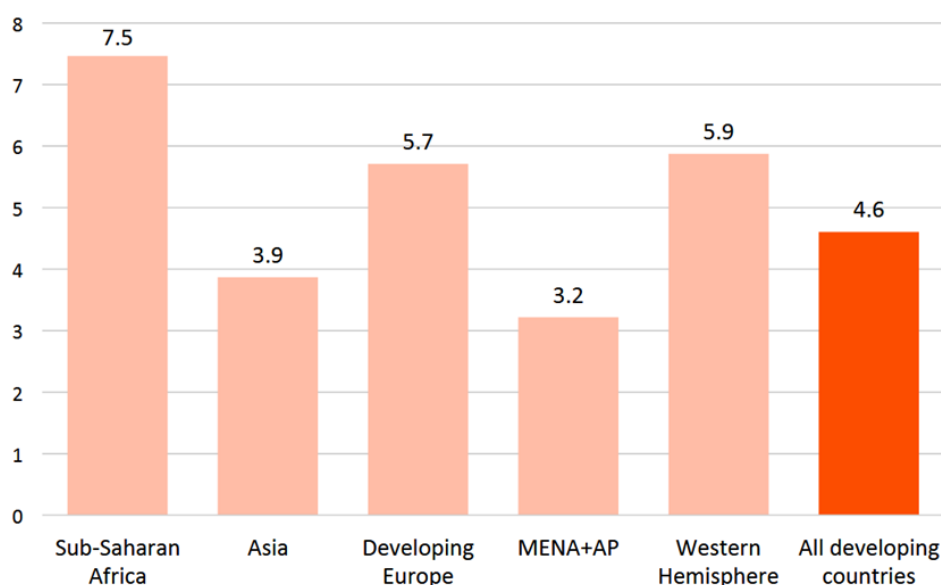
Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), World Social Report 2020, p.30 (<https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2020/02/World-Social-Report2020-FullReport.pdf>)

specifically explored the connection between the right to development and equality and examined the negative consequences of inequalities for the enjoyment of the right to development<sup>26</sup>. Furthermore, optimizing tax revenue is vital in addressing critical gaps for social development; nonetheless, “capital flight, tax avoidance and illicit financial flows all have social, environmental and economic and equity costs: they limit the fiscal space available to a government to carry out its core mandate of economic and social development.”<sup>27</sup>

• **Financing for development is also facing a number of challenges.** Illicit financial flows constitute a

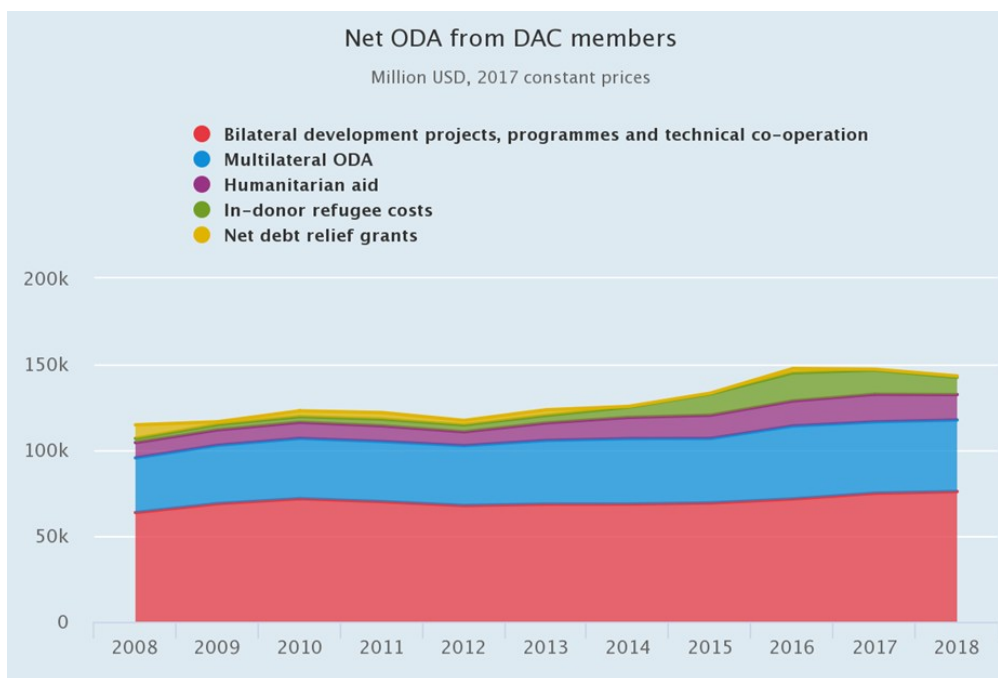
major problem for financing development initiatives in developing and least developed countries. As one United Nations Independent Expert has recognised, curtailing illicit financial flows should be seen as “a target in its own right, but also as an important means for making progress on many of the other targets in the Agenda 2030 (...)”<sup>28</sup>. There is a strong correlation between illicit financial flows and lower levels of development, higher levels of poverty and economic inequality.<sup>29</sup> The major means of illicit shifting of funds between developing and developed countries are through trade misinvoicing which has reached astronomical figures.<sup>30</sup> For Africa, the value lost to illicit financial flows is estimated at between USD 60 billion to 1 tril-

Figure 3: Estimates on Illicit Financial Outflows from Developing Countries (Low estimate as percent of total trade, averaged over the 2005-2014 period)<sup>32</sup>



Source: Global Financial Integrity using data from the International Monetary Fund

Figure 4: Net ODA from Development Assistance Committee (DAC) members



Source: OECD, Development Co-operation Profiles, (Paris, OECD Publishing, 2019) (<https://doi.org/10.1787/2dcf1367-en>)

lion annually.<sup>31</sup>

In parallel, although flows to developing countries remained stable, rising by 2 per cent in 2019,<sup>33</sup> there has been a decline in global foreign direct investment (FDI) flows. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), global FDI “slid by 13% in 2018, to US\$1.3 trillion from \$1.5 trillion the previous year – the third consecutive annual decline.”<sup>34</sup> This has been accompanied by a declining share of Official Development Assistance (ODA) going to the neediest countries, with foreign aid from official donors in 2018 falling 2.7% from 2017, according to preliminary data collected by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)<sup>35</sup>.

- **Unsustainable debt** is mounting in many countries, in particular some low income countries. Debt crisis often leads to erosion of human rights, economic reversal and widening of income inequality. For low income countries, over 40% of them are facing a high risk of debt distress or are in debt distress, compared to less than 30% in 2012<sup>36</sup>.

- **The international financial and economic crises and the resulting downturn** in global economic growth severely affect the economies of developing countries in particular. This is reflected, *inter alia*, through decrease in trade flows. This has been further compounded by a rising tide of unilateralism, which has negatively impacted on the Right to Development.

### Opportunities for Implementing the RTD

Alongside mounting challenges, there are also important opportunities for boosting the implementation

of the RTD.

**The 2030 Agenda provides renewed opportunities and potential for contribution to operationalizing the RTD.** The SDGs and the RTD have many commonalities. Both are people-centred, human rights-based, universal, comprehensive, put great emphasis on inclusiveness, have their focus on duties of States and both address systemic and structural issues and root causes of poverty and other social ills. The Right to Development is deeply interlinked with the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs as it addresses systemic and structural issues and root causes of poverty, inequality and conflict. Its effective implementation will help to reduce poverty and inequality, prevent conflict and promote progress, leaving no one behind, so that all individuals and peoples may live with freedom, equality and dignity and enjoy lasting peace. Being ambitious and transformative, SDGs seem difficult to be fulfilled on time and currently the progress towards many SDGs is off-track<sup>37</sup>. Nevertheless, the 2030 Agenda serves as a rallying point for countries, peoples and various stakeholders to fight for a common set of goals many of which overlap with the RTD.

**South-South Cooperation (SSC) is key for realizing the RTD** as SSC, as a complement to and not substitute for North-South Cooperation, has been increasing in size, sophistication and modalities. SSC shares some basic principles with the RTD such as equality, participation, leaving no one behind and others. In his report, the Special Rapporteur on the RTD has already highlighted the link between South-South cooperation, sustainable development and the right to development<sup>38</sup>. Through deepening and enriching South-South initiatives; including through undertaking concrete projects and programmes, pooling

of resources, taking advantage of the experiences and expertise of countries gained during their own development processes, SSC would promote economic development and well-being of the people in the southern countries. Triangular cooperation would offer further expanded pool of expertise and resources from mature economies, international organizations and other stakeholders. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) has also had concrete initiatives to promote South-South cooperation<sup>39</sup> and strengthening the role of NAM for ensuring the fulfillment of the right to development<sup>40</sup>.

**The ongoing discussions on the draft of a legally binding instrument on the RTD** elaborated in accordance with the Human Rights Council resolution 39/9<sup>41</sup>, open an opportunity for identifying the efforts made and the gaps in implementing the RTD, as well as to design a roadmap to address the obstacles to its realization. Therefore, and guided by the RTD all countries should engage in a constructive dialogue and positively contribute to the work of the Working Group on the Right to Development<sup>42</sup>.

## Conclusion

RTD, like the SDGs, has very ambitious goals which address the root causes of the current social and economic problems. The concept and principles of the RTD have been mainstreamed over the years and have shaped many international initiatives since the 1986 Declaration. Important progress has been made, even though the full realization of the RTD still seems remote. Concerted international efforts should be made in various fora in order to achieve the RTD. Pessimism would not facilitate the process. A realistic assessment of the challenges and opportunities facing the implementation of the RTD would be necessary for taking concrete and decisive actions to get us closer to the fulfillment of RTD.

The evolution in international law on the implementation of the Declaration on the Right to Development has shown that the right to development has been influential in the political discourse in various international fora, for instance, the UN climate change and human rights discussions.

The RTD provides an important basis for the development of public policies and international process towards the full enjoyment of human rights and, *inter alia*, the protection and preservation of our planet and the reduction of poverty and inequalities. While consolidating it as a right by itself, notably through negotiation of a legally binding instrument, the RTD may play an important role in supporting the implementation of the 2030 Agenda.

## Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> United Nations General Assembly, Declaration on the Right to Development: resolution / adopted by the General Assembly, 4 December 1986, A/RES/41/128.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development, Art. 1

<sup>3</sup> United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development, Art. 1

<sup>4</sup> African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Adopted 27 June 1981, OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, 21 I.L.M. 58 (1982), entered into force 21 October 1986)

<sup>5</sup> Arne Vandenberg, "The Right to Development in International Human Rights Law: A Call for its Dissolution," 20 April 2017. Available from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/016934411303100204?journalCode=nqha>.

<sup>6</sup> See Ragnar Hallgren, "The UN and the Right to Development," *Peace Research* Vol. 22/23, Vol. 22, no. 4/Vol. 23, no. 1 (Nov. 1990/Feb. 1991), pp. 31-41. Available from [www.jstor.org/stable/23609801](http://www.jstor.org/stable/23609801).

<sup>7</sup> Millennium Declaration, para. 11. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 55/2 of 8 September 2000.

<sup>8</sup> UN General Assembly, Transforming our world : the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, 21 October 2015, A/RES/70/1.

<sup>9</sup> 2030 Agenda, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> 2030 Agenda, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, *Report and Final Document* in <https://www.un.org/disarmament/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/A-CONF130-39-Report.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> Report of the Group of Governmental Experts on the relationship between disarmament and development, *The relationship between disarmament and development in the current international context*, UN Doc A/59/119 (2004) in <https://unidir.org/files/medias/pdfs/report-of-the-group-of-experts-eng-0-119.pdf>.

<sup>13</sup> Rio Declaration, Principle 3

<sup>14</sup> Rio Declaration, Principles 5 and 7

<sup>15</sup> Rio Declaration, Principle 7

<sup>16</sup> UNFCCC, Art. 3.5

<sup>17</sup> UNFCCC, Preamble

<sup>18</sup> Arjun Sengupta, "Right to Development as a Human Right," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 27 (Jul. 7-13, 2001), pp. 2527-2536.

<sup>19</sup> United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/54/175 (15 February 2000)

<sup>20</sup> United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/54/175 (15 February 2000)

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/ga11827.doc.htm>

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/ga11827.doc.htm>

<sup>23</sup> Imme Scholz, "Reflecting on the Right to Development from the Perspective of Global Environmental Change and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development," in *Sustainable Development Goals and Human Rights*, vol. 5, Markus Kaltenborn, Markus Krajewski and Heike Kuhn, eds. (Springer International Publishing, 2020), p. 191. Available from <http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-030-30469-0>.

<sup>24</sup> António Guterres, Address to the General Assembly, 25 September 2018. Available from <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2018-09-25/address-73rd-general-assembly>.

<sup>25</sup> See Harjeet Singh and Indrajit Bose, "History and Politics of Climate Change Adaptation at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change," South Centre Research Paper 89 (November 2018). Available from <https://www.southcentre.int/research-paper-89-november-2018/>.

<sup>26</sup> Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to development, 20 July 2018, A/HRC/39/51.

<sup>27</sup> Mariama Williams, "Gender, Tax Reform and Taxation Cooperation Issues: Navigating Equity and Efficiency under Policy Constraints," South Centre Tax Cooperation Policy Brief No. 9 (September 2019). Available from [https://www.southcentre.int/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/TCPB9\\_Gender-Tax-Reform-and-Taxation-Cooperation-Issues-Navigating-Equity-and-Efficiency-under-Policy-Constraints\\_EN-1.pdf](https://www.southcentre.int/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/TCPB9_Gender-Tax-Reform-and-Taxation-Cooperation-Issues-Navigating-Equity-and-Efficiency-under-Policy-Constraints_EN-1.pdf) (accessed 26.02.2020).

<sup>28</sup> Independent Expert on the effects of foreign debt and other related international financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights, Final Study on Illicit Financial Flows, Human Rights and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, United Nations Human Rights Council Doc. A/HRC/31/61. Available from <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/831668/?ln=en>.

<sup>29</sup> Global Financial Integrity, *Illicit Financial Flows to and from 148 Developing Countries: 2006-2015* (January 2019). Available from [https://secureservercdn.net/45.40.149.159/34n.8bd.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/IFF-Report-2019\\_11.18.19.pdf?time=1581835614](https://secureservercdn.net/45.40.149.159/34n.8bd.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/IFF-Report-2019_11.18.19.pdf?time=1581835614).

<sup>30</sup> Global Financial Integrity, *Illicit Financial Flows to and from 148 Developing Countries: 2006-2015* (2019). Available from

[https://secureservercdn.net/45.40.149.159/34n.8bd.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/IFF-Report-2019\\_11.18.19.pdf?time=1581835614](https://secureservercdn.net/45.40.149.159/34n.8bd.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/IFF-Report-2019_11.18.19.pdf?time=1581835614).

<sup>31</sup> African Union/Economic Commission for Africa Conference of Ministers of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, *Track it! Stop it! Get it! Report of the High Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa* (Addis Ababa, January 2015). Also referred to as the Mbeki Report.

<sup>32</sup> Global Financial Integrity, *Illicit Financial Flows to and from Developing Countries: 2005-2014* (April 2017), p.8. Available from [https://secureservercdn.net/45.40.149.159/34n.8bd.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/GFI-IFF-Report-2017\\_final.pdf?time=1581835614](https://secureservercdn.net/45.40.149.159/34n.8bd.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/GFI-IFF-Report-2017_final.pdf?time=1581835614).

<sup>33</sup> UNCTAD *World Investment Report 2019* (UNCTAD/WIR/2019).

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<sup>38</sup> Right to development, Note by the United Nations Secretary-General, document of the United Nations General Assembly A/73/271 (30 July 2018).

<sup>39</sup> See for instance, Side-event in preparation for the XVIII Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement on Promoting Peace and Sustainable Development through South-South and Triangular Cooperation, 23rd October 2019, Baku, Azerbaijan.

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