Human Development and Human Security: A Journey towards a Humane Global World* Djauhari Oratmangun**

Masalah human security dan human development merupakan hal yang tidak dapat dipisahkan. Konsep tersebut bertujuan untuk memerangi kemiskinan dan meningkatkan taraf hidup manusia sehingga harus diberlakukan baik secara nasional maupun internasional. Hal tersebut kemudian menjadi prioritas utama PBB seperti yang telah disepakati dalam UN Millennium Summit 2000 dengan diadopsinya Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Fokus utama MDGs antara lain adalah memerangi kemiskinan, terpenuhinya pendidikan dasar, persamaan jender, governance dengan tujuan akhir "creating an effective global partnership for development".

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[&]quot;The original version of this article has been presented before the Seminar on "Human Security and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): Indonesia's Efforts and the Role of the International Communities", held by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—UNDP, Jakarta, 22 July 2003. The content therein reflects the personal view of the writer and does not necessarily reflect the position of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.

^{**} Penulis mengawali karirnya di Departemen Luar Negeri RI pada tahun 1984, tiga tahun setelah lulus dari Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta (1981). Diplomat kelahiran Beo. Sulawesi Utara. 22 Juli 1957 ini, membuktikan kecemerlangannya di bidang diplomasi dengan mewakili Indonesia di berbagai forum perundingan internasional, seperti di Sidang Majelis Umum PBB, perundingan dalam kerangka WTO, sidang UNCTAD dan WSSD. Aktif sebagai pembicara dalam berbagai seminar/lokakarya baik nasional maupun regional, beliau juga terus menambah pengetahuan dengan mengikuti kursus-kursus diplomasi dan negosiasi, diantaranya yang diselenggarakan oleh International Peace Academy (New York), WTO dan Center for Applied Study International Relations and Negotiations (CASIN-Jenewa). Saat ini beliau dipercaya sebagai Direktur Pembangunan Ekonomi dan Lingkungan Hidup PBB Departemen Luar Negeri (2002-sekarang).

Pembangunan yang berkelanjutan yang terdiri dari pertumbuhan ekonomi, pembangunan sosial dan perlindungan terhadap lingkungan juga diperlukan untuk mencapai tujuan MDGs. Selain itu, untuk mencapai tujuan MDGs negaranegara maju harus memperhatikan Millennium Development Compact dalam konteks untuk membantu negara-negara berkembang dengan menciptakan ekonomi global dan sistem perdagangan yang adil. Lebih lanjut, adalah penting bahwa negara-negara berkembang siap untuk memasukkan tujuan MDGs kedalam rencana pembangunan nasionalnya.

I. Introduction

As the world witnessed the last breath of cold war in the 1989's Berlin Wall fall, that historic moment also became the landmark of the rising awareness towards human development. Human development is undoubtedly not about the rise or fall of national incomes but it is on enlarging people's choices arising from building human capabilities. It is aimed to entitle people to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to be able to participate in the life of the community. Human development and human rights are mutually reinforcing, helping to secure the well-being and dignity of all people, building self-respect and the respect of others.

The end of the cold war also signified the uprising "globalization" that comprises of dramatic technological progress, global political integration and economic policies shifts. Many countries have successfully take advantage of such changes and boosted their export growth. However, as more countries benefiting too little from expanding markets and advancing technology, they are becoming even more marginal. In sum, global opportunities are unevenly distributed, between countries and people.

At this juncture, the United Nations Secretary General's summary on the challenges to human development and security posed by forces of globalization, right after the convening of the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, stressed that:

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"As the new century dawns, there can be no task more urgent for the United Nations than that fixed by the Millennium Summit, of rescuing more than one billion men, women and children from "abject and dehumanizing poverty."

At the Summit, Governments also agreed that the benefits of globalization - faster and more sustained growth, higher living standards, more employment and large human dividends from advances in technology - require concerted action, at both the national and international levels, and cannot be left to the operation of markets alone. Rather, globalization and its accompanying market energies must be guided and harnessed to become inclusive forces for sustainable, people-centered development. In this effort, Governments, international organizations, private entities, and civil society all have a role to play, in a spirit of true partnership. In the same vein, Heads of States/Governments, during the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg 2002, have also pledged to:

"...commit ourselves to build a humane, equitable and caring global society cognizant of the need for human dignity for all."

While long and winding roads to establish such pledge, describes plainly the state of the world that all countries should take fully into account, it is indeed amazing that decades had to be spent before the international community finally gathered and agreed to formulate those words.

¹ Report of the Secretary-General to the Preparatory Committee for the High-Level International Intergovernmental Event on Financing For Development (UN. Doc. A/AC.257/12, December 2000).

² The Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development, para. 2. Available at http://www.johannesburgsummit.org/html/documents/summit_docs/1009wssd_pol_declaration.doc

It is well-understood that perspectives on human security as well as human development widely ranges and that various means and ways to be employed both at national and international levels validly exist. Nevertheless, based on the experience as a Foreign Service officer, this article would focus more on the international setting and the need to ensure a clear link between national and international actions, which must be considered critical for the success of this genuine and common effort.

II. Human Security and Development

As Foreign Minister Hassan Wirajuda has stated, in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 incident, it is evident that conventional division of international issues into "war and peace" and "economic and social" affairs, no longer hold credence.³ Human development and security have come to be seen as being inextricably linked. They clearly dominate discourse and practice throughout the UN system as well as other international forums. The culmination of this fact was the endorsement of the elimination of poverty and the promotion of sustainable development as the world organization's highest priority.

Through this ever-evolving multilateral debate, the concept of human development and sustainable development became fused in the concept of "sustainable human development", which in turn became further entwined with the concept of human security. Therefore, promoting peace and security as one of the primary responsibilities of the United Nations, has come to the conception of promoting and sustaining human security.

¹ Keynote Address by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Seminar on "Human Security and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): Indonesia's Efforts and the Role of the International Communities", held by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – UNDP, Jakarta, 22 July 2003. Further deliberations could be obtained at Roger A. Coate, The United Nations and Development, A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 57th General Assembly of the United Nations, 2002-2003 Edition, pp. 139-164 (United Nations Association of the United States of America, 2002)

In the context of human development, Mahbub ul Haq has described it as:

"The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices. In principle, these choices can be infinite and can change over time. People often value achievements that do not show up at all, or not immediately, in income or growth figures: greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms and sense of participation in community activities. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives."

It is also important to acknowledge an important underlying assumption that human security emphasizes the psychological as well as physical end state of development, more than the mechanical processes of development. Creating the foundation for sustainable human development entails empowering individuals, groups and communities to become engaged constructively and effectively in satisfying their own needs, values and interests, thereby providing them with a genuine sense of control over their own futures. It is therefore widely accepted that UNDP's 1993 Human Development Report (HDR) stressed that:

"People's participation is becoming the central issue of our time and it is inextricably linked with and is an inherent component, if not requisite, of both sustainable human development and human security". 5

In this respect, Thomas Weiss also wrote that:

⁴ Human Development Report 2002, United Nations Development Programme, What is Development? (New York: United Nations, 2002). Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/hd/default.cfm.

Overview of Human Development Report 1993, United Nations Development Programme, particularly in Chapter 2: People's Participation pp. 21-29 (New York: United Nations. 1993). Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1993/en/pdf/hdr_1993_ch2.pdf

"Human security is a qualitative condition that entails individual and collective perceptions of low threat to physical and psychological well-being from all manner of agents and forces that could degrade their lives".

The UN-led "people-centered" development agenda that has evolved over the past decade focuses heavily on integrating and empowering relevant stakeholders, especially women, youth, the poor and other marginalized elements of the society, civil society and the private sector. The way to eradicate poverty is by empowering the poor and marginalized elements of society to provide the satisfaction of their own basic needs and values.

A more or less coherent programmatic framework of development goals, objectives and sectored policy paradigms thus emerged and formed the foundation for the UN Millennium Declaration. The Declaration was embedded with certain shared fundamental values although underlying differences persist. Developed countries generally place greater emphasis on promoting values such as good governance, the priority role of the market, the rule of law and human rights at the domestic level. On the other hand, developing countries tend to focus more on global economic inequalities, structural barriers, resource mal-distribution and consumption, debt reduction as well as other development and financial problems.

Auspiciously, in the end a general and genuine consensus prevail that eradication of extreme poverty and the promotion of sustainable development should be the major focus of development strategies. Good governance, the empowerment of stakeholders and popular participation represent means toward these ends.

⁶ Thomas Weiss et.al., The United Nations and Changing World Politics, Third Edition (Boulder, Westview, 2001)

Adopted as UN General Assembly resolution 55/2, by all 189 Member States of the United Nations on 8 September 2000.

The main challenge now is building the capacity, political will and commitment required to mount an effective response. The global society must once again pledge to fully commit in implementing the idealistic promises and commitments contained therein and to make this specific and momentous decade as the decade of implementation.

III. Making Human Development and Human Security Sustainable

No one would deny the necessity of the international community to do all they can to eradicate poverty while promoting human dignity and equality as well as achieving peace, democracy, and environmental sustainability. Despite a number of international commitments as well as agreements adopted in the last decade aiming to give equal opportunity to developing countries to develop and harvest the fruits of globalization, only little progress being made.

In the beginning of the 21st century, poverty increased in many parts of the world and at the same time witnessed the continuation of environmental deterioration and depletion of natural resources. Against this backdrop, an unprecedented declaration of solidarity and determination to rid the world of poverty known as the UN Millennium Declaration, adopted by Head of States/Governments at the 2000 Millennium Summit. At the Millennium Summit, world leaders agreed to a set of time-bound and measurable goals and targets, placed at the heart of the global agenda, widely known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)⁸.

⁸ Internationally agreed development goals to be achieved at certain time target as it was explained in the annex of "Road map towards the implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration: Report of the Secretary-General" (UN Doc.A/56/326) at 56th United Nations General Assembly. Available at http://ods-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/526/07/PDF/N0152607.pdf

The MDGs have been commonly accepted throughout the UN system, including the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) 9, as a framework for assessing progress. It is understood that the first seven goals focus on ends, while the eighth and final goal concentrate on means: "creating an effective global partnership for development". The MDGs also bound countries to fight poverty, gender inequality, environmental degradation, lack of education, health care and clean water. While affirming the goals to be pursued, the MDGs also clearly set specific targets for countries to fulfill in close cooperation with international communities. Certainly, the most important step is the implementation of all those commitments.

To begin with, one should look into the root causes of a failed development. In previous years, global development efforts, particularly in developing countries, only focused on three sets of issues. Firstly, the need for economic reforms, secondly, the need for strong institutions and governance and lastly, the need for social justice and involving people in decisions. The 2003 HDR has rightly pointed out that global efforts have somehow overlooked the structural constraints, which impedes economic growth and human development. As a fourth factor, a primary need to create a sense of ownership of governments and communities, is the key to achieve development goals.

By adding the fourth factor, a "Millennium Development Compact" is being proposed through HDR 2003 as the new

⁹ The Bretton Woods Institutions are the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). They were set up by 43 countries attending the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA in 22 July 1944. Their aims were to help rebuild the shattered postwar economy and to promote international economic cooperation. The original Bretton Woods agreement also included plans for an International Trade Organisation (ITO) but these lay dormant until the World Trade Organisation (WTO) was created in the early 1990s. Further please refer to Pamphlet No. 4, Pillars of Pace, Documents Pertaining To American Interest In Establishing A Lasting World Peace: January 1941-February 1946 pp. 30 (Book Department, Army Information School, Carlisle Barracks, Pa., May 1946)

approach towards the timely achievement of the MDGs ¹⁰. This approach suggests a broad reference which includes three major international commitments adopted in the recent years, namely the Monterrey Consensus of March 2002, the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation of September 2002 and the Doha WTO Ministerial Declaration of November 2001, as a comprehensive package to serve as a framework for achieving the targets and goals of the MDGs.

Moreover, it is of the same essence to place the first seven goals of MDGs as focusing on specific ends while the eighth concentrates more on means. For most developing countries as well as least developed countries, the existence of ways and means to achieve the goals and target is very much crucial. No doubt that currently the global community has indeed sufficient political commitment among its leaders, which provide for ways and means to achieve such targets. However, in practical terms, much need to be done to translate those commitments and agreements into a concrete and concerted action. In this regard, it may be useful to look closer into the following issues.

First, the Doha WTO Ministerial Declaration ¹¹ is considered as one of the framework to achieve the targets. Theoretically, no one

The Millennium Development Compact provides a coherent framework that recognizes the need for a multi-pronged approach to meeting the Millennium Development Goals, based on the promises of partnership in recent international declarations, in which the poorest countries develop and own national plans that draw on sustained external assistance to break out of poverty traps and improve the well-being of their poorest citizens. Further deliberations please see Human Development Report 2003, United Nations Development Program, the Millennium Development Compact, pp. 15-25. Available at: http://www.undp.org/hdr2003/pdf/hdr03_MDC.pdf.

¹¹ Declaration adopted at the 4th WTO Ministerial Meeting in Doha on 14 November 2001 (WT/MIN(01)/DEC/1) containing further arrangement in implementing WTO trade rules. Some countries members recall this as Doha Development Agenda though the G-77 plus China reject it since " (there is) priority for any additional negotiations, the implementation issues and redressal of the "development deficit in the WTO". Full text of the Declaration could be accessed at http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/min01_e/mindecl_e.htm while statement of the G77 plus China on Doha WTO Ministerial Declaration could be viewed at http://www.g77.org/news/doha/suns-g77.htm

object to the very idea of the benefits that trade and free trade can bring for development. Nevertheless, no one would rely on free-market to combat poverty. The Doha Development Agenda (the term used by the developed countries) is a package of deals that basically contains concessions on market access. By reading the agreement carefully, one will realize that the package includes work programs intended to strengthen the development dimension of trade. One of the basic principles of the WTO negotiations is "single undertaking" and applied through "offer and request" mechanism based on and driven purely by commercial interests. In this sense, it is obviously difficult to comprehend that development agendas and poverty eradication be put in the same basket with commercial goods to be exchanged.

Those concerns remain reasonable as recently shown by the failure of the 5th WTO Ministerial Meeting in Cancun, Mexico, September 2003. While the developed countries, pushed for the acceptance of their agendas – opening up greater market access in the developing world for their goods, services and industries, the developing countries continuously face protected markets of the developed countries, as import liberalization is damaging developing countries' local farms and companies. It is clear that addressing inequities should superiorly be undertaken through specific policies, such as social safety nets, rather than through trade policies. As being competitive, increasing productivity – requires investments in human capital and technology transfers, aside from the trade policy itself.

Second, a comprehensive policy option with regard to the issue of foreign debt should be sufficiently elaborated based on the Monterrey Consensus¹², for the most part, provisions on the need to

¹² Outcome from the International Conference on Financing for Development held from 18-22 March 2002 in Monterrey, Mexico (UN Doc.A/CONF.198/11), containing international commitments to address the challenges of financing for development around the world, particularly in developing countries and aimed to cradicate poverty, achieve sustained economic growth and promote sustainable development as to advance a fully inclusive und equitable global economic system. Available at http://www.un.org/esa/fid/aconf198-11.pdf.

assist middle-income countries in managing their heavy foreign debt, including further explorations on options of the so-called "innovative mechanism". Developing countries are put in a kind of dilemma. While nationally they are striving to attract foreign direct investments through painstaking reforms, at the same time, they have to face not only stiff competition with other emerging economies, but also spare their income in combating poverty and other development problems. Naturally, it is imperative that a strengthened global effort in creating an enabling environment in the global economic system must be achieved, which will be conducive to the development efforts of the developing countries.

As to move the global development agenda forward, the International Conference on Financing for Development held in Monterrey, Mexico, March 2002, has thoroughly discussed financial and development key issues. Although the Monterrey Consensus, as a result of this conference, cannot fully satisfy all interests, particularly of the developing countries, should be taken into consideration, however, the results as an initial step towards a strategic process in creating a more balanced and fair global economic and trade system.

Third, the state of the environment goes exacerbate, as it was exploited by countries and communities for material development and economic growth regardless the sustainability of such resources. Post the 1972's UN Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm, further new methods for environment and development were still long for until the historic Earth Summit of 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. The Rio Summit had widely recognized the sustainable development concept as a new paradigm of development and approach to deal with environment protection while also ensuring the development process, through the establishment of Agenda 21 as a guideline to carry them out.

Nevertheless, the degree of global environment degradation is still in an alarming rate, even after the Earth Summit. In light of this, in 2002 the WSSD was convened in Johannesburg. It is intended to review the achievement of the Rio Summit as well as to reaffirm the political commitment to implement sustainable policies

at all levels, through the identification of actions and targets set out in the Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development and Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (JPOI) 13.

The WSSD was successful in reinvigorating a political commitment to implement sustainable policies at all levels through the identification of actions and targets. These commitments outlined in the JPOI provide a solid and promising common will of the international community to achieve sustainable development goals and objectives, including those agreed upon in the Millennium Declaration and the Monterrey Consensus as well as other major UN conferences.

As sustainable development comprises of three development pillars-economic growth, social development and environmental protection ¹⁴ - it also sends a message of the importance of multi stakeholders' involvement in development. A consensus has also emerged that new forms of cooperation and partnerships are required among states, markets, the private sector, voluntary and civic organizations, local communities as well as other stakeholders. This common action could directly affect policies in order to improve the quality life of the people that in turn would advance human development and human security.

Outcomes from the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg, South Africa, 26 August - 4 September 2002. While Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development serves as a political commitment and reaffirmation of Heads of States and Governments, the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (JPOI) is aimed to further implement those commitments. The full text of Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development could be accessed at http://www.johannesburgsummit.org/html/documents/summit_docs/1009wssd_pol_declaration.doc The Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (JPOI) could be viewed at www.johannesburgsummit.org/html/documents/summit_docs/2309 planfinal.doc

¹⁴ The concept of Sustainable Development was first raised by the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development, widely known as the Brundtland Commission. Please refer to the World Commission on Environment and Development, Our Common Future, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. The concept was further explored and deliberated at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (widely known as the Earth Summit) in *Rio de Janeiro*, *Brazil*, 1992.

Along this line, the inextricably linkage of sustainable development with human security and human development is perceived, among others, on development strategies to eradicate extreme poverty, that should be applied through good governance at all levels, strengthening the role of local governments, the empowerment of stakeholders and other major groups as well as enhancing popular participation and functioning the role of civil society in governance processes. In other words, the establishment of a global partnership for development, as the eighth goal of the MDGs, is the cardinal means in materializing the Millennium Development Goals.

IV. Conclusion

Making sustainable development work requires building an effective organizational and institutional capacity. At the national or local level, this implies creating and sustaining enabling environments for domestic resource mobilization. In turn, creating and sustaining enabling environments requires good governance at both domestic and international levels — that is, it requires participatory, transparent and accountable governance — an environment in which the institution of governance are responsive to the people and their needs and operate according to the rule of law.

An urgent need exists, in defending the astonishing political commitments of the leaders made in Millennium Summit and other major UN conferences, in order for them not to only become another political jargon. No efforts should be spared in translating such commitments into actions. One would believe that the Millennium Development Compact would assist in this enormous and tough task. In this regard, reaffirmation and emphasis should be directed to the need to create a genuine partnership among governments, international community, international organizations and all stakeholders.

The developed world should consider the Millennium Development Compact, within the context of assisting the developing world as well as in creating an enabling and fair global economic and trading system, as a top priority in the same vein with the rest of the world. Furthermore, it is also of the same great importance that developing countries are firm and ready to include in their national development planning, the goals and targets of the MDGs.

The global development agenda is like an evolving symphony. Many of the bars and notes are already sounding and more than enough has been composed. Will the symphony emerged from Johannesburg, Monterrey, Doha and New York end with a Humane Global World?

Jakarta, September, 2003

