

Policy Recommendations for the Third Tokyo International Conference on African

Development (TICAD III)

Toward further development of the TICAD process

The Japan Institute of International Affairs

PREFACE

The world is now several years into the twenty-first century. However, Africa remains a place faced with many difficulties, from violent conflicts to poverty and disease. A cursory examination of Africa today shows that the majority of the people in this region are not able to raise their incomes, and that the number of Africans living in poverty continues to increase, despite the fact that their countries receive considerable aid from the international community.

Since the end of the Cold War many donor nations have begun placing conditionality on their aid, prodding African states to transform their systems in order to bring about political and economic reforms. These moves did have certain positive effects: economic liberalization moved ahead in the recipient states, and multiparty elections were held across the continent. They did not, however, help Africa to achieve any sort of sustainable improvement in terms of economic growth, poverty reduction, and other societal indices. In the political realm, the concentration of power in the hands of a few remains widespread despite the introduction of democratic systems, and there is little to check the unbridled use of that power. Even elected presidents govern their countries through the patron-client relationships that marked older forms of rule. Conflict has been a common occurrence in Africa, and this has destroyed the foundations needed for development there. Little progress has been made on the fundamental problems of how to structure states ruled by law and achieve economic growth since the nations of Africa gained their independence. For these countries the outbreak and spread of violence that rips apart the peace and stability they need to develop are extraordinarily serious problems.

It is plain to see that Africa falls short in many areas: transparency in administration and the formulation of policy, leaders' accountability to the people, and the very legitimacy of those leaders' rule. Under the present conditions it is impossible to ensure that the resources of the continent are distributed in a productive manner, or that economic and social policies are implemented in consistent ways. This has led to a vicious cycle in which African economies continuously decline.

Dealing with these problems in Africa—the conflicts and the developmental

issues—is one of the major tasks before the international community today. The Japanese government believes that the world will enjoy no stability or prosperity in the twenty-first century unless Africa's problems are dealt with, and based on this belief has provided continuous support to the nations of Africa. Since 1993 the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) process has been a central part of Japan's African policy.

Now, in the year 2003, the nations of Africa are gaining increasing ownership of the processes of reform and aid with the advancement of NEPAD, the New Partnership for Africa's Development, and the establishment of the African Union. The global community's interest in African issues is also on the rise, as seen by the Africa Action Plan of the Group of Eight nations and the discussions carried out at various United Nations gatherings, including the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development and the 2003 G8 Summit held in Evian. In response to this growing international concern and increasing African ownership, Japan is planning to host TICAD III at the end of September 2003 to help and to further polish the philosophy of partnership underlying these efforts.

In considering the conditions affecting Africa today and drafting these policy recommendations, the Japan Institute of International Affairs carried out candid discussions in panel format. These discussions, rooted in recognition of the present state of African nations, covered the key themes that will form the basis of the TICAD III proceedings, and involved the officials who have moved the TICAD process forward so far, representatives of such international organs as the UN Development Program, and other people with profound knowledge of African issues. This committee met frequently—seven times over a period of two months—and its members exchanged opinions with great vigor. Also participating in these meetings as observers were many presently active officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japan International Cooperation Agency. While these observers did not take part in drafting this document, their insightful observations and viewpoints proved extremely valuable in helping to focus the debate and making this proposal a more meaningful document in the end.

These recommendations have been drafted on the basis of the personal opinions of the following committee members, and do not represent the official views held by their respective organizations.

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GENERAL OVERVIEW

(1) African Development: An Issue to Be Faced by All Humanity

In January 2001 Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori, during his first official visit to three African nations, delivered a bold message to the world: “There will be no stability or prosperity in the world in the twenty-first century unless the problems of Africa are resolved.” The Genoa Plan for Africa, released at the G8 Summit held in Italy in September that year, expressed a similar sentiment: “Peace, stability, and the eradication of poverty in Africa are among the most important challenges we face in the new millennium.”

Earlier, in September 2000, New York was the scene of the UN Millennium Summit, where 189 nations adopted the Millennium Declaration as a set of goals for international society to pursue in the twenty-first century. This declaration, together with a number of international development initiatives reached at global gatherings during the 1990s, formed the framework for the Millennium Development Goals also established at the summit. The MDGs touch on the seriousness of the problems facing African people today, and point to the importance of development on that continent as a means of overcoming them.

The problems besetting Africa today—including low levels of development, poverty, conflict, refugees, and AIDS and other infectious diseases—are not issues affecting only that region. Seeking solutions to these issues is a key task for the global community as a whole; international recognition is growing of the fact that this is needed for the sake of humanity itself.

(2) Partnership and the Creation of NEPAD

As if in response to these moves in the international community, Africans themselves have begun showing to the world a positive stance toward self-help aimed at solving the problems Africa faces. The thirty-seventh summit of the Organization of African Unity, held in July 2001, saw the establishment of the New African Initiative, a comprehensive strategy for African revitalization that aimed to halt the marginalization of the continent in world affairs, reduce poverty, promote sustainable growth and development, and integrate Africa into the global economy. In October that year the NAI was expanded and renamed NEPAD, the New Partnership for Africa’s Development.

The above-mentioned Genoa Plan for Africa and the more concrete G8 Africa Action Plan, adopted at the June 2002 G8 Summit held in Kananaskis, Canada, are central strategies for cooperative efforts in concert with NEPAD. The debate on African issues seen at the June 2003 Evian Summit can also be viewed as an extension of this approach to the problems facing the continent.

(3) The TICAD Initiative and African Development in the Twenty-first Century

The TICAD initiative, launched by Japan in 1993, has contributed greatly to the creation of a framework for the recognition of African problems and steps to deal with them by both Africa itself and the international community as a whole befitting the twenty-first century. The concepts of ownership and partnership, defined as fundamentals underlying NEPAD, were key themes hammered out at TICAD I, the first conference, held in October 1993.

(4) Hopes for TICAD III: From the Foreign Policy and Development Perspectives

The TICAD initiative is described as having two sides in terms of Japanese policy: foreign policy and development policy, including both economic cooperation and aid. During the 1990s, following the end of the Cold War, many nations in the developed West began distancing themselves from the issues of Africa and its development. The TICAD initiative refocused international attention on the continent, contributing greatly to the global understanding that finding solutions for African problems will be a central task for all of humanity in the twenty-first century. This initiative has made a strong impression on the nations of Africa and earned high praise, making it an undeniable success in terms of Japan's foreign policy.

The next task before us is how to bring a more detailed approach to our development cooperation efforts so that they result in further accumulation of results on the development policy front.

(5) Seeking to Propose New Directions for Policy

The Japan Institute of International Affairs, in an effort to make an intellectual contribution to TICAD III, formed the research group whose members are listed above and carried out highly focused exchanges of views over a short period of time. This proposal represents the essence gleaned from those deliberations. Experienced officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the United Nations Development Program and other international organs, African researchers from universities and research organs, and others came together in this group, whose proposal looks carefully at the various central issues relating to the question of African development. It is the culmination of discussions aimed at formulating underlying directions for policy, and for this reason we feel it will fulfill our goal of making an intellectual contribution to the TICAD III process.

RECOMMENDATION OVERVIEW: TEN AREAS OF FOCUS

I. The Importance of Human Security

- “Human security” is a concept focusing on the life, livelihood, and dignity of individual humans. Aiming for the realization of human security in Africa is the most important ideal informing the entire TICAD process. We believe that Japan should clearly present human security, both domestically and internationally, as a noble, fundamental philosophy underpinning its African policy.
- From the perspective of human security, Japan should stress the importance of bringing stability and peaceful coexistence to and building mutual trust among people living in African communities.
- In 1998 the late Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi announced in a speech in Hanoi that the concept of human security would be clearly positioned within the guiding principles of Japan’s foreign policy; he also called for the establishment of a Trust Fund for Human Security. As one of the first nations to raise the banner of human security in this manner, Japan should seek through the TICAD process to stress the importance of achieving human security in Africa and to invite the international community’s commitment to this fund.
- Efforts to realize human security should draw heavily on the energies of the private sector. There are limits to what can be accomplished by public efforts alone when dealing with the problems of poverty and violence in Africa.
- Japan should consider training people who can evaluate and confirm whether human security is being achieved and installing these people as “human security officers” in Japanese diplomatic establishments.

II. Support for NEPAD

- TICAD is not a development fund and therefore it will not support NEPAD financially by providing part of the \$64 billion that NEPAD hopes to raise each year. It should instead provide active support for the process of NEPAD.
- African countries must find ways to clearly express their commitment to NEPAD as a sign of their ownership of the process, and both African nations and donor countries need to express their commitment to underscore the partnership involved. It is also worth considering how to launch a review mechanism as part of this process.
- To make the partnership between African nations and the international community deeper and broader (such as by expanding cooperation between Asia and Africa) Japan must now show leadership and formulate an initiative along the lines of the New Development Strategy approved by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in 1996.

III. Governance

- With an eye to improving governance in African nations, a range of support must be

directed toward the creation of forms of government where legislative, administrative, and judicial powers are separated.

- Support should be given to strengthening legislative functions. This support includes training programs to foster legislators and clerical staff with specialized skills and knowledge.
- Training systems should also be created to produce able administrators.
- Various projects should be arranged and carried out in concert with nongovernmental organizations operating in Africa to boost people's consciousness of their roles as citizens of African states.
- A number of support measures are needed to ensure the fairness of elections. These include support for election processes and stronger observation systems.

IV. Poverty Reduction

- The poverty problems faced by African nations are extremely complex. We must recognize that the introduction of market economic principles called for by the so-called Washington Consensus will not be enough to solve these issues.
- Support should be targeted at helping African nations move beyond their colonial economic models and excessive reliance on primary product exports.
- The key to reducing poverty in Africa is agricultural reform and the revitalization of rural communities as a whole.
- Support must be given to the efforts planned and implemented by farmers themselves. We must find ways to foster the self-reliance of farmers and rural communities.
- Comprehensive development programs must be carried out in rural areas to eradicate poverty in farming communities. We should also assist African nations in their efforts to advance agricultural promotion policies.

V. Consolidation of Peace

- The majority of conflicts in Africa today involve weakened or failed states, and the inadequacy or absence of government there is often a major cause of the conflicts. Increasing the legitimacy of African governments will therefore be one effective way to resolve conflicts on the continent.
- One theme of TICAD III should be calls for support for DDR—the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of combatants, steps that form the basis for the consolidation of peace. A focus is needed on the importance of providing financial and human resources to the NGOs working in the area of DDR.
- Further efforts are needed to strengthen crackdowns on the illicit trade in and use of precious resources in Africa.
- Through TICAD III, the international community must be confronted with the importance of aid aimed at strengthening and promoting regional cooperation between African nations, moves toward regional unification, and relationships of interdependence on a subregional level. In particular, the African Union Security

Council and other bodies within the AU need to be bolstered. Another important target for international support is the initiatives aimed at boosting African nations' ability to prevent and resolve conflict and to maintain peace.

VI. The HIV/AIDS Problem

- In 2000 Japan established the Okinawa Infectious Diseases Initiative as part of a framework for bilateral efforts. This initiative has resulted in some effective countermeasures for HIV and AIDS; these results should be reflected in the TICAD III discussions. In this way Japan can display to the world its early implementation of an initiative dealing with these deadly diseases.
- While maintaining leadership in measures to combat HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases, Japan should also make clear moves toward strengthening the support it gives within the framework of these bilateral ties. Japan should also refrain from taking part in the “pledging contest” that can be seen around the world today, with nations competing to see who makes the most fiscal commitments, and focus attention instead on the simple, grass-roots medical aid and other steps that are now being made possible by South-South cooperation (success stories from Thailand among other places can be used to illustrate this).
- The issue of HIV/AIDS is an especially serious one, and it deserves special attention. It should be approached separately from other communicable diseases and treated as a key problem in the field of human security, which is now being positioned as a central theme in Japanese Official Development Assistance policy.

VII. Civil Society

- The concept of “civil society” is a particularly vague one, and it has been used in many ways in the past. However, Japan has arrived at a stage when this term should be positioned in a clear manner within the philosophy underpinning its aid programs.
- There are a large number of NGOs operating in Africa today, but many of these groups have problems. If Japan is to make civil society a more central theme in its aid efforts it will have to develop the ability to gauge the effectiveness of NGOs, selecting those that can serve as partners in the development of Africa.
- Japan should promote the creation of a framework for cooperation and joint action between NGOs in Africa and Asia as part of broader cooperation between the two regions.
- NGOs should be brought into the TICAD process and allowed to participate as cooperative partners.

VIII. The Role of the UNDP

- The Millennium Development Goals, established as a common framework for the international community, share the goals of the TICAD process in many areas.
- TICAD III represents a perfect opportunity for discussion of what roles the TICAD

process, with its core themes of ownership and partnership, can play in helping to achieve the MDGs.

- The UNDP should seek to publicize TICAD and African development issues more energetically, both domestically and internationally.
- It should also seek to harmonize and make needed adjustments to its TICAD-related operations within the UN system.

IX. Structure and Organization of Japan's African Policy

- As a nation that built itself up from a developing economy to an advanced industrial power, and also as a country that never held any African colonies, Japan needs to implement an African policy that goes beyond the strictures of the Washington Consensus, which basically serves to uphold the vested interests of Western nations in that region. Japan should make use of TICAD III as a forum for presenting its own independent approach to African issues.
- Broad national efforts are needed to advance TICAD as a Japanese initiative. To this end it should see involvement from the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry in addition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Nations like France, the United Kingdom, and the United States assign Africa specialists to their diplomatic establishments in African nations, where they handle affairs of state and economic cooperation. Japan, too, should revise its system of seconding officials from various ministries to embassies and consulates with a view to selecting officers with profound knowledge of and training in African issues. Similar revision should be carried out in the Foreign Ministry's internal system of dispatching bureaucrats from the ministry's Economic Cooperation Bureau.
- Other steps to consider include establishing a system of senior specialist researchers—university professors and associate professors and other researchers well-versed in African conflict and development problems who would be dispatched to Japanese diplomatic establishments or African organizations. Such researchers could also be assigned to duty in the Foreign Ministry, for example as councilors for African affairs.
- It is also worth considering the dispatch of Foreign Ministry personnel, think tank researchers, academics, specialists, NGO representatives, and other key members of civil society to various organs, such as the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, the Southern African Development Community, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development.

X. Driving the TICAD Process Forward

- Ten years have passed since the first TICAD meeting, held in 1993, and the TICAD name has become known around the globe. There are still many people in Japan and in other nations, though, who have not heard of this process. A decade into the process, the need is stronger than ever today to publicize TICAD within Japan, in Africa, and

throughout the world.

- Japan today needs to undertake energetic public relations activities related to the projects it has put in effect on its own or in cooperation with other nations as part of the TICAD process.
- Another key task for Japan is the establishment of a solid system for driving the TICAD process forward. Toward this end the vertical barriers keeping Japanese administrative organs from working together must be reduced as much as possible. As one way to accomplish this, the Foreign Ministry should consider creating an African Aid Coordination Bureau to administer all support measures for Africa and to advance TICAD operations.

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN SECURITY

(1) Clearly Stated Ideals

“Human security” is a concept that places emphasis on protecting the lives, livelihoods, and dignity of individual human beings. The TICAD process has as one of its most central ideals the need to realize human security in Africa. Japan needs to call for support aimed at bringing stability and peaceful coexistence to the lives of people living in African communities and building mutual trust among them.

Japan is a nation that seeks to go beyond narrowly defined national interests and achieve broad international harmony. The nation has a strong desire to contribute to the realization of a global society where, as is written in the preamble of the Japanese Constitution, “all peoples of the world” can “live in peace, free from fear and want.” As a forerunner in the area of human security, Japan must work both domestically and globally to set forth this noble philosophy underlying its African policy.

In his 1998 speech in Hanoi, the late Prime Minister Obuchi clearly positioned human security as a guiding philosophy for Japanese foreign policy. It was also in this speech that he called for the establishment of a Trust Fund for Human Security. Japan must follow up on this initiative it has taken by being one of the first nations to include this relatively new concept of human security in its policy thinking, emphasizing the need to achieve human security in Africa and using the TICAD process to urge the global community to commit themselves to the human security fund.

(2) Building Closer Ties Among Japanese Agencies in Africa

In order to achieve human security it will be necessary to rely heavily on the private sector. Conflict and poverty in Africa cannot be overcome by governmental efforts alone. Private business ventures to create sustained employment for African workers will be a must. Nevertheless, Japan’s aid framework for Africa today features no effective connection between the promotion of private business efforts and the support for public works provided through Japan’s Official Development Assistance program.

Japanese agencies in Africa have clearly separated areas of responsibility. Offices of the Japan International Cooperation Agency handle social development projects that are not designed with an eye to business efficiency or meant to be profitable ventures; meanwhile, the Japan External Trade Organization operates out of different offices, surveying private-sector trade and investment and offering business advice. In African nations where both of these agencies have offices, they should be consolidated, allowing the staff of both agencies to exchange information and produce new wisdom on ways to tie private business to social development. This consolidation and these improved ties between the groups will cut costs, which will lead to stronger support from Japanese taxpayers for the programs. The NERICA, or New Rice for Africa, plan is an illustrative example. While anyone could take on the task of producing this new strain of rice combining African hardiness with Asian crop yields, it is not so easy to get this new rice

into markets across Africa and get the message to consumers that it is cheap, safe, and delicious. Here skilled marketing will be the key to ensuring continued success for the NERICA project.

(3) Stationing Human Security Officers in Africa

Africa needs people who can evaluate the human security conditions there and confirm that progress is being made on that front. Japan should consider training people who can handle these tasks and station them as “human security officers” in Japanese diplomatic establishments. In many cases human security issues are exacerbated when a country’s administrative structures are extremely weak or completely collapsed, making it impossible to gain helpful information by making inquiries of the government there. The human security officers will need to have strong communication skills for liaising directly with the members of African communities; they will also need to be well-versed in basic information on human rights and societal development.

(4) Making Use of African Specialists

There are clear limits to what the Japanese alone can do in terms of gauging and certifying human security conditions in Africa, making suggestions in this area, and so forth. Ideally Japan will actively draw on the experience of members of local NGOs and deeply networked consulting firms active in the region. It should also be possible to outsource the training of Japanese specialists to serve as human security officers. It is worth pointing out that utilizing local bodies in this way will also boost employment.

II. SUPPORT FOR NEPAD

(1) The NEPAD Spirit

African nations today continue to suffer from low levels of development, stagnant growth, and marginalization on the world stage. African leaders are desperate to reverse these trends, and one pact symbolizing their efforts to bring about change is the New Partnership for Africa's Development, or NEPAD. The core goals of NEPAD are very simple: to confirm an agreement between the nations of Africa that they will use their collective strength to bolster good governance in both political and economic contexts, and on the strength of this agreement to attract large flows of capital from private and public sources around the world. NEPAD is also playing a valuable support role for public policy in the field of sustainable development, as can be seen in the specific example of the peer-review mechanism that the African states have implemented.

The spirit that has infused the TICAD process since its 1993 inception is the spirit of NEPAD today. Many of NEPAD's goals overlap with those expressed in the Tokyo Agenda for Action adopted at TICAD II in 1998. The TICAD process should not, however, be viewed as simply a channel providing a portion of the \$64 billion that NEPAD hopes to attract annually from the global community; TICAD should instead be positioned as an active supporter for the NEPAD process. In other words, TICAD support for NEPAD should be geared toward making sure the spirit of this undertaking is realized.

NEPAD seeks to forge a new partnership between the nations of Africa and the world community and to form stronger relations between nations on the basis of that partnership. The TICAD process, too, is based on this same concept of partnership. Japan was among the first nations to put this idea of an African-global partnership to work through TICAD. While the TICAD process is a Japanese initiative, however, in the name of partnership it is officially implemented as a co-organized event with the Global Coalition for Africa and various United Nations organs. This year marks the tenth anniversary of TICAD I, and since 1993 this process has become known around the world, making it a success for Japanese diplomacy.

Japan should be proud of this recognition and confident in the success of the TICAD process, and take similar initiative in supporting NEPAD. NEPAD represents a new form of partnership between the nations of Africa and the global community. Japan can adopt a different stance within this partnership from the United States or the European nations that used to rule over parts of Africa as colonial masters. It should therefore find ways to play an independent role within the framework of support for NEPAD's efforts. There is a complex array of partnerships to construct: partnerships between African nations and their former suzerains, between African nations themselves, between the African Union and the rest of the world, between subregional organizations in Africa and the international community, between African political

leaders and the people they represent, between Asian and African nations, and partnerships involving international organizations like UNESCO, UNICEF, and the International Francophone Organization, which wields considerable influence in the French-speaking nations of Africa. Japan should take the diplomatic lead and use the TICAD process to help promote these various partnerships. Japan must again show the kind of leadership and initiative that it displayed in 1996 when it helped to shape the OECD's New Development Strategy. Supporting NEPAD will be an ideal way for Japan to bring further breadth and depth to Asia-Africa cooperation, already a strong area for the nation.

In more specific terms, Japan must go beyond its traditional approach to economic cooperation, which has been limited to bilateral or multilateral aid. We must next adopt a subregional perspective, directing aid to the provision of basic infrastructure and other measures aimed at broader areas.

The TICAD process is a Japanese initiative whose object is the entire African continent. As part of this process we should give consideration to Morocco, which is not an AU member nation and which falls outside the NEPAD framework.

(2) Ownership and Partnership

The concepts of ownership and partnership are clearly defined as underlying themes for NEPAD as well as TICAD. These concepts have become more prominent as more attention has come to be focused on the role that the developing party itself plays in the development activities. In the field of development aid in particular, the spotlight has focused on ensuring that the administrations and people of the areas receiving aid take some control of the process. On the recipient side, local governments and residents are becoming increasingly aware of their ownership of the aid measures, and are more actively involving themselves, taking on an appropriate share of the burden of implementation. On the donor side, focus is being placed on fulfilling responsibilities as a partner to the recipients. Both of these approaches serve to bring the two sides closer together.

It was at TICAD I in 1993 that the concepts of ownership and partnership were positioned as central to development. These concepts have proved timely indeed, and nations and international organizations have warmed to them quickly, no doubt because they provide both donors and recipients with a rational framework for approaching aid issues. Formal "agreements" between national governments are not necessarily international contracts involving real rights and duties; the loose nature of these commitments is another factor making each nation eager to apply the ideals of partnership and ownership to its dealings. At the same time a backlash against the Structural Adjustment Program in which the International Monetary Fund placed conditions on recipient nations, as well as the realization that this conditionality did not always produce the desired results, combined to make these concepts even more attractive.

We must admit, however, that the lack of a strictly defined division of roles in these new donor-recipient relationships has made the TICAD initiative itself a somewhat vague thing. With the benefit of hindsight it is clear to see that since TICAD was not positioned as a “pledging meeting,” or a gathering where donor nations made financial commitments, the participating African governments were less able to clearly recognize the tasks before them, and they failed to take on any obligations as a result. Part of the reason we have not seen speedy results from the Tokyo Agenda for Action adopted at TICAD II can be attributed to this lack of clarity.

It goes without saying that ownership is an essential feature of African development. The governments of African nations must make clear commitments regarding the obligations they take on in the development process—to their peoples first of all, but also to the governments and organs that support the aid measures. It is of vital importance to obtain clear commitments under NEPAD defining which African governments will do what within what timeframe. If these governments do not make these commitments on their development goals and the methods that are to be used to reach them, TICAD III cannot be expected to succeed.

Nor can partnership be viewed in a simplistic manner. It cannot be achieved merely by setting up “development partners,” or donors, in an appropriate arrangement and reaching some form of consensus among them. The resources brought to bear on development problems must be clearly defined, both in terms of what they comprise and how they are to be distributed. In addition, agreements must be reached with African governments on the roles they will take on over both the short term and the longer term of the development process. A key duty of the partners is to carry out reviews of the process based on this understanding of their roles. NEPAD is an initiative launched by the governments of the nations of Africa; TICAD should function as a mechanism for reconfirming the partnerships that are formed on the basis of this initiative. Peer review carried out by the African countries themselves will not be enough to ensure NEPAD’s success; we hope that TICAD III will see a proposal for donor reviews to complement the African Peer Review Mechanism.

III. GOVERNANCE

(1) Areas of Focus

- A. Establishing systems where legislative, administrative, and judicial powers are separated
- B. Strengthening legislatures
- C. Improving administrative apparatuses
- D. Boosting and improving people's civic consciousness
- E. Making the press freer and stronger
- F. Ensuring fair elections

(2) Concrete Measures

Aid aimed at the above areas of focus can be broadly divided into “hard” support to provide facilities, machinery, and the like and “soft” support to train personnel and improve their skills. It will be especially important to focus our energy on this “soft” support. This will, of course, include the creation and operation of training systems. These systems can be designed in concert with regional organizations; they may involve several nations and be implemented through the curricula of universities in the region. The Japanese government must also continue and further flesh out the short-term seminars handled through JICA; it may also need to create new short- and medium-term study programs to be offered at universities in Japan.

Improving the civic consciousness of African people should be promoted through coordination with NGOs and other entities operating locally. This arrangement will enable cross-the-board aid activities from the government to the grass-roots level. Efforts to make elections free and fair should center not on the conventional election observer activities seen in the past, but on longer-term, more systemic efforts.

The following charts outline the steps to be taken and the expected results for each area of focus.

Establishing separation of government powers	
Specific measures	Goals and expected results
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aid to strengthen legislative functions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Producing legislators and clerical staff with specialized skills and knowledge (to include new training systems at African universities, an increased number of improved JICA seminars, midterm training systems in Japan’s universities and other private organizations, symposiums and workshops to strengthen legislative systems, and cooperation with African regional organs to complement and review these programs) — Systematizing and strengthening programs for dispatching specialists — Bolstering and increasing the number of “human resource development projects” — Supporting construction of facilities needed for collecting and analyzing information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preventing excessive concentration of authority and maintaining balance in government systems • Increasing the transparency and accountability of politics • Improving government’s policy-making ability • Boosting citizens’ desire to participate in politics
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aid to reform judicial systems <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Reinforcing organizations within judicial systems — Strengthening the functions of judicial systems (specifically, by implementing the sort of training systems used to strengthen legislative functions as described above) — Introducing judicial ombudsman systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bringing about the universal rule of law • Establishing a system of checks and balances • Doing away with political corruption and the patron-client system of government

Making legislative systems stronger and more resilient	
Specific measures	Goals and expected results
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing systems allowing legislators to access information • Providing and systematizing organs and technologies to support legislators' law-making activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensuring the independence of the legislature from the executive branch • Increasing legislators' law-drafting abilities

Improving and reforming administrative apparatuses	
Specific measures	Goals and expected results
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating systems to train human resources • Bolstering systems for administrative and accounting oversight • Increasing administrative transparency and accountability and improving information disclosure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boosting the efficiency and effectiveness of administrative activities • Clarifying the limits of authority and preventing the ballooning of administrative powers • Implementing policies more efficiently and gaining a measure of trust for politics

Boosting and improving people's civic consciousness	
Specific measures	Goals and expected results
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning and implementing projects jointly with NGOs and other groups to boost civic consciousness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laying the groundwork for democratic politics and good governance • Getting rid of patron-client relationships in government

Making the press freer and stronger	
Specific measures	Goals and expected results
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training media personnel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making citizens more willing to take part in the political process • Making more information publicly available and helping democracy become firmly established

Ensuring fair elections	
Specific measures	Goals and expected results
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting elections and strengthening election observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carrying out free, fair elections • Increasing the number of citizens who participate in politics

IV. POVERTY REDUCTION

(1) NEPAD's Central Concern

Poverty reduction is the central concern of the New Partnership for Africa's Development. Despite all the loud cries for redressing the problem ever since the days of independence, poverty has spread yet more widely around Africa. This leads to the waste of human resources from the economic and social perspectives and, in areas of social security including crime, disease, and internment facilities, it imposes high economic and social costs. To disregard those without even the minimum necessary levels of nourishment, health and medical care, water, and housing would be a matter of grave concern from the viewpoint of human rights.

(2) Causes of the African Poverty Problem

Poverty is not just a matter of a low level of income and an insufficiency of material supplies. The meaning of poverty extends widely to the concepts of isolation, alienation, dependence, limited social and political participation, meager assets, vulnerability to external shocks, and exposure to discrimination and violence. Broadly viewed, poverty is brought about by economic, social, and political causes all acting together. Historically, it results from a complicated web of factors with roots in precolonial traditions, the legacy of the colonial era, and the policies applied since independence in the political, economic, and social arenas. In this way, the causes of African poverty are exceedingly complex. Even when these causes are viewed separately, we can plainly see that the basic human rights of the impoverished are not being safeguarded. Poverty for this reason needs to be perceived as an issue involving human rights.

There is a tendency in NEPAD to focus only on low income levels in discussions of poverty. As an organization that has drawn attention to the complexity of Africa's problems, NEPAD needs to bear in mind that poverty, too, has deep-reaching roots. Given that it is difficult to address poverty even as a simple economic problem, can we really expect to adequately address it comprehensively, including its social and historical aspects, with the policy prescription favored by the Washington Consensus—introducing a market economy?

(3) Reducing Poverty Through Economic Growth

Probably nobody would seriously object to the principle that poverty should be reduced by achieving economic growth—the policy stance Japan adopts. That being the case, we are compelled to ask why it is that economic growth in Africa has remained stagnant for such a long time. Is it reasonable to expect that African economies can achieve sustained, stable growth if only their countries make use of a proper policy mix, including measures to make structural adjustments, attain macroeconomic stability, build infrastructure, promote export industries, draw in foreign capital, and introduce advanced technologies? To put this bluntly, is the situation in the countries of Africa

more or less the same as the situation that Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, and other such countries were in prior to their economic development? If economic management is appropriately conducted in line with the Washington Consensus, can we expect to see the advent of African states enjoying a Korean or Taiwanese pace of growth after the passage of a few decades?

(4) African Development Problems: Excessive Dependence on Primary Product Exports

(A) Resource-intensive industry

Primary product prices followed a rising trend from the 1960s into the 1970s, and this contributed greatly to the growth of post-independence African economies. Prices reversed direction around the time of the first oil crisis (1973–74), however, and thereafter Africa's terms of trade moved only in an unfavorable direction. African economies are heavily dependent on primary products, and commonly they have specialized in the production and export of just one or two products. This has basically not changed since colonial times. Starting in the colonial age, Africa's resource-intensive industries were essentially incorporated into the economies of Europe and the United States, especially the former suzerain states. Africa offered a supply of inexpensive resources, and much of the added value of African products was treated as profits on capital invested. These profits contributed to capital accumulation in the economies of the advanced countries. After processing, products were exported back to Africa, where multinational corporations of the West, which virtually monopolized local markets, sold them at the highest prices the markets could bear. Needless to say, the profits from the sales went to these corporations.

(B) Lingering colonial-type economic systems

After gaining independence, African countries implemented policies to change their colonial-type economic structures. They nationalized companies and fostered public enterprises, and they adopted various regulations designed to protect the home market and domestic industries. By and large, however, these policies ran aground on the patron-client system rooted in African society. Economic liberalization has been pursued since the late 1980s in the name of structural adjustment, and steps have been taken to privatize corporations, deregulate, terminate agricultural subsidies, and remove protective barriers. Even so, African economies have not moved onto a sustained growth track. Far from it, market opening has brought in floods of inexpensive goods made in industrial nations and other developing nations, and domestic industries have suffered severe damage.

The domestic market is often small, making it susceptible to domination by a single multinational corporation. Relatively few companies are present even in industries suited to small-scale manufacturing firms, and the business climate encourages collusion rather than competition among rival businesses. To make matters

worse, the removal of export controls on commodities such as coffee and tea has caused export prices to drop, and small-scale producers have seen their incomes decline. Apart from such cases as South Africa and Botswana, African countries still have ties of dependence so strong as to make them in effect a low-income sector of their former colonial masters and other Western economies.

(C) The need to move beyond existing systems

Why are African countries not doing more in the way of processing the primary products they produce before exporting them? It is true that they face constraints in terms of technology, capital, and markets, but it can also be noted that the status quo is being preserved by the policies of the developed countries and the corporate strategies of the multinationals. The situation at present is one that also makes huge profits for the political elite of African nations, and these people are not looking for change. If self-sustaining development is the goal, these relations of dependence and subordination must be severed by means of autonomous economic activity; plans must be made to energize domestic economies and elevate productivity, and efforts must be directed at diversifying production at the same time. In brief, we must recognize that the ills of African economies cannot be cured using the existing prescription of the neoclassical camp.

(5) Revitalizing Agriculture

In the African economy, poverty reduction is the starting point of self-sustaining economic development, and the endeavor to achieve it must begin not in the manufacturing sector controlled directly and indirectly by multinationals but in agricultural communities, where 70% of the impoverished population is to be found. Agriculture has been slighted ever since the start of independence. It has been treated as nothing more than a source of inexpensive foods for urban workers. The sector's output has failed to keep up with population growth, and this has turned the African continent, which used to be an exporter of grains, into one where all countries but South Africa are importing grains. With the problems of agricultural stagnation and food importation being so apparent, why has not more been done to promote agriculture and to make it a priority target for investment? Even today, when the political elite is constantly proclaiming that farming development is the cornerstone of economic development, governments are channeling little investment into the sector, and rural communities in most African countries are places of heart-wrenching destitution.

The indigence in the farming sector is most conspicuous on small farms and in families headed by women. Countries opting for structural adjustment policies are on the increase, and they are removing state-run marketing agencies from their policy frameworks and eliminating food subsidies in urban areas. Such steps have had a major disruptive impact on agricultural production. People in the low-income stratum in cities and the countryside have been directly affected, and their lives have been made difficult.

In view of this situation, now is the time to revive policies for the promotion of agriculture.

(6) Constructive Utilization of Rural Communities

A comprehensive development program for rural society is needed for reducing poverty in farming villages and other rural communities. Traditional communities in the African countryside are on the whole still relatively healthy, although there are variations among countries and regions. Making use of community initiatives, leadership, and bonds of solidarity, African countries can revitalize and strengthen the independence of rural communities even without spending large sums of money.

(7) The Spirit of Self-Reliance in Rural Communities

Farmers have a need for banks from which they can borrow operating funds on reasonable terms. They use the funds at certain times of the year for purchasing seeds and fertilizer and securing labor, and if ideal conditions prevail, they earn a reasonable profit when they sell what they produce on the market. Farmers also need a supply of market information. The strengthening of agencies that disseminate farming information can lead to increased production for market sales since farmers do not farm only to feed themselves, and it can also contribute to improvement of cultivated land, innovation in farming machinery, replenishment of livestock, and the introduction of new cultivation techniques. Small-scale clinics, meanwhile, can improve the health of rural families, which will increase the chances for children to finish primary and secondary schooling.

If rural residents can hold hope for the future, even if they cannot anticipate these sorts of ideal conditions, development will occur, and progress will be made toward the reduction of poverty. Policies and systems capable of sustaining hope for the future are required. What is needed is not guidance in farming techniques alone but a social development program for the countryside overall. We must understand that agricultural development and, in turn, poverty reduction, depend on overall community development in rural areas.

The traditional community remains present in many African rural villages, and local leaders and community groups still have the organizational ability to initiate activities. Top-down planning is not the way to undertake rural development, as the failures of the 1960s and 1970s demonstrate. A more effective approach is to hold ongoing dialogues with the community, draw up plans that make the most of local initiatives, and give these initiatives support. The key lies in the way assistance is provided. A policy of giving farmers whatever they ask for will not stimulate activities that expand production and raise productivity; to apply this policy would be to play the role of the patron in the patron-client system. Support should instead be extended to the assorted activities that communities plan and begin to undertake on their own initiative. Assistance must not be supply driven; it needs to be driven by demand.

V. CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE

(1) Conflict Prevention and Settlement

Peace and security in Africa are indispensable conditions for the continent's development. The consolidation of peace is, accordingly, a key to the success of NEPAD and the TICAD process. There are many basic causes of African conflicts, including fragile states, lack of legitimate state authority, power struggles, weak leadership, political differences among ethnic groups and tribes, intervention by foreign powers, insufficient good governance, and unfair distribution of profits. For peace and security to prevail in Africa, there must be both a commitment from the international community and a firm resolve to settle conflicts among the countries of Africa themselves.

It is precisely in this area of peace and security that major differences separate the African Union from its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity. The AU is determined to construct innovative and effective mechanisms for the prevention and settlement of conflicts. At present the G8 is pursuing an initiative called the G8 Africa Action Plan, which has moved beyond the stage of the so-called Berlin Process and is focusing on upgrading African capabilities for peacekeeping operations and conflict prevention and settlement. In the TICAD process as well, there is a need to bring up peace and security issues again and propose measures for the consolidation of peace.

To achieve security, efforts must be made to prevent crises from occurring, and a system for conflict resolution, one that has been reinforced by the international community's unswerving involvement, must be put into place. Crises are manifestations of deep-seated negative factors in society and endogenous and exogenous tensions; frequently they occur because society lacks the means to ensure cohesion and peace among ethnic groups. Discussion on the political level turns violent at such times, and friendly relations among neighboring states mutate into border disputes.

True conflict prevention requires a stable environment. Guided by the principle of good governance, the state must be careful to accord respect to public freedom, show concern for public welfare and public goods, listen to the voices of the people, and maintain equilibrium among the ethnic groups that make up the country. A gentle civil society will blossom if this path is taken, and the country will discover unity and cohesion. Economic development, which constitutes the first answer to averting upheavals, will then become possible. The state must have the skills to instill respect for the legal system, public order, and the judicial administration, and it must perform its duty to the people.

(2) Specific Policy Measures

At TICAD III as well, we must adamantly assert the necessity of providing assistance for the following purposes.

(A) Elevating the legitimacy of state authority

The actors in African conflicts are states. They are, moreover, often weakened and failed states that do not have much legitimate power. The way these states govern is in itself one of the major causes of disputes. Accordingly, elevating the legitimacy of state authority offers an effective means of resolving conflicts. Toward this end, a number of improvements need to be made in political systems, ruling systems, and governance. These include strengthening the institutions of democracy, securing the transparency of government power, establishing political leadership with responsibility for the people that shoulders this responsibility as it should, achieving accountability in the political process and in government (having the state and the government behave responsibly in affairs of government), incorporating checks and balances in the authority structure, and strengthening public security institutions.

(B) Concrete international assistance for DDR

Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of combatants are indispensable for building a sustainable peace, one that anchors peace firmly, in the wake of a conflict. The support of the international community is needed for DDR implementation. More specifically, there must be financial and personnel support for the NGOs working in the DDR field, monitoring of arms sales must be reinforced, and support must be provided for the return and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons. Another cause of the strife in Africa is the tendency for participants in disputes to unhesitatingly procure and employ weapons, making wrongful use of scarce resources. For this reason, the international community must do everything it can to put a stop to this sort of improper use of precious resources. In addition, a major impediment to the preservation of peace in the wake of many conflicts is the presence of antipersonnel mines strewn about the land. The international community needs also to assist in the work of removing these mines.

(C) Promoting regional and subregional cooperation

In order to avert disputes among African states, there will undoubtedly be a need to strengthen cooperation and integration on the regional level of the African Union and also to build stronger ties of interdependence on the subregional level, such as the Economic Community of West African States. More concretely, the states of Africa must strive earnestly to forge good-neighbor agreements, build and strengthen AU organizations (especially the AU Peace and Security Council), improve their ability to prevent and resolve conflicts, and establish an African peacekeeping force. International assistance for these self-help efforts by African countries needs to be considered at TICAD III.

The global community needs to extend appropriate aid based on a good understanding of the regional and historical context of the African countries receiving

the aid. All the parties concerned must work to coordinate this aid endeavor, and a message to this effect needs to be delivered clearly at TICAD III.

VI. THE HIV/AIDS PROBLEM

(1) Promotion of the Okinawa Infectious Diseases Initiative

At the G8 Kyushu-Okinawa Summit in 2000, Japan, as the host, launched the Okinawa Infectious Diseases Initiative. Since then a number of international conferences on the theme of infectious diseases have been held, including the April 2001 HIV/AIDS summit of the OAU, held in Nigeria, and the June 2001 special session on HIV/AIDS at the United Nations. In the Okinawa initiative, Japan has committed itself to extending \$3 billion in cooperation over a five-year period. The aim of the initiative is to acquaint developing countries with the experience and insights Japan gained after World War II while combating tuberculosis with the help of a public health campaign and, in Okinawa, successfully eradicating malaria and filariasis.

The world needs to know that this initiative, which employs a bilateral framework, was one of the key moves leading to the creation of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, which has a multilateral framework. Japan should direct attention to its accomplishments in this bilateral endeavor at TICAD III, and while seeking to exercise leadership and take the initiative with respect to countermeasures for HIV/AIDS and other contagious diseases, it should clearly declare its intention to increase its support for bilateral activities in the future. Needless to say, this assistance must be coordinated with the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria.

As a country in the vanguard of the battle against HIV/AIDS, Japan ought to distance itself from the growing enthusiasm for “pledging contests,” at which governments try to outdo each other in declarations of fund commitments. It should state the case for making use of South-South cooperation (citing the successes in Thailand and elsewhere), and it should also draw attention to the low-profile medical assistance being extended at the grass roots on the African scene.

(2) The Significance of HIV/AIDS

The HIV/AIDS problem needs to be separated from other infectious diseases. We need to view it as constituting an important component of “human security,” which is being positioned as a pillar of Japan’s policy for official development assistance. Particularly in discussions of the grave situation in southern Africa, where various scholarly studies have been conducted, the prevailing view is that rating HIV/AIDS as “just another contagious disease” would be inadequate.

HIV/AIDS has implications extending well beyond the domain of infectious diseases. Projections indicate that it will have a severe negative impact on economies in the future, and the possibility has been pointed out that it will adversely affect the progress toward democracy by causing unlooked-for, large-scale losses of such vital human resources as politicians, government officials, and intellectuals. The HIV/AIDS problem is thus a multifaceted one, and there is concern that it will act as a major

constraint on the undertakings attempted in Africa henceforth and the effects they are able to produce.

Japan needs to understand that there are real limits to increases of funding for the AIDS problem alone within the framework of programs to deal with infectious diseases. At the very least, Japan must make it clear that it appreciates the multifaceted nature of the HIV/AIDS problem and strive to sustain the donations of funds at the multilateral level. As far as possible, it must support preventive education in the field of schooling, where programs are already in place, cooperate with the NGOs on the scene, and in other ways demonstrate its earnest desire to deal with the HIV/AIDS problem.

VII. CIVIL SOCIETY

(1) Civil Society

(A) The significance of civil society

The term *civil society* is a handy general name for nongovernmental organizations and other such groups, but it also has other meanings, and people who make use of it need to be aware of them. In general, Western countries attach importance to freedom, democracy, and good governance in their policies, and they strive to nurture them through their aid programs. It is in this context that Westerners make use of the concept of civil society, which they see as constituting a core element of democratization policy. The term *civil society* to them gives concrete expression to one aspect of their aid philosophy. When we consider how Japanese have been using the term *shimin shakai* (civil society), however, we must question whether they have intended it to convey the same meaning. Quite often, it seems, they use *shimin shakai* in a more practical way as just another term for NGOs, as a word designating a new partner for cooperation, collaboration, and dialogue in aid programs. To be sure, there is no inherent problem in applying such a meaning to *shimin shakai*, as long as it is understood that this is what the term is meant to convey.

(B) Sizing up NGOs as partners

In the real world, NGOs operating in Japan and partner countries are acquiring a fair degree of importance in the implementation of Japan's aid policy, and as a general consideration, we need to clarify collaboration with these organizations. In relation to the foregoing discussion, however, a matter of greater importance is the offering of coherent explanations of the decisions being made to collaborate with or give support to certain NGOs in specific aid projects. A yardstick is needed for measuring NGOs to determine their suitability as partners. As Japan accumulates experience working with them, it will have to address this need.

(2) NGOs

(A) The advance of NGOs since the start of TICAD

When we look back over the 10 years since the start of the TICAD process, we can see that NGO participation in major international conferences has dramatically increased. Both in the debates at conferences and in the follow-up process, the participation and cooperation of NGOs and the use made of their mobility have become so crucial that no report on what the conferences have achieved or can hope to achieve is considered to be complete without mention of this NGO input.

When the TICAD process started in 1993, NGO participation was not accorded a place in the basic concept of the process (to be sure, the 1993 Tokyo Declaration did take note of the role played by NGOs and other organizations of civil society and the need to cooperate with them). The consensus in the halls of the Japanese bureaucracy was that

TICAD would be a gathering just of governments.

This attitude was to gradually change. Shortly before TICAD II took place in 1998, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, responding to appeals from a number of Japanese NGOs, offered support to a parallel event in which African NGOs and others participated. This international NGO symposium, which took place in Osaka, was titled “NGOs’ Visions and Proposals for African Development.” The results of the symposium, which were reported to a plenary session of TICAD II, received high praise from the conference chair. This was an epochal step forward for these NGOs.

(B) ACT 2003 and TICAD III

In preparation for TICAD III, Japanese NGOs working in the field of African affairs established ACT 2003 (Action Civile pour TICAD 2003), which is an NGO network whose aim is to ensure that the concerns, knowledge, and experience of people active on the grass-roots level are adequately reflected in the conference. In early August, prior to the start of the main conference at the end of September, ACT 2003 will lead another international NGO symposium, again with the support of the Foreign Ministry and this time in Tokyo. This symposium, to which representatives of African NGOs have been invited, will take place within the framework of the TICAD process.

The Japanese government and the co-organizers of TICAD III are fully aware of this broad-based acknowledgement of NGOs. We can anticipate that the results of this NGO symposium will be adequately taken into account in the main conference and mentioned in the chair’s summary.

(C) NGO involvement and specific proposals

Whether based in Japan or in Africa, NGOs are engaged in backbreaking endeavors in all the priority areas on the TICAD III agenda, and they are constantly testing and reworking new approaches. Based on analyses of the various factors that come into view during this patient work, NGO representatives will put forward concrete proposals on how policies can be made more effective and where more work is needed. To achieve success, no doubt TICAD III will need to incorporate the best of these NGO viewpoints, which are rooted in the African community.

- We ask for the understanding and support of public officials and others to make the international NGO symposium organized by ACT 2003 a success.
- NGO proposals are based on experiences in the field, and sometimes even the responsible ministries of African governments are unable to appreciate their content. It may therefore be helpful to have the details of the NGO reports compiled and distributed as a reference material attached to the chair’s summary of TICAD III.
- NEPAD, which can be called a new breeze blowing from Africa, is being watched with much expectation, and consideration is being given to its eventual integration with the AU. Whatever the case, African development has to be facilitated by the respective

African countries, regional organizations, and NGOs. An effort should be made at TICAD III to encourage NEPAD to draw NGOs into its activities.

- The AU is hoping to achieve balanced development among the five African regions, but this development, while assisted from above, must rely on assorted schemes designed to give support to activities that arise spontaneously from among the common people, particularly in poor areas, and NGOs are indispensable agents for making this happen. TICAD should make an appeal for the introduction of policy measures that enable NGOs to work yet more effectively in such projects.

- Having shrugged off the initial negative reaction to the TICAD process, Africa appears to be gradually gaining interest in learning from the Asian development experience and seizing the opportunity to move forward. In the NGO field of activities as well, progress has been made in the private sector's Asia-Africa cooperation. One can hear African voices requesting, for example, cooperation and exchange in microfinance (the supply of financial services handling small-scale loans and deposits for poor people); in this area Africans are interested in Asian experiences, methods, and funds. In response to this budding cooperation among Asian and African NGOs, which constitutes one of the successes of the TICAD process, TICAD III should seek to make lateral support available.

- While bearing in mind the occasional tendency among African countries to adopt a domineering attitude toward domestic and external NGOs, the participants in TICAD III should appeal for the fostering of NGO autonomy. Also bearing in mind the importance of keeping in close contact with the ordinary people of Africa everywhere, they should urge that NGOs be drawn in and put to work as development partners in the planning, implementation, and follow-up evaluation of the various development initiatives at TICAD III.

VIII. THE ROLE OF THE UNDP

(1) Africa and the Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals were endorsed at the 2000 UN Millennium Summit as a common agenda for the international community. The eight MDGs are to (1) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, (2) achieve universal primary education, (3) promote gender equality and empower women, (4) reduce child mortality, (5) improve maternal health, (6) combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases, (7) ensure environmental sustainability, and (8) create a global partnership for development. One or more targets have been set for each goal, most with a deadline of 2015. The United Nations Development Program is in charge of coordinating the UN endeavor to achieve these goals, and in December 2001 UN Secretary General Kofi Annan designated UNDP Administrator Mark Brown, in his capacity as chair of the UN Development Group, to serve as “campaign manager” and “scorekeeper” for the MDGs.

The UNDP titled its Human Development Report for 2003 “Millennium Development Goals: A compact among nations to end human poverty.” This report, which draws on the latest data, reviews the progress toward MDG achievement in countries around the world and analyzes the impediments to it. It vividly depicts the harsh realities of the situation in Africa in particular, where in the sub-Saharan region, if the current pace of progress does not change, the poverty goal will not be attained until 2147 and the child-mortality goal until 2165. In terms of the targets for HIV/AIDS and hunger, the situation is actually getting worse instead of better.

The 2003 report reckons that there are 59 “priority countries” where many MDGs will be impossible to achieve in the absence of emergency measures. Of these, 31 countries, 25 of which are in the sub-Saharan region, are classified as “top priority countries” where income and other human development standards are extremely low and where progress toward the goals has stalled or is moving in reverse. The other 28 countries, of which 13 are sub-Saharan, were accorded a “high priority” classification, which means that while improvement in some fields is evident and the situation is not entirely dire, no progress is being made toward some of the most important goals as a result of insufficient resources and inadequate policies.

TICAD III offers an excellent opportunity for discussing what the TICAD process, which espouses the twin principles of African ownership and global partnership, can do toward MDG attainment. TICAD has played a major role in the promotion of global partnership for sustainable African development by alerting the world to the importance of African development ever since the process got started in 1993. The UNDP, which is one of TICAD’s co-organizers, has given high marks to what the process has accomplished over its 10-year history, and it intends to keep on making use of TICAD in its support of African development.

(2) Five UNDP Roles in the TICAD Process

(A) Promoting the formulation of development strategy

Making use of the TICAD process, the UNDP will state the case for stepping up support for NEPAD. The UNDP will also support the implementation of African-led action programs for attaining the MDGs. While conveying necessary information, engaging in policy dialogue, and making proposals, it will work through TICAD to secure assistance for these programs from the international community.

(B) Promoting a global partnership for African development

As the coordinator of the global development network of the UN system, the UNDP will work through TICAD to flesh out a partnership for African development in a variety of forms. This partnership needs to be broadened beyond the relations Japan and other developed countries have with African countries. It should include cooperative relations among developing countries, notably those between Asia and Africa, and it should also encompass the African development networks of other UN, international, and regional organizations.

(C) Tailoring aid for Africa to meet local needs

The UNDP has permanent offices in 53 developing countries in Africa. There is much these country offices can accomplish by conducting follow-up activities for high-level policy dialogue at TICAD III and in other places, while abiding by the principle of African ownership at the local level.

(D) Promoting publicity activities for TICAD and African development

The UNDP is conducting publicity activities aimed at deepening recognition and understanding of TICAD III and African development needs within Japan and around the world. After consulting with the other TICAD co-organizers, it issued a communication strategy in October 2002 and solicited support broadly from other UN organizations. Working hand in hand with the Japanese government and other co-organizers, it has produced pamphlets, posters, and TV documentaries and posted information on the World Wide Web. This year the UNDP has been chairing the United Nations Communications Group, and at the second annual meeting of the group in June, it led a discussion on publicizing TICAD and African development. In addition, it organized a visit to Ghana by UNDP Goodwill Ambassador Misako Konno, a Japanese actress, in August, and it has plans for making news about Japanese assistance, TICAD, and its own activities in Africa widely available through media reports.

(C) Cooperation and coordination for TICAD in the UN system

The UNDP acts as the secretary of the committee of TICAD co-organizers, using a special unit in its headquarters for this purpose. In recent years numerous TICAD-related activities have been carried out by UN organizations that, while not serving as co-organizers of the process, are nonetheless in favor of its objectives. The

UNDP warmly welcomes this sort of involvement. Making use of its UN resident coordinator system and acting in the capacity of chair of the UN Development Group, the UNDP strives to enhance cooperation so as to maximize the results of all the activities within the UN system.

IX. STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF JAPAN'S AFRICAN POLICY

(1) The Distinguishing Feature of Japan's African Policy

As a country that has moved from developing status into the ranks of the developed nations, and also as a country that has never had African colonies, Japan interacts with African countries on their own level. This distinguishes its foreign policy toward Africa from the policies of the developed nations of the West, a point that has been clarified in, for example, past addresses on Japan's African policy by its prime ministers and foreign ministers. Japan's policy toward Africa, which in this way has a special character, needs to be positioned above the framework of the Washington Consensus, which in effect legitimizes the preservation of Western countries' vested interests in Africa. This is because Japan, unlike Western countries, neither has vested interests of its own in Africa nor has a need to protect Western-led systems.

(2) Africa's Essential Problems and Japan

The current situation in Africa and the problems the continent faces become easier to understand when we appreciate that the economies of African countries have been incorporated into the economies of their former colonial rulers and other Western countries. An additional problem in African countries is the patron-client system, which is deeply rooted in politics, the economy, and society. As long as this system exerts strong influence, the importance of the issue of governance must not be underestimated. The attainment of a self-reliant and sustained pattern of growth in these countries would, for Japan, be beneficial in political terms as well as economic. The reality in Asia, as demonstrated by the experiences of East Asia, including Southeast Asia, is that development has been accomplished without leaving economies entirely in the hands of the international market mechanism. In this light, Japan should pursue a policy toward African countries that seeks a major role for government in economic management and a political commitment to the realization of good governance.

(3) Trade Policy

In the fields of trade and assistance, the policy that Japan ought to be pursuing is not in all respects being faithfully translated into actual policy measures. In terms of trade, only about 1% of Japan's total volume of trade is with African countries. More than 50% of that trade is with just one country, South Africa, while most of the rest, or 40%, is with Liberia for its flag-of-convenience system, which merely allows Japanese vessels to sail under the Liberian flag. Even though Japan imports very few of Africa's leading exports—agricultural products—it imposes a full range of import controls on them, and, even though Africa's development needs to begin with agriculture, Japan does not extend preferential treatment to its agricultural products. This sends a very negative signal to farm development on the continent, quite apart from any technical assistance Japan may be providing. Western countries, which are overly protective of their own

agricultural sectors, come under criticism for making use of a double standard, but in fact they cleverly open their markets quite widely to products that cause few problems, a stance that gives them good publicity in African eyes.

(4) Tasks in Economic Cooperation Policy

Many issues need to be addressed in Japan's economic cooperation policy. Japan's aid for Southeast Asia, most people agree, has made a significant contribution to Asia's rapid economic development. It does not necessarily follow, however, that equally good results can be achieved in Africa simply by repeating more or less what was done in Asian countries, although many people think in that way. In its aid for Asia, Japan has focused on building infrastructure, providing hardware, and facilitating the transfer of technology. By chance, this assistance paradigm turned out to neatly match the political, economic, and social conditions in Southeast Asia. Precisely because of this good fit, it seems reasonable to argue, Japan's aid has made a constructive contribution to the growth of the region's economies. Another special factor is that market expansion is one of the strategic objectives the Japanese have targeted in Southeast Asia, and the government's economic cooperation has meshed smoothly with the private sector's trade and investment.

This aid paradigm has worked well in Southeast Asia, but it is not working well in Africa. To be sure, some African projects have been successful, but these represent only dots on the African landscape; they have not yet become connected together in lines, much less spread out over surfaces, at which point they would translate into national development. This observation does not apply only to Japan's aid; much the same can be said of the African aid extended by other donor countries and international organizations.

(5) Problems in the Aid Implementation Machinery

In addition to the insufficient appreciation of Africa's special characteristics and the inadequate applicability of Japan's aid paradigm, there are without doubt serious deficiencies in the aid implementation machinery. TICAD, which has delivered an internationally approved statement about the vision and framework for African development, has indeed met with success as a Japanese initiative, but it is fair to ask whether TICAD has really become the cornerstone of the efforts on the ground to implement Japan's African aid policy. Can we honestly say that when African projects are being planned, the TICAD framework is foremost in the minds of all the officials in the Foreign Ministry's Economic Cooperation Bureau, the economic cooperation personnel in Japan's embassies, the staff members handling African affairs in the Japan International Cooperation Agency, and the officials in charge of the assistance sections of the respective ministries and agencies, as well as all of the numerous members of investigating commissions dispatched to put projects together? Joint investigation teams go separately to many African countries to work on economic cooperation plans,

and while they no doubt strive to satisfy guidelines designed specifically for each country (country assistance programs), surely they also endeavor to please each ministry by nominating and approving at least some of the projects it is interested in.

Many of the personnel working in the Economic Cooperation Bureau and in embassies are on loan from one of the central government's ministries; they are not necessarily assistance specialists, and they are often inclined to apply project screening and financing criteria that match the interests of the ministry from which they have been seconded. The decisions made by the Economic Cooperation Bureau's divisions, which have separate functions, are apparently not always well coordinated. No doubt it would be wise to review and revise the arrangements for sending personnel on loan to the bureau and to diplomatic establishments abroad.

France, the United Kingdom, and the United States staff their diplomatic establishments in Africa with people who are knowledgeable about African history, politics, and economic affairs. With such personnel in charge of administrative business and economic cooperation, it becomes easier to execute policy measures that are in line with each country's African policy and that, accordingly, promote each country's interests. In Japan's diplomatic establishments in Africa, by contrast, the staff members responsible for economic cooperation—the people who get aid projects moving—are likely to be seconded technical officials who know nothing about Africa, and they may even be ignorant of the TICAD process.

JICA endeavors to turn its own staff members into assistance experts, and this effort has met with some success. JICA operates under the supervision of the Economic Cooperation Bureau, however, and in some cases the bureau officials who provide this supervision are themselves seconded from elsewhere. If these supervisors are not knowledgeable about aid, will they not sometimes reach decisions that fail to make effective use of JICA's specialists? Of course, assistance professionals and Africa experts are not the only ones capable of reaching wise decisions. Still, there is reason to believe that despite the availability of the excellent framework provided by TICAD, Japan's aid for Africa has not made sufficient use of it. The time has come for reform of the economic cooperation machinery and of the arrangements for seconding public servants to front-line posts.

(6) Dynamic Dispatch of Personnel

Under the aid philosophy embodied in the TICAD process, Japan will make financial commitments to individual African countries, the AU, and Africa's subregional organizations, but it should also undertake to engage in dialogue and the exchange of views at the local level and to put forward ideas concerning development, dispute prevention, and postconflict peace construction. Building a human network encompassing the countries, the subregional organizations, and the AU overall is needed. This is an endeavor that can provide diplomacy with a visible face.

TICAD III offers an opportune moment for thoroughly reviewing both the TICAD

process and the economic cooperation system. In the course of executing the TICAD process, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry should be given spots to fill on an “All-Japan” team. As was just explained, the existing arrangements for seconding public servants to embassies and consulates need to be overhauled. Africa experts who are knowledgeable about government business as well as economic cooperation need to be trained and put to work in overseas diplomatic establishments.

On occasion the foreign ministries and aid agencies of Europe send personnel to work for the AU and Africa’s subregional organizations. Japan has arranged to send JICA specialists to the Southern African Development Community to assist in the sphere of technical cooperation, but it needs to do more than that. Thought should be given to sending diplomats, think-tank researchers, scholars, specialists, and representatives of NGOs and other civil-society organizations to Africa, where they would work with the AU and subregional organizations (including the SADC, the Economic Community of West African States, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development). At the same time, a system should be set up for dispatching senior specialist researchers—professors, associate professors, and other experts on development issues and African disputes, possibly including JICA’s own experts—to Japan’s embassies and Africa’s organizations. In some cases, these specialists could be accorded treatment as staff members of the Foreign Ministry itself (the office of the Director General of Sub-Saharan African Affairs) or of its diplomatic establishments abroad.

Because of the straitened circumstances of public finance these days, Japan is being forced to make qualitative changes in its official development assistance. We may say that the age of focusing narrowly on the size of fund commitments has come to an end. In its cooperation with African countries as well, Japan must move beyond just providing financial assistance for traditional economic cooperation schemes. Bearing in mind the special circumstances and geopolitical dynamics of African countries, Japan must strive to provide dynamic human and intellectual contributions.

X. DRIVING THE TICAD PROCESS FORWARD

(1) The Importance of Publicity

For a decade now Japan, under the TICAD banner, has been urging the whole world to take note of the importance of African development. Japan's dedication to this quest, which has earned it the trust of African countries, has become the biggest asset of the country's African diplomacy. However, there is still a tendency in African countries and international organizations to misunderstand TICAD as being a fund for development or a forum for fund pledges.

Now that a decade has passed since the first conference in 1993, we have finally reached the point where the name TICAD and the nature of the TICAD process are beginning to gain international recognition. Even so, only a few people know more than a little about TICAD, and most have never heard of it. This means that even though the process is now 10 years old, we must put even more effort into public relations, not just in Japan and Africa but widely around the world.

Though TICAD is not an institution that implements actual projects, a wide assortment of projects are being carried out in its name. Henceforth we must raise the TICAD banner yet higher and conduct thoroughgoing PR activities at home and abroad for all the projects Japan is undertaking, whether independently or as a cosponsor. When, for example, contributions for information and communication technology or HIV/AIDS are announced at summit meetings, attention should be paid to publicizing them in readily understandable terms, thereby letting the public know how much of the aid will go to Africa and where it will be put to use.

(2) Priorities for Promoting the TICAD Process

- A system for promoting TICAD ought to be established in Japan. An office whose purpose is the promotion of TICAD should be set up within the Foreign Ministry and made responsible for coordinating African aid. All aid going to Africa should be routed through this office, whose main goal will be to minimize the harm caused by bureaucratic sectionalism.
- NEPAD has been slow to get up and running. As NEPAD is a project on the national and regional level, Japan could constructively support it by regarding it as a project that falls within the TICAD framework and is consistent with Japan's country assistance programs.
- Numerous economic cooperation projects have already been implemented in Africa. When new projects are started up, however, they should be examined from the perspective of the above-mentioned TICAD promotion system, and they should seek above all to achieve comprehensive development of rural communities, which is the foremost concern of the endeavor to reduce poverty through economic growth.