
UNIT 7 DEVELOPMENT, DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 End of Cold War and Shifts in International Economic/ Trade Relations
- 7.2 The 'Cruel Dilemma' between Bread and Freedom
- 7.3 Studies in Inter-relationship between Democracy, Development and Human Rights
- 7.4 Quality of Development – a Factor in Democracy
- 7.5 Development: An Integrated Concern
- 7.6 Strengthening Human Rights: Reconciling Liberty with Equality
- 7.7 Milestones in Human Rights-Centered Development
 - 7.7.1 The Banjul Charter and the Arusha Charter
 - 7.7.2 UN Initiatives: Integrating Human Rights with Sustainable Development
 - 7.7.3 UNDP's efforts
- 7.8 Is the Current Human Rights – Centered Approach Pro-Western?
 - 7.8.1 Who can Enforce Rights?
- 7.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 7.10 Key Words
- 7.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

7.0 OBJECTIVES

Reading this unit will make you understand:

- how have Development, Democracy and Human Rights become inter-related,
- more about inter-relationship between liberty and equality,
- essence of human rights-centred notion of 'Development' and various milestones in its evolution,
- different Human Rights Charters that have provided institutional and programmatic basis to its effective realization.

7.1 END OF COLD WAR AND SHIFTS IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC/ TRADE RELATIONS

The end of Cold War triggered major changes in the international economic relationships. The first change was the triumph of the international financial institutions, particularly the World Bank and the IMF over the UN economic agencies especially UNDP after decades of rivalry. The former came around to the view that development is more than economic growth and the economic thinking of the fifties and the sixties were therefore not correct. But it is fifty years already past. And those who espoused such points of view like Third World countries and UNDP have been eclipsed. This is popularly known as *Washington Consensus* which reflected a united stand of Washington-based institutions like World Bank, IMF and of course, the government of USA.

The second change was the beginning of a new consensus on the importance of free markets as the foundation of economic development. Critics call it 'free market religion' since as *Prof. Noam Chomsky* and others have argued, acceptance of 'free market as the foundation of economic

development' is based more on a 'faith' than on 'empirical evidences'. It has been forced on people, particularly the Third World political leaders. With the disintegration of the Soviet model of the centralized planning (command economy), a noticeable change came in the economic debates. The shift has come about from an earlier position of 'planning' (socialist) vs free market (capitalist) to a new plane in which the debates centre around degrees of relaxation in government control and intervention in the national economies. Once again, the lead in this direction was provided by the World Bank in conjunction with a purposefully created European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (1991) for facilitating transition of the Central and East European (former Communist) countries into free-market economies.

Probably the most critical change was taking place in donor countries' thinking regarding future shape of international relationship (particularly economic) following the end of the Cold War and decline of ideological confrontation. This trend was contained in the 1989 Report of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development then consisting of 27 developed countries of the world, the figure has risen to 34 now) which reflected the state of things to come in the 1990s.

The 1989 OECD Report argued that "a quiet revolution may be in process which can have profound implications for development. While economic and political monopolies of power will resist this revolution, and while history tells us that there will be both backward and forward movements, we seem to be in a period when democratic processes are advancing. This phenomenon is reflected in donor thinking about development cooperation in 1990". (P.17)

Evidences in this direction of development - democracy integration came up quietly one after another, almost the same time around. We have, for example, Prof. Samuel P. Huntington's researches on "Third Wave of Democracy" to tell us that nearly forty countries have turned to democracy in the past two decades and "since the early 1970s, only four or five of the new democracies have returned to authoritarian rule".

If democracy has come to stay, we have the UNDP's famous 1993 Human Development Report establishing a close correlation between levels of development and the enjoyment of basic freedoms and democratic institutions. The same year (1993) the World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna was working up to a mandate given to it by the General Assembly and this mandate was to sincerely examine the **interrelationship between development and human rights**. While declaring Right to Development as 'inalienable', the Vienna Declaration mentioned in Article 10 that **"lack of development cannot be invoked as a ground for denial of human rights."**

Check your progress I

1. What were the major changes in international economic/ trade relations after the end of the Cold War!
.....
.....
.....
2. State whether the following are True or False:
 - (a) Soviet model of economic planning was based on free market philosophy.
 - (b) The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was created to lead the former socialist countries in Central Europe on to a capitalist path.

3. Which of the following statements is **Correct** about the 1989 OECD Report?
- (a) It predicted that the donor countries would be guided henceforth by considerations of democracy while dealing with the developing countries.
 - (b) It predicted the oncoming of revolutions in developing countries.
 - (c) It stressed the importance of capitalism to the development of the world.

Illustrations: Box. 1

- A Bkef look at the Reports and what they say:
- 1989 Report of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development - predicted the necessity for donor countries to take the development angle into consideration before they gave aid to the developing countries.
 - 1993 Human Development Report - established close correlation between levels of development and the progress of basic freedoms, growth of democratic institutions.
 - 1993 World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna - Article 10 of the declaration said 'lack of development cannot be a ground for denial of human rights'.

Illustration: Box. 2

- What does INTEGRATING Human Rights with Development mean?
- Protection of Human Rights
 - Poverty eradication.
 - Realization of: Human Rights for Sustainable Human Development.

7.2 THE 'CRUEL DILEMMA' BETWEEN BREAD AND FREEDOM

The relationship between Development & Democracy has often been confused to mean 'one at the expense of another'. This is the 'old thinking' on development which believed that a strong hand of a dictator is only capable of taking hard decisions necessary in the developing countries. This thinking dates back to the early sixties. .

Bread or Freedom? appeared as a 'cruel dilemma' for the national planners. The present generation who subscribes to this view would love to quote examples of growth (rather miraculous growth), experienced in countries like Taiwan, Hong Kong (as it then was), Singapore, Republic of Korea and China recently. They are classified as 'autocracies'. Even some countries experienced hard economic decisions taken by their 'unelected Prime Ministers', which were difficult for their elected counterparts. Examples cited are Moeon Qureshi of Pakistan who during his three months in office could slash budget deficits and introduce several hard measures for cleaning the corrupt system. Similarly, Anand Panyasachun of Thailand has been credited with cutting tariffs and reducing the all-powerful army's business clout etc. Both Qureshi and Anand were good administrators with, however, an important personal background in common. While the former was a Vice-President of the World Bank, the latter was the former Thai ambassador to Washington.

Can we hold out the example of these good administrators as evidences against elected governments or democracies? Some may still argue that the better-performing autocracies in South Korea and Taiwan could succeed in transiting into democracies afterwards. Why not then prefer autocracies over democracies, if the transition from the former into the latter is possible?

But why at all, South Korean and Taiwanese autocratic regimes "decided" to go democratic? Violent state repressions of popular strikes led by the students could not be continued longer and these pressures, rather than 'benevolence' of the autocrats, substantively explain for the decision to go democratic'. By any count, there are more tyrants who have remained unsuccessful in economic and social fields than those who became successful.

7.3 STUDIES IN INTER-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Many scholarly views suggest that development and democracy are not really strange bed-fellows though causality in their inter-relationships is suspect. Recent econometric studies have established that "this is probably of a *functional* and not *generic* nature'. (Monojit Chatterjee: *World Development* Vol. 21.No12, 1993). *Surajit Bhalla* has studied 90 countries (in the period 1973-90) about development which meant to him economic growth and social progress. He came to the conclusion that "civil and political freedom promote growth and social indicators better than autocracy". *John Williamson* looked at 13 countries which went for radical economic reforms involving transitional difficulties for their citizens. Of them, he found at least six democratic countries as radically determined, if not more so, than four authoritarian countries. In any case, he found that the reforms were necessitated by the economic ruin caused by the previous autocratic regimes.

Prof. Jagdish Bhagwati offers an operational definition of democracy to include

- (i) right to vote and to turn out governments,
- (ii) an independent judiciary,
- (iii) a free press.

Such a democracy according to him is conducive to development, because it has been found that:

- (a) democracies have rarely gone to war against each other.,
- (b) whereas authoritarian regimes "bottle up" people's problems, democracies provide "safety valves" for venting them out.

Prof. Mancur Olson argues, "a dictator may be interested in maximizing loot, subject to keeping the economy going whereas a democratic leader, of necessity, has to share the booty with the constituencies of voters". In other words, a money-grabbing democrat is less costly for the economy than a money-grabbing dictator, since the democrat shares the loot with the constituents like farmers or trade unions (their leaders, at least) while the despot may send it all to the Swiss Banks. Therefore the economy is liable to be adversely affected under a dictatorship.

7.4 QUALITY OF DEVELOPMENT — A FACTOR IN DEMOCRACY

The **quality of democracy** is also important since it also affects quality of development. Neither development nor democracy is free from corrupting tendencies. Since both development and democracy are inter-connected, quality of one impinges on the quality of the other. A case in point is *Amartya Sen's* famous argument of why and how famines could be controlled in India. His study says that in India people were allowed freedom to express their opinions and were given an opportunity to put their positive thinking into actual use whereas Mao's China didn't allow either. But democracies can also "create waste, even paralysis of useful state action," through lobbying activities of various vested and special interest groups. A quality democracy

which substantially impacts the quality of development is founded on "the incentive and the ability to vote, to mobilize and to be heard" (on the part of the people). Modern information technologies and para-governmental bodies like NGOs and Peoples' Organizations which have sprung up, can dynamize this process of quality infusion into democracies to promote healthy development.

Going through this route, **Prof. Bhagwati** seeks to resolve "the cruel dilemma" between bread and freedom (referred to in the previous section), which he and fellow economists faced during the fifties and sixties. He came to the conclusion that *"to choose between democracy and development was too simple-minded" and evidences now suggest that this "relationship between the two is far more textured, and less unfavorable to democracy, than we thought then."*

Check Your Progress 2

1. What issue has come to be known as the "Cruel Dilemma"?
.....
.....
.....
2. Which of the following is not a necessity in Prof. Jagdish Bhagwati's definition of Democracy?
(a) right to vote.
(b) right to own private property.
(c) right to hold one's opinion.
(d) an independent judiciary.
.....
.....
.....
3. Why do thinkers like Prof. Bhagwati and Prof. Mancur Olson opine that democracy is a better way for ensuring development?
.....
.....
.....
4. How is quality of democracy related to the quality of development?
.....
.....
.....
5. Can dictatorship be an alternative to democracy?
.....
.....
.....

7.5 DEVELOPMENT: AN INTEGRATED CONCERN

In the previous section, we understood why democracy brings about development and what authoritarian governments cannot achieve. Democracy, we read, acquires real meaning only when human rights and human-centredness are followed when we discuss about Development. But what is Development? What is Right to Development?

The meaning of Development has grown and has acquired a new set of connotations. After years of debates, it is recently accepted that development is "an inalienable human right". Thus, the **UNDP** Policy Document of 1998 supports this approach and defines *development as "multi-dimensional, integrated, dynamic and progressive". Its realization involves full observance of all human rights - civil, political as much as social, economic and cultural.* It addresses all concerns - environment, peaceful co-existence, poverty and persistent social and economic inequalities. It is human-centred development in which human beings occupy the centre of activities which constitute the responsibility of "all actors in development" within the international community, within States at both the national and international levels and within the UN system as such. Each human being has thus a right to development, as Gandhi said, till the last drop of the tear is wiped out from the last person on this earth. Development in this sense is all-encompassing. In the words of the UN Secretary General, "The right to development is the measure of the respect of all other human rights. *That should be our aim: a situation in which all individuals are enabled to maximize their potential, and to contribute to the evolution of society as a whole.*"

How would individuals who make and advance the societies be 'governed' for realization of their best **potentials**? Various recipes have been suggested, and most of them have pointed at one form of democracy or another.

Samuel Huntington who pioneered such type of studies holds the view that rapid economic growth creates conditions for political mobilization and participation which, in their turn, provide a basis for democratization.

Take the case of the oil-rich countries of West Asia. Concentration of wealth in a few hands there is positively associated with lack of democracy and insufficient protection of human rights. Developed countries of the West, on the other hand, show a high level of association between development and democracy. They also hold no less for the developing countries, Prof. **Vanhanen** would argue. This is so because if a developing country chooses to establish and maintain democratic institutions, relevant power resources will be distributed widely, as well.

Check Your Progress 3

1. Define 'Development'.
.....
.....
.....
2. Who among the following argued that rapid economic growth would lead towards more democratization?
 - (a) Samuel Huntington
Jagdish Bhagwati
 - (c) Amartya Sen
 - (d) Vanhanen

3. Which among the following is a correct statement?
- (a) Concentration of wealth in a few families creates opportunities for development.
 - (b) Peoples' participation in ruling lead to anarchy.
 - (c) There is no relationship between Dictatorship and Human Rights.
 - (d) Lack of Development leads to denial of Human Rights.

7.6 STRENGTHENING HUMAN WIGHTS: RECONCILING LIBERTY WITH EQUALITY

Human rights - centred view of democracy seeks to bring about a wholesome arrangement in which principles of liberty are reconciled with principles of equality. For a developing country like ours, considerations of equality would require that socio-economic and cultural needs of the people are no less important than the civil and political freedoms. The challenge is: the entire development process, principally the actors on the scene - the State, the international community, the civil society and above all, the UN agencies - must assume this daunting responsibility.

7.7 MILESTONES IN HUMAN RIGHTS-CENTERED DEVELOPMENT

Before we come to the State's responsibilities / obligations, it will be instructive to know the milestones of achievements in this direction:

1. **The Banjul Charter, 1986.**
2. **The Arusha Charter 1990.**
3. **Programmes of the International Organizations:**
 - (a) Agenda for Development of the UN General Assembly (November 1997).
 - (b) Recommendations of the Third Working Group on Right to Development of the UN (July 1998).
 - (c) UNDP Document, "Integrating Human Rights with Sustainable Human Development" (1998).
 - (d) UN Secretary General's report to the UN General Assembly, "Renewing the UN: A Programme for Reform".

7.7.1 The Banjul charter

The **Banjul Charter** is the famous **African Charter of Human and People's Rights** adopted in **1986** which stands out among all its counterparts for two specific contributions, viz.,

- (i) It is the only place where the 'rights of peoples' have been recognized and established formally and legally as collective rights in an international treaty.
- (ii) It is the only 'binding' international human rights treaty which has recognized the right to development. Article 22 of the Charter mentions unambiguously about this:
 - a. All people 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 humankind.
 - b. States shall have the duty, individually or collectively, to ensure the exercise of the Right to 'Development.'"

The Arusha Charter

The **Arusha Charter** is another unique achievement as it was an outcome of joint efforts by 500 representatives from a combination of diverse sectors - NGOs, African governments, donor

countries, UN agencies etc. It is known as the **African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation** and was adopted in February 1990. According to the **Arusha Charter**, it is imperative for transformation of the society that people take initiative through non-governmental institutions, grassroots organizations and the like which are based on voluntary membership, are democratically organized and are rooted in African tradition and culture. In this way one can guarantee independent development "from the bottom up". In the model set out in the **Arusha Charter**, non-state voluntary sectors have a primary "extra-constitutional" right to participation, and in the case of this being withheld or violated, the international community is entitled to provide support for its realization. This is the highest that the voluntary peoples' initiatives could ever be elevated.

The African experiments as can be seen have always been a step ahead: they are engaged in protection of human rights which is a big step ahead of mere promotional initiatives.

7.7.2 UN Initiatives: Integrating Human Rights with Sustainable Development

The central thrust of the UN initiatives in this sphere lay in effectively integrating efforts for development with those for observance and promotion of human rights. The perspective and the achievements in this field have been discussed in the Unit on Right to Development. However, we may note that a global strategy has been formulated which aimed at making the Declaration on Right to Development (1986) applicable and realizable. Mention may be made here that a consensus had been achieved at a global level on the concept of development with the adoption of the **Agenda for Development** by the UN General Assembly in November 1997. This global consensus centred around the interwoven nature of development and human rights. The Agenda notes:

"Respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms, democratic and effective institutions, combating corruption, transparent representative and accountable governance, popular participation, an independent judiciary, the rule of law and civil peace are among the indispensable foundations for development."

In order to implement this view so that Right to Development is meaningfully realized, the Third Working Group on Right to Development submitted its recommendation to the UN Economic and Social Council in July 1998 containing the following prominent suggestions:

For the States

- Legislative reforms to ensure that treaty laws take precedence over domestic laws.
- Adoption of socio-economic measures to avoid exclusion of marginalized groups and protection of local cultures.
- Measures to ensure that the poor and the vulnerable groups have access to resources to fulfil their basic needs.
- Respect for all human rights for all and ratification of human rights treaties.

For the UN system

- Establishment of a comprehensive set of human rights indicators.
- Increased UN initiatives and interventions to reduce social and economic inequities, for which the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights should enter a dialogue with premier institutions like World Bank, IMF and other financial institutions.
- UN monitoring of political and popular participation.
- Overcoming problems arising out of coordinating international trading system with the Right to Development.

These suggestions were hailed by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson in the following words:

"Human rights bring to the development discussion a unifying set of standards - a common reference for setting objectives and assessing the value of action".

7.73 UNDP's efforts

A quick but a positive development was the acceptance of the principle of integrating human rights with development. In her message to the launching of this document "Integrating **Human Rights** with Sustainable Human Development", the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson wrote, "the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) promotes international standards established to protect the human rights of every individual. I welcome this approach by which human rights has acquired a powerful new advocate".

Through **adopting** such an **integration**, UNDP has placed its commitment to human rights at three levels:

- (a) Poverty eradication
- (b) **Realization** of Human Rights for Sustainable Human Development
- (c) Good governance

Firstly, this **UNDP's mandate** for eradicating poverty has been understood in terms of full realization of Right to Development. "Poverty is a brutal denial of human rights. Thus by working to eradicate poverty, by supporting the antipoverty capacity of governments and civil society organizations, and by ensuring that United Nations operational activities for **development** are fully coordinated for the eradication of poverty, UNDP is *fostering the implementation of the Right to Development*".

Secondly, UNDP advocates realization of human rights as part of *Sustainable Human Development (SHD)*, *an approach that places people at the centre of development*. UNDP has identified in this connection four main areas of SHD, and they relate to:

- a) Eliminating **poverty** and sustaining livelihoods.
- b) Promoting advancement of women.
- c) Protecting and regenerating the environment.
- d) Developing capacity for good governance.

Thirdly, more of its programming activities will be devoted to **good** governance and they include activities like reforming legislatures, increasing **efficiency** of the executive and strengthening the judiciary and those which seek to promote transparency, accountability, decentralization, and above all, **implementation** of rule of law. While strengthening these governing institutions, UNDP would seek to promote capacity - development of such institutions through **making** available necessary training and education.

Further, every UN agency has a responsibility to promote and protect the **human** rights which however are a specific mandate of the office of the UN High Commissioner **for Human Rights**.

UN Secretary General Report: Integration of human rights with UN activities and **programmes** has been re-affirmed by the Secretary-General Kofi Annan in his report to **the** General Assembly, 'Renewing the United Nations: A Programme for Reform'.

In order to make it realizable, the UN Agencies have identified and adopted three duties for implementation. These duties are the same as were suggested by the famous Norwegian human

rights thinker and activist Asbjorn Eide,

the duty to respect,
the duty to protect, and
the duty to fulfil.

7.8 IS THE CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS — CENTERED APPROACH PRO-WESTERN?

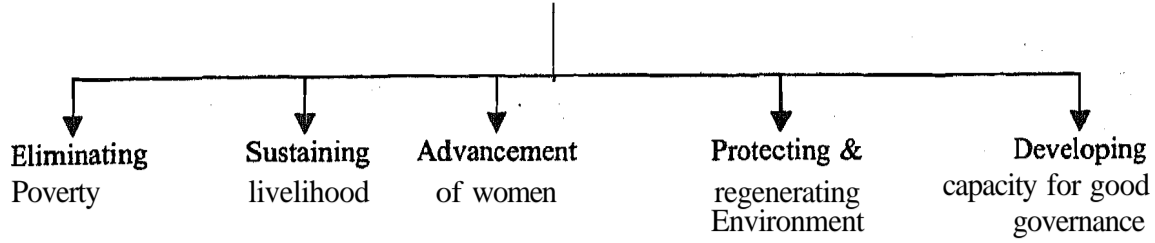
There has been a general feeling that it is so because 'democratization' has peculiarly been designed and worded to suit the western conceptions. Sometimes, such a phrasing tends to ignore the local, uniqueness of social and political compulsions of the developing countries.

Elsenhans summarises it as "democratization becomes the enhanced presence of the Western industrial countries through their multilateral fiscal aid and development agencies". The policy prescriptions are compatible with and rooted in the neo-liberal political philosophy of the western industrial countries. A few of such lately often heard prescriptions are: 'good governance' and 'civil society'. *All these three expressions of policy prescription, namely democratization, good governance and civil society, constitute the key elements in the neo-liberal philosophy.* The neo-liberal philosophy seeks to undermine the importance of the State as a protector of the lives of its citizens from the fetters of the State control and regulations. 'Good governance' aims to politically manage those affairs of the State which the latter cannot handle efficiently. It may be noticed that 'good' always accompanies governance impliedly, 'good' are those criteria which have been prescribed by the developed, donor countries. The formal expression 'governance' actually has come from the World Bank (1992) whose articles of agreement debar it, from entertaining political considerations for aid giving. But this digression into the political field appears to have been taken under the compulsions of a neo-liberal ideology which is **fundamentally** opposed to the institution of State including the Welfare State. The more the state can be discredited in this way, the more justified is the devolution of its powers **downwardly** into the private sectors and **outwardly** into the **transactional** sectors of the capital. These phenomena are increasingly becoming evident in the Third World Societies and are known as 'localization' / 'decentralization', and 'globalization' respectively. Ian Smillie, a veteran of grass roots experience tells us about the choice of the word 'governance'. He says, "Donors have often skirted suggestions that a recipient country might possibly have a bad government though a good ally in the field of international policies,. The stress on 'governance' is more of an **anodyne**, having less to do with specific cases of corruption, tyranny, & repression, & more to do with a clinical management or "governing"according to some criteria set by the donors'.

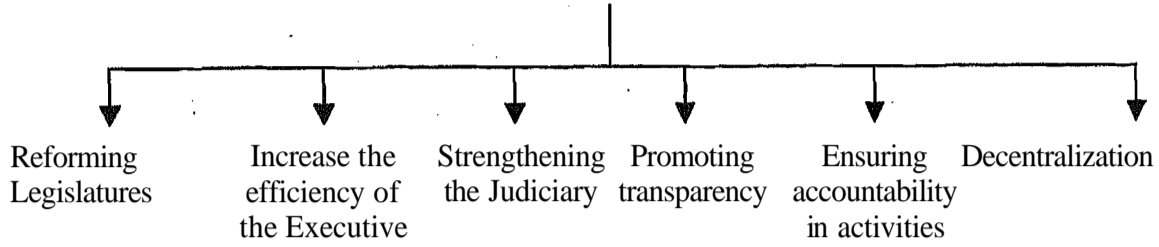
7.8.1 Who can Enforce Rights?

Who can force states to respect, protect and fulfill important obligations which are enshrined in **Article 28** of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? Certainly, not the Western Powers, though they can contribute substantially if there is a change of Popular control exercised through periodic free and fair election is one answer. In this connection, it is worth recognizing the importance of an optional Protocol for socio-economic rights similar to the one for civil and political rights. Some serious efforts are being made to campaign for such a protocol. Because it is felt that social security (like food, clothing, shelter) are as important as civil security (protection against torture, unlawful detention, and political harassment by the state agencies) in Developing States.

Realization of Human Rights for Sustainable Human Development.

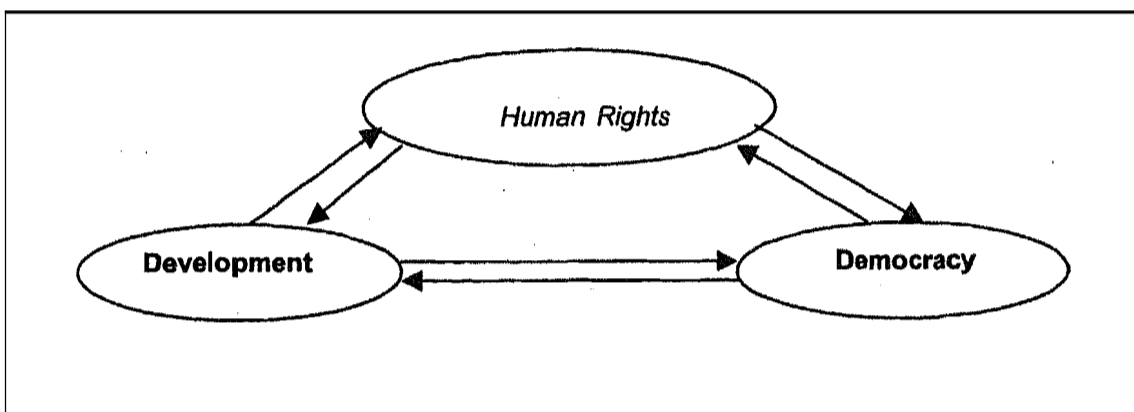


Good governance means



How would good governance be ensured?

Imparting training and education.



Human Rights is the centre of Development & Democracy

7.9 LET US SUM UP

We have studied how *states* and *international organizations* have begun to accept human-centeredness in Development as the main program in their policies. Previously, when a country achieved economic growth, it was considered to have helped the citizens, howsoever corrupt and dictatorial, policy makers were. But, social and economic thinkers have proved that real and sustained democracy cannot be achieved if that State suppressed the democratic aspirations and individual freedoms of the citizens. Autocracies usually tended to be helping only the ruling groups and not the common citizens. After the end of the Cold war in the **1990s**, the hitherto suppressed national, cultural and ethnic aspirations of the people and communities came into the

open, thereby compelling the powers to take notice of the need for evolving an integrated approach to the issues of Human Rights and Development. Questions like 'good governance', 'democratisation', and 'civil society' were emphasized to give more weightage to the individuals and non-state actors and forces. African countries immediately responded to the prevailing international opinion and came up with the African Charter of Human and People's Rights and the Banjul Charter. What was unique about them was their insistence on placing human groups and individuals at the centre of the agenda of the governments and holding the governments responsible for safeguarding citizen's rights and bringing about development in the way their people desired. European countries too placed increasing importance on human rights - centered development. Though each continent responded differently, yet the underlying concern was to bring about an awareness of Human Rights. But the western countries began to pressurize the developing states to understand the issues of human rights and development in the light of their own perception and made such compliance a prerequisite for giving aid to them. Some UN agencies are opposed to this but since the West is the largest donor for the UN's operations, the UN remains helpless.

The approach of the developing countries is giving priority to social security measures over civil security measures. This has to be understood by the West so that Human Rights - Centered - Development concerns can be promoted and protected meaningfully in the new century.

1. How are the Arusha and Banjul charters different from the other charters?
.....
.....
2. What is the essence of SFD?
.....
.....
3. Indicate three duties of the State which have now been assumed by the UN system.
.....
.....

7.10 KEY WORDS

Autocracy	- absolute government by one person, dictatorship.
Anodyne	- a pain killer which is used in all ailments.
Bottle-up	- put under curb.
Clout	- Influence.
Daunting	- discouraging
Lobbying	- the act of influencing legislators by interested group of people
Multi dimensional	- dealing with many aspects
Neo-liberalism	- a political philosophy which emphasizes on the role of free market against the state as engines of development.
Recipe	- a suggestion for achieving some thing.
Safety valves	- safe way out
Skirted	- avoid
Texure	- arranged

7.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1. Major changes that took place after the end of the Cold War in the 1990s were: the demise of the Soviet Union, the dismantling of the Communist - ruled Eastern bloc, and strengthening of the philosophy of free market. Neo-liberalism which emphasized de-control of the centrally structured economic systems, supports growth of the 'civil society' (non-governmental structures) and dilution of authority of State etc. are the hall marks of the new era.
- 2.(a) False
(c) True
- 3.(a) is correct.

Check Your Progress 2

1. Whether 'food' is more important or 'freedom'? Actually, this is a wrong way of posing the question since one is not necessarily at the expense of the others.
2. (b)
3. Democracies have ensured responsibility on the part of their rulers and have prevented monopolization of gains by a few members. The rulers are compelled to share wealth with peoples' representatives. See the text also.
4. A good democracy, where people are allowed freedom to implement what they think good and suitable for their own good, ensures a better standard of development. Since it is the people themselves who understand and manage their own resources in the way they think ideal, they develop interest in getting the best under the circumstances. Responsibility increases with encouragement given to local level (grass roots) leadership.
5. No. Because studies by Profs. Bhagwati, Olson and Amartya Sen have shown that dictatorships meant no participation by the local people, a high level of corruption, no transparency in decisions taken because they were at a distance from the people. Absence of questioning from the people turned leaders into irresponsible power - crazy individuals who looked to the country for their selfish ends only.

Check Your Progress 3

1. An integrated, multi-dimensional approach which addresses more concerns than mere economic growth. UNDP Policy Document of 1998.
2. (a)
3. (d)

Check Your Progress 4

1. The 'Right of Peoples' have been formally recognized and made binding on the signatories to enforce them. They have also expressly recognized the Right to Development. The Arusha Charter was prepared with the involvement of the NGOs, UN agencies, donor agencies, besides the governments.
2. People at the centre of development.
3. The duties to respect, protect & fulfil,