

# Law and Our Rights

"All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law"-Article 27 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

## Law Reforms in the Light of International Human Rights Norms

By Justice Naimuddin Ahmed

This is not an isolated occurrence in Bangladesh. In the Indian sub-continent alone half the population do not have any toilet to ease. Millions do not have even one meal a day. Many more do not have any roof over their heads. 80% in the sub-continent live on less than two US dollars a day. The beautifully coined international human rights instruments have no meaning or significance to these deprived millions, to the eight-year old boy who escorts the beggar in the street corner of Dhaka or New Delhi or Islamabad from 6 in the morning till 10 in the evening, to the eight-year old girl standing on the highway with her two-year old brother in her lap, her face representing the starving millions around the globe.

In February last year I had an opportunity to meet Lord Irvine of Lairg, the Lord Chancellor of England, at his office at the House of Lords. He asked me a pertinent question as to whether, in enacting law, Bangladesh adheres to the principles enshrined in various international human right instruments. I did not give a straight reply because I was never associated with the process of law-making, except by way of interpretation, as a judge is often required to do. I replied in a circuitous way that the courts in Bangladesh always prefer such interpretation, particularly in grey areas, conforming to human rights norms. I also apprised him that while suggesting reforms (either by way of enactment of new law or amendment or repeal of any existing law), the Law Commission certainly takes care to see that its recommendations conform to, and do not conflict with, the international human rights instruments.

There are, to my knowledge (up to 18 December 1992) ninety-five international human rights instruments, which include Declarations, Covenants, Conventions, Protocols, etc. Bangladesh is a state-party to only nine of them which are as follows:

1) International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

2) International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid

3) Convention on the Rights of the Child

4) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

5) Slavery Convention

6) 1953 Protocol amending the 1926 Convention

7) Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery

8) Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of Prostitution of Others.

### The British Experience

The constitutional and legal positions in respect of international instruments, treaties etc. (including the human rights instruments adopted by the world community) are by no means uniform, but diverse and different in different countries, although they are generally adopted by consensus of nations. The internationalisation of basic human rights and their consequent enforcement by the world community against nation-states still remains a far cry from the ultimate aims, even 399 years after Grotius propounded his thesis that when the Sovereign of a state persistently trampled upon the basic human rights of his subjects, it became an international issue. So, enforcement of

the basic human rights norms largely remains the responsibility of the violators of those rights, acting merely on subjective satisfaction as in the case of Liversidge. In the words of the lone voice of the only dissenting Law Lord, in matters of the basic human rights of a subject, the right to liberty and freedom, even the judges were more executive than the Executive itself. International human rights norms have, however, entered into English courts through judgements of the European Court of Human Rights which are enforced by the Government as a member of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The English judges also follow the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights unless they are inconsistent with any law made by Parliament. So, statutory law passed by the British Parliament prevails over rights recognised by the international human rights instruments. I also apprised him that while suggesting reforms (either by way of enactment of new law or amendment or repeal of any existing law), the Law Commission certainly takes care to see that its recommendations conform to, and do not conflict with, the international human rights instruments.

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or which shall be made under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding:

The result of the above provision is that a treaty has the same status in the United States as a federal law. By a series of decisions this provision of the US Constitution has been interpreted to mean that (a) where a treaty is self-executing, it becomes operative without requiring any legislation to implement it and it would prevail over any federal law enacted prior to it, but federal legislation enacted subsequent to it would be deemed to have repealed the conflicting treaty, however, the courts start with a presumption against such repeal; (b) if a treaty is not self-executing, courts cannot enforce it until it is implemented by a valid law. In another case, it was held that although the UN Charter has no binding legal effect and is non-self-executing, as it embodied the pledge of the United States "to promote universal respect for, and observance of fundamental rights," the court might invalidate a state law which con-

that behalf by the Indian legislature. Secondly, even if a rule of international law is adopted in an Indian statute, it is the statute that will prevail if it is inconsistent with the rule of international law. The Directive Principles in the Indian Constitution, Article 51 (c) included, exhort the government and the legislature to implement the obligations under international law and treaties. The thesis propounded by Grotius (when the sovereign of a state tramples upon the basic human rights of his subject, it does not remain an internal affair of the sovereign but becomes an international question and such an arbitrary ruler forfeits his rights as a sovereign under international law and in such cases, other nations will be justified to intervene) remains an illusion.

It would, however, be unfair not to point out that quite a sizeable number of human rights norms enunciated in the International Bill of Rights have been included in the constitutions of almost all countries which framed their constitutions after the Second World War as judicially enforceable fundamental rights. India and Bangladesh are no exceptions.

In Bangladesh those few norms, are, therefore, part of the supreme law of the land and any law or any action contrary to or inconsistent with those norms is void to the extent of the inconsistency. Moreover, machinery and procedure have been provided in the constitution for enforcement of those norms.

The Bangladesh Context

The constitutional position

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Constitutional Position of India

The Indian Constitution reads in Article 51 (c) as follows: "The State shall endeavor to foster respect for international law and treaty obligations as far as possible, but this presumption is rebuttable and the municipal law must prevail if the international obligation is clearly contrary to it."

Thirdly, though the United Kingdom has ratified an international covenant (such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), the British courts cannot directly enforce the rights guaranteed by the covenant so long as they are not adopted by legislation by Parliament.

I did not draw the attention of his Lordship the Lord Chancellor to the fact that, despite the Report of Parliamentary Committee more than twenty years back, nothing has been done to codify human rights in a Bill of Rights, and Lord Wade's Bill introduced in 1977 for the purpose still remains inactive.

The USA Perspective

The position in the United States is settled by Article VI of the US Constitution, the second paragraph of which reads:

"This constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made,

in Bangladesh in relation to the international instruments is similar to that of India. Article 25 of the Bangladesh Constitution which, like India, is a fundamental principle of state policy unenforceable judicially, provides: "The State shall base its international relations on the principles of respect for national sovereignty and equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, peaceful settlement of international disputes, and respect for international law and the principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter..."

In Bangladesh also, mere ratification of an international instrument does not make its provisions judicially enforceable, and does not make it a part of the municipal law. Consequently, in case of conflict, the municipal law will prevail.

In fact, the greatest obstacle to implementation of the international human rights norms do not automatically become enforceable after ratification so long as law is not enacted in

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