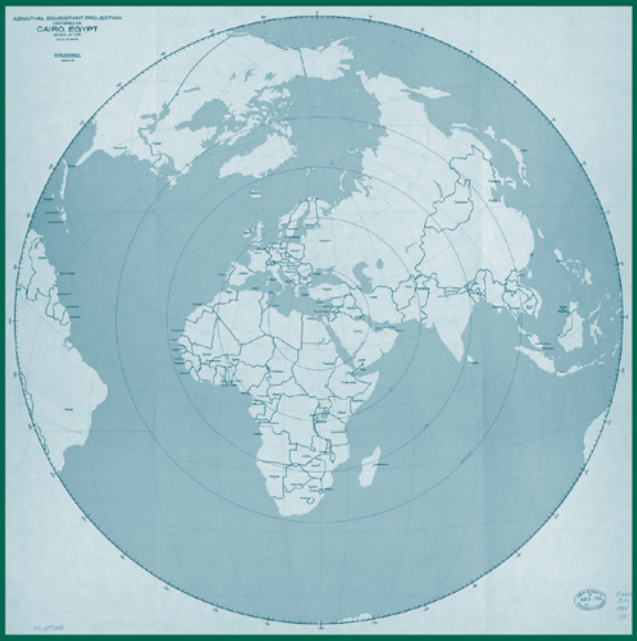
JAPAN-AFRICA RELATIONS



Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo

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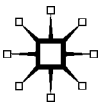

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This book is dedicated to my parents:
My mother Pala Dembo Louise Kasongo and
my father Disashi Jerôme Kasongo, who as teachers taught me
how to read and who provided me with experiences and
skills of hard-work ethic.

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Preface

The status of Japan in the post–War World II period as a militarily defeated power by the United States and its allies, and as a dependent and clientelist state, and that of Africa as a colonized continent by Western European powers but embroiled in the decolonization process, theoretically complicates the study of Japan-African relations as the paradigms constructed on a linear thinking do not apply. Japan's relations with Africa cannot be fully understood and appreciated using existing classical theories of international relations, despite their relative validity. Japan and Africa, as a continent, met during a very complex era in world politics—the Cold War, and their objectives were located within the state centric deontology of self-centered, political decolonization in Africa, and interests of global capitalism—with its claimed borderless settings.

The thinking about writing a book on Japan-Africa relations and the act of writing such a book have been a long and gradual process that was enriched with my expanded scholarship and world experience.

Despite the popularity of "Made-in-Japan" since the second half of the twentieth century, Japan was still an enigma for me until I came to study at the University of Chicago in the mid 1970s. My fascination with Japan, its people, its culture, and its history started to be invigorated after taking two graduate courses in the Department of Political Science with Professor Bernard Siberman on modernization of Japan and Japan's Meiji Restoration. My passion was concentrated on the nature of the absolute Japanese imperial power and its relationship with its subjects. This fascination pushed me to investigate how a single imperial decision to open up to the West, led Japan on an extraordinary journey of studying Western philosophies, technologies, medicine, sciences, and the arts in the Western institutions which contributed significantly to the Japanese progress. My curiosity made me raise the issue of how a given people under an imperial system of governance was able to learn from the West and inject these complex systems of knowledge into their society—knowledge that became the cement of the Japanese economic development model. The debate about the nature of the relationship between traditionality and modernity has

been at the center of my intellectual curiosity. Can modernity and traditionality be part of the same coin, one feeding the other and vice-versa? This interest was consolidated by a friendship with a Japanese classmate in the Department of Political Science in the name of Nakamura with whom I shared common interests discussing Japanese and African cultures any time the opportunity presented itself.

Furthermore, upon graduation I decided to include Japanese politics in my comparative politics courses, especially the impact of war, given the fact that Japan is the only country on the earth to experience through a war the impact on atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the American Occupation under General Arthur MacArthur. I have been curious to know how the Japanese elite and its imperial system coped with the defeat and the Occupation from 1945 to 1951. I discovered that this defeat and its consequences significantly changed the Japanese about their attitudes toward themselves and their perceptions of the world.

The interest in studying Japanese politics and its developmental paradigms was consolidated when I was offered the position of a Visiting Research Fellow (2003-2007) by the Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE), Hiroshima University, Higashi-Hiroshima, Japan. During this period, I had an opportunity to closely observe Japanese society. I visited the country's cultural and research centers, and several cities and towns. I exchanged views with Japanese colleagues in Japan and Africa.

On my first trip to Japan, I was welcomed to Tokyo by a friend of mine, Dr. Motoffisa Kaneko, a professor at Tokyo University and also on another trip I was welcomed by another friend of mine, Dr. Kazuo Kuroda, a professor at Waseda University.

During one of my visits to Japan, I met Dr. Seifudein Adem in Tokyo who was then a Foreign Professor in the Program of Area Studies at University of Tsukuba. Later, as an Editor-in-Chief of *African and Asian Studies*, I invited him to be a guest-editor for a special edition of that journal, entitled: on "Africa and the Japanese Experience," which was published in 2005 as volume 4, number 4. I carefully read each submission and made comments on each of them projecting upon them my growing interest in Japan. This special issue was published as a book entitled: *Japan, a Model and Partner: Views and Issues in African Development* in the Brill's Book Series of International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology. It was edited by Dr. Seifudein Adem and published by Brill in 2006. In the foreword, I wrote:

> The arguments developed by many contributors in this book can be appreciated with the logic of Paulo Freire's concept of dialogical relationship.

> Both Africa and Japan have a lot to learn from one another. They have to foster that consciousness through concrete projects and realizations. They have a lot to gain from one another, as Africa located ideologically and economically in the Global South needs Japan, and Japan as a nation-state located economically and politically in the Global North and geo-culturally located in Global South needs Africa. The dualism that characterizes Japan as being part of the Global North and also sharing many elements with the Global South is an important factor that should be taken into account in making an assessment of the theories of collective benefits within African and Japanese experiences. This dialogical relationship is founded neither on the forces of nature nor on the principles of metaphysics. (2006: viii)

The issues raised in the above quotation about geopolitical and economic locations of both Japan and Africa and their policy implications have migrated into this new book.

In the spring of 2006, I prepared and gave a public talk at Wells College's Faculty Club on my preliminary thoughts concerning "Japan-Africa's political economy." When I was on sabbatical leave from Wells College in the same year, I taught a graduate course on Japanese politics in the Department of Government at Suffolk University. In this seminar, I presented some of my research and thoughts about Japan and its relationship with the world.

In addition, at the World Congress of the International Political Science Association in Fukuoka (Japan) held in July 2006, I presented a paper: "Japan's Economic and Political Relations with Africa since the 1970s and their Implications for Popular Demands for Democracy in Africa: A Preliminary Reflection." In November 2006, I presented a paper on the "Current Japanese Politics," at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts.

By 2007, the idea of writing this book became clearer and cumulated in the signing of the book contract with Palgrave Macmillan at the end of 2008.

Japan-Africa Relations is not a book of historiography in the classical sense. However, historic agencies of the Japanese state formation and Africa's quest for economic development reflect a political agenda. It is this agenda and their agents that are critically examined in this book. The arguments are located in the field of international relations, especially international political economy.

Africa is searching for new paradigms of social progress because most of her old experiments have been useless and detrimental to African causes. African societies, with their harsh conditions, have been trying to invent mechanisms that can lead to some degree of economic independence in a world system that is dominated by liberal globalization and the view

of economics as a natural science (Milton Friedman's view of science). Diversification of their relations with the industrialized countries has been viewed as a plus. It is clear that this global liberalization has not been ideologically neutral in the configuration of Africa.

Since the 1990s, Japan has also been working hard, based on the Japanese approach, to re-define its role and its independence from the United States. It is looking for allies to advance its political causes and its economic interests. In short, to be a major political actor, Japan needs to demonstrate that it has the capacity and political will to play such a role in a consistent manner, and that it has invested in the international cooperation. Africa is one of the places where the testing of Japanese international cooperation skills has been challenging.

I would like to thank very much the then Director of the Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE) at Hiroshima University, Professor Shinji Ishii, who offered me the appointment as a Visiting Research Fellow from May 1, 2003 to March 31, 2005, which was renewed once until 2007. My gratitude also goes to the CICE's faculty and its staff for a very warm and collegial welcome to their center. My appointment is one of the testimonies of the Center's interest in Africa. CICE is involved in the Japanese international cooperation. For instance, it designed Africa-University Dialogue for Basic Education Development Project and is also involved in annual visiting scholars' program and numerous research and training programs.

I would like also to thank my colleagues in Japan, Africa, and elsewhere, for giving me feedback on some dimensions of the themes and areas in several chapters of this book, which were initially presented at conferences and seminars. I greatly thank Professor John Berg, Chair of the Department of Government at Suffolk University who gave me an opportunity to teach a graduate seminar on Japanese politics while being challenged in my views and perspectives against others on Japanese democracy, Japanese foreign policy, and Japan's role in international division of labor. In doing so, I was given the opportunity to add new texts to my syllabus of the course on Japanese policy and politics that I regularly teach at Wells College.

I am also grateful to three anonymous reviewers that Palgrave Macmillan asked to review my submitted book proposal. On the basis of their comments, the proposal was revised three times before it was finally accepted by the publisher. Although I had a few disagreements with one or two of them, on the whole their comments made me rethink the whole project, especially theoretical perspectives and the literature review.

I proudly thank my family (the Lumumba-Kasongos), my parents (Pala Dembo Kasongo and Disashi Jérôme Kasongo) and all the members of my close family as well as those of my extended family for their support and

love which encouraged me to continue my engagement and the writing of this book. I am very thankful to Lushima Kuajo for reading two chapters of this book and thereby raising important issues about its content as well as posting relevant questions beyond the purvey of simple proofreading.

This book would not have been written and produced in any shape or form, without unconditional love, support and concrete assistance from Mô N'Dri, who read carefully each chapter and made substantive and critical comments that challenged my writing and my arguments. Yet, needless to say, I am in the final judgment the only person responsible for any mistakes or omissions that can be found in this book.

My hope is that readers will find the book fine to read with simple, clear but not simplistic arguments and that they would obtain some concrete knowledge about Japan and Africa which could challenge, in positive ways, their initial perspectives and understanding of both Japan and Africa.

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Chapter One
General Introduction

Issues, Main Objectives, and Justifications

The classical model of international development cooperation that was initiated by the United States and promoted by various actors in the industrial countries since the post–World War II era and in its complexity has been at crossroad juncture of its evolution in Africa. It is so partially because of the "illusion" of liberal globalization that is rooted in this model, which was imitated by old and new actors and agencies through which "development" has been perceived and filtered. This cooperation model was intended not to infringe on the principles of realist theories and practices of the state, which are as follows: sovereignty, balance of power, militarism, national security, and national interests. It was not supposed to deal with the issue of the distribution of power and its effects or policy implications. However, when it comes to Africa, there has been a certain elasticity in the ways policies were formulated and used to broadly actualize this model, as it reflects a great deal of contradictions and has produced ambiguous results in most countries. Thus, it is necessary to assess the policy implications of this model as interpreted through the Japanese lenses toward Africa.

Furthermore, the persistence of poverty in most parts of Africa, despite many efforts and programs of international cooperation development with countries in the Global North, the dysfunctionality of multipartyism, and the foreign assistance fatigue syndrome since the end of Cold War politics have raised relevant issues about real intention behind these programs. In addition, this situation has led to the questioning of the values of the dominant social paradigm in international cooperation theories and practices. However, based on the historical facts and analytical observations used in this book, this author is convinced that development cooperation can still play a positive role as an instrument of social progress in Africa provided it is well conceived, projected and used within a framework of a well-defined national project.[1]

How does one locate the interest and the motivation of Japan in contemporary international cooperation practices and politics? Although some historical dimensions are injected into the discussion, the focus is about Japanese interest and motivation in the post–World War II period. Jyotirindra Das Gupta indicated that it was the perceived threat from liberal West that moved Japanese nationalism toward preemptive military modernism (1995: 265). Japan has been fascinated with the Western concept of liberal thoughts as instruments of national and cultural defense as well as tools of social progress. Within its nationalism on the one hand, and the dynamics of the borrowed and fused liberal thoughts on the other hand, Japan developed its own model of international cooperation, which is one of the objectives of the book. Its model has been expressed strongly in its economic assistance policy to developing countries.

What have been the real purposes of foreign economic assistance, its philosophical basis, and approaches or methods used by those who dispensed it? And what have been the social impact and policy implications within the donors and recipient people and countries?

It is argued in this book that international relations, regardless of the power of the explanatory theory one is using to examine how and why two or more political actors interact the way they do, have some distributive and allocating capabilities built into them. These capabilities can be identified in closely studying the nature of the relationship itself and that of the types of political regimes involved in these relationships, their ideologies, and the structures of the political systems. Indeed, in light of the particularity of the political history, which is being considered here, I am claiming that Japanese-African political and economic linkages do embody some self-centered interests, some general divergent welfare elements, as well as some distributional consequences in both Japan and Africa.

Broadly, this introductory chapter includes a full description of all the topics or themes that are covered, an extensive examination of the major issues, general hypothetical propositions and assumptions, and main claims and arguments to be systematically developed in the book. It explains the nature of this book project and the feasibility of the arguments advanced. Furthermore, this introduction is comprehensive, but at the same time it defines what specifically is possible and what is not; what is expected in this work and what is not; what should be included and what should not. Many points that are reiterated in this particular chapter are not randomly expressed, rather they meant to emphasize the importance of some specific issues, views, and subtopics, to help clarify them further and/or to underline others in a complementarily organizational logic. Although the historical context is central in this work, this is not a book on a historiography of Japanese economic assistance to Africa at large. This would be a task of

epic proportion to undertake a meaningful study of locating the discourse within the timeline of colonial and postcolonial Africa and covering 53 countries. The claims and theories used in this work are located within the discipline of international relations, especially its political and economic dimensions and developmental studies.

The title of this book, which is JAPAN-AFRICA RELATIONS, is part of the broad subfield of international relations that has been dominated in the academia, research areas, and policy debates by the following theories: realism/neorealism, idealism/liberalism/neoliberalism, the Marxism/neo-Marxism, the English School, and various Third World perspectives. In the past 40 years or so other new theories such as constructivism, feminism, postcolonialism, green theory, and globalization (Dunne et al. 2007) have also been added to either challenge or to complement the assumptions, epistemological and philosophical foundation, and policy implications of the abovementioned dominant theories.

All these theories have been used as instruments of fully or partially explaining, from a variety of perspectives, world politics in terms of relative and absolute power among the nation-states, political and economic linkages among them, major events, political and economic disasters, conflicts and wars, domination, dependency, gender and social inequality, development, science, communication technologies, and globalization. Theories, as explanatory tools, are intended to help analyze how the social forces and their intents have impacted the world differently, how the political actors have related to one another, how they have used resources and what resources they have used, and how they have organized and managed their national/domestic political spaces. As it is expanded on later, each theory of international relations should be able to explain Japan and Africa on its logic and assumptions. However, no theory is ideologically neutral or has free value as Max Weber has developed in his concept of ideal-type. Thus, it is imperative that we deal with the question of "why" and "how" Japan and Africa have interacted the way they did and/or do.

Particular international relations can produce particular types of political outcome and feedback with particular types of policy implications. We must be able to explain in particular Japan-Africa relations with lenses of historical, political, and cultural specificities. However, we should also identify the dominant trends or characteristics of these relations through which we should recognize the world as it is in studying this case. This world is characterized by a dualistic complexity such as the industrial world versus less industrial world, and the world of extreme poverty versus that of richness, the world of state's interventionism versus the world of the free market, etc. Yet, there is a certain dynamism that links all these dimensions in a complex whole or a totality. This author is interested in the

political and policy significance of this complexity in examining Japan-Africa relations in selected areas of official economic assistance known also as official development assistance (ODA). Foreign aid, since World War II and based on the theories of reconstruction of Western Europe and the expansion of capitalism led by the United States, has become a central concept and a major policy discourse in international relations. As Lairson and Skidmore noted:

> Conceived through a marriage between idealism and self-interest, the birth of foreign aid was heralded by the world almost half a century ago. Great things were expected of aid, new not least of which was the conquest of poverty. At present, however, foreign aid has settled into a beleaguered middle age, marked unfilled dreams and scaled-down expectations. Sapped of their youthful spirit, many aid agencies find themselves engaged in a lonely battle to defend their very existence against legions of critics. (2003: 313)

In the above quotation, the authors expressed a degree of expectations and/or enthusiasm about economic assistance that should not be dismissed in our analysis as being partial or total disappointment about what went wrong. Expectations and disappointment are shared among both the donors and the recipients, especially those in Africa. The complex imperatives of political pragmatism, the contradictions within the world system, and political and social locations of the actors shape these sentiments and attitudes. Perceptions and realities, which are interrelated dimensions of economic assistance, are contextually addressed in contemporary Japan and Africa.

Since the mid-twentieth century, foreign economic assistance (FEA) has become one of the most important areas through which to theorize, to formulate, and to measure policy impact and social implications within international political economy, international relations, and development studies. Foreign assistance is located in the area of foreign policy, the most important dimension of the classical international relations field.

Although many states have developed the concept of self-sufficiency, which has been articulated on the principles of self-preserving and competitive behavior (Waltz 1979) as their priority, there is an agreement even among the advocates of traditional realist school of thought that no state or country, for that matter, has been or could claim to pragmatically be totally self-sufficient with economic resources or assets.

There is an abundance of literature in these areas and many high quality and relevant contributions across the disciplines have been produced since the beginning of global reforms. However, there has not been yet any generalized intellectual and philosophical consensus among the majority of the social scientists and policymakers about how both the concept of

foreign economic assistance and its policy base could or should be fully assessed, examined, appreciated, and understood beyond specific economic, historical, sociological, and political contexts. Thus, this study critically takes into account the contexts in which foreign economic assistance operates as well as its philosophical and political significance, which are both part of the new contribution to the intellectual debate and policy discourse.

Based on the centrality of sovereignty principle and the military foundation of the theory of the state and also within the context of *Pax Americana*[2] of post–World War II, the contemporary Japanese State can be considered from the realist school of thought as constitutionally an "aberration" or a "political abnormality" for the majority of people who believe in the nation-state's paradigms, including the Japanese. As such, in theory, the Japanese State is perceived not to be "a state par excellence," which should be ontologically militaristic and teleologically self-deterministic in its actions. It should rationally work toward the maximization of its national security defined in terms of hard politics/power (Morgenthau 1948). Traditionalists tend "to equate security with the military and forces" (Buzan and Herring 1998: 1). Furthermore, from the realist perspective, the values and the importance of the political pragmatism in world politics associated with the question of what it means to be a state par excellence should be examined as part of the problematics of realpolitik. This term, which has its origin in von Bismarck's foreign policy discourse, is used in this context "to describe policies that concern themselves to solely with the singular pursuit of the national interest" (Dunne et al. 2007: 339), a sort of embodiment of the logic of *practicum* of a nation-state and the claims of the permanency of its so-called immortality principle known also as sovereignty. In principle, nation-states should practice balance-of-power politics to pursue and secure their own interests on the assumptions that other countries will not help any country unless it is in their own interests (Rourke and Boyer 2000: 16). Thus, the concept of mutuality of interest among the states is expected to be engendered or to be developed out of consciousness of self-preservation and "sovereignty trap."

However, the contemporary Japanese State still fulfills other requirements of being a state as redefined and reaffirmed by the Montevideo Convention on the rights and duties of States that was signed at Montevideo (Uruguay) on December 26, 1933 and entered into force on December 26, 1934. As it states in the Art 1: "The State as a person of International law should possess the following qualities: (1) a permanent population; (2) a defined territory; (3) a government; and (4) capacity to enter into relations with other states." The Charter of the United Nations confirmed and adopted this convention as the foundation for membership to the

organization. Earlier, as it is expanded further in other sections of this book, the criteria above were actualized on the Westphalia Peace Accords of 1648.

Some substantive changes have been taking place in world politics in the post–Cold War era in terms of distribution of responsibilities, goods, and values with many new actors such as nongovernmental organizations, grassroots organizations, etc., which are playing complementary important roles in the sectors of the global economy, the media, education, finance, technology, and popular culture. But the role of the nation-state is still the dominant one in determining the nature of international relations and that of social progress and its direction in a given region of the world. What kind of power is Japan?

The concept of realpolitik is essentially an organically dynamic one. It refers to the nation-state or any politically motivated activity as it is and not as it ought to be or should be. It refers also to the capacity of this political entity to learn and to grow. Politics or real power in its multiple dimensions can grow, flourish, collapse, be atrophied, and die out depending on a combination of factors and forces within a given social, political, and economic context that can or cannot support it. Does Japan's international relationship in its historical context since 1952 (the year when officially Americans were expected to have packed their bags and left the corridor of the state power) reflect less the usefulness of the logic of its "immortality" than any other contemporary nation-states among the industrial countries? Many people in Japan, especially among the nationalists, have been thinking about changing the abnormality of the Japanese State in relationship to the United States and reinterpret the concept of autonomy of the Japanese State. The issue of what constitutes normalcy within the political realism can be complemented by a centrality of independency and self-determination, self-contentment, and a sense of national dignity of a nation-state. Autonomy in foreign policy for Japan means also a metamorphosis, conscious efforts to adopt new policy alternatives that are different from those based on the U.S.-Japan security arrangement.

In relation to the concept of "normalcy" or "abnormality" associated with the Japanese state, two interpretative perceptions could be added to this debate: (1) Japanese closer neighbors in East Asia, which also were its former colonies, could have equated the concept of "normalcy" with the possible desire of Japan to exert, once again, its past militarism and neocolonialism in order to influence politics from the power-politics perspective; (2) At the same time, "normalcy" could also imply that these neighbors would wish to have less visibility of the United States, a Western political power, in Asia but more visibility of Japan in the regional security apparatuses. Japan dealt with this ambiguity from a well-elaborated plan

of economic diplomacy. This is to say that partially the perceptions of whether Japan is a "normal" or an "abnormal" state, regardless of how and what Japan describes itself, also depends on where one is located in the geopolitics of the world.

How is it that such a state with the above considerations has been the second most powerful economic and industrial power in the world in a relatively short period of its existence? According to Kenneth G. Henshall: "Japan had become the second largest economy in the free world in the late 1960s. However, it was during the bubble economy of the late 1980s that, in terms of per capita income, the Japanese became officially the wealthiest people in the world—at least on paper" (1999: 166). It should be added that in 1989, Japan surpassed the United States as the World's largest contributor of overseas development assistance (ODA). Tuman and Ayoub confirmed this new position as they wrote: "Among the OECD aid donors, Japan plays a highly significant role in Africa. Between 1984 and 1998, the cumulative growth in net disbursement from Japan to the continent was higher than the growth in net ODA given by the U.S., the U.K., France, Germany, and other OECD countries. Moreover, Japan is one of the largest donors for a great number of countries in the region" (Tuman and Ayoub 2004: 44). Since the end of the 1980s, Japan has been exploring a combination of various approaches and strategies to advance economic assistance in a more or less consistent way in the developing countries, including the African countries.

In Africa, based on her history of colonization, her level of underdevelopment, and its role in international political economy, Japan's ODA was expected to play a special developmental role in the economic development as Tuman and Ayoub indicated: "As a source of capital, ODA represents a critical resource for economic development in Africa. With some rare exceptions, low domestic savings rates and weak financial sectors have led to chronic under-capitalization throughout the region" (2004: 43–44).

Since the end of 2008, Japan has become the largest nation-state donor among the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries, as Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) merged into one single entity to deal with overseas economic assistance and cooperation. In terms of its total financial assets and capital, it is second only to the World Bank. With an annual budget of around $10 billion, the new JICA is the largest bilateral aid financial institution in the world.

In general terms, Japan is in the process of redefining its role in international cooperation, especially its noticeable relative growing autonomy in recent years from the United States' interests and security apparatuses.

The consequences of the bubble economy in early 1990s were expected to be destructive to the international political actors. Some people went so far as to imagine that Japan could not survive to this crisis as a structurally weak state and strong economy. Although this book is not focused on the nature of the bubble economy and its consequences, this crisis helps raise the issues that are relevant, namely the foundation of the strength of the Japanese State, the nature of its power, its interests, its role in international political economy, and its distributive capability and quality in the world system.

Why is it that despite the general expected negative consequences, unpredictable policy implications of the bubble economy[3] and domestic political changes in early 1990s, Japan succeeded to maintain its new economic status in a rapidly changing international political economy and challenging world politics? Where is the strength of its power clearly located? As a new powerful economic force, how has Japan been interacting politically and economically with the weak, fragile, and notable new African States or the African continent?

A comprehensive analysis (or a structuralist analysis) of the main issues related to, and objectives of, the study of "Japan-Africa Relations," includes the following dimensions: political and economic relations and dialectics of peace and social progress, and the role and the political implications of the Bandung Conference. Examination of these topics from the end of bipolarity in world politics is epistemologically challenging, and historically and intellectually contextualized. It is so partially because of the combination of the various factors such as the important changes in the structures of power in the world, the hegemonic power of the United States until the 1970s and their unilateralism since September 11, 2001, and high level of the truncated or controlled interdependency in world economy. Within this unilateralism, the United States started to claim the legitimacy of the universalization of its military security apparentuses.

In the context of this book, the most important of these factors include the objective conditions of what is being studied, an effort to explain and relate peace with development or social progress in this poverty-stricken, violence-prone world and historical determinism within the logic of the global liberal system as examined. The epistemological basis of this work includes the learning values of a comparative perspective, the importance of historical location of the actors, the futuristic dimensions in international relations with a critic of classical realism, and the appreciation of the values and arguments associated with multilateralism and multipolarity. The identification of the issues and the deliberative analytical choices and typologies are also justified within the critics of the existing major trends in international relations and the validity of social sciences' schools

of thoughts, their arguments, their philosophical base, and their underlying policy assumptions and social and political implications.

Some important questions that might be helpful to further clarify the author's perspectives and localize his arguments include—intellectually, do the nature of Japan-Africa's political and economic relations present challenges to the existing neo-classical or contemporary theories of international relations? What challenges are there, if any? Does the nature of this relationship also offer an opportunity for social scientists to think differently about international relations or to think critically about alternative theories that can provide better explanations on, and/or about, Japan and Africa? Or does a single theory or a combination of several theories as examined in the context of this book constitute capable tools for providing sufficient and convincing intellectual knowledge about the nature of this relationship? Although the intention is not to expand on the theories of international relations with a full fledged analysis, in the context of this study, it is necessary to raise and discuss the main issues, claims, and assumptions related to them as a way of helping to contextualize the author's objectives.

The most imperative moment and the significant historical context are to locate Japan and Africa in the paradigms of geopolitics since World War II and in the debates on the search for, or struggle toward, development. Between the end of World War II and the end of Cold War politics, major social and administrative structures of the nation-state and intellectual analyses about, and/or associated with, capitalism, international "scientific" socialism, liberalism, nationalism, fascism, etc., were extensively examined and/or projected in social sciences as being essentially ideological factors toward the understanding the world. During the Cold War era in general, these isms were also recognized as being pragmatically social constructs with some strong historical base. As such, they have been significantly influencing the behaviors, the attitudes, the intentions, and the directions of the political actors' events in contemporary international relations since the Westphalia Treaty of 1648 (known as the year when the consensus emerged about the elevation of the concept of sovereignty of the nation-state, among the Christian European monarchs, to the level of "statehood.")

After several decades (or about 30 years) of fighting among themselves, the agreement was reached that any consciously organized political invasion or military attacks among these nation-states should be considered illegal and a sense of breaking of a social contract or an obligation. However, the full advancement of each of the mentioned isms in each period of the short history of contemporary world politics has never been clearly linear, predictable, and finite. Each one of them embodies surprises that are due partially to the complex nature of the relationship between its own context and its internal contradictions, and the dominant dogmas at a given period.

Thus, the relationship that is being discussed in the context of this study is conceived as being inspired by the forces associated with social construct. It is argued that any social construct is essentially an ideologically based phenomenon. It has a sense of telos, a history with a sense of direction and agencies. But it is not developed within any linear logic and phases.

Based on the African sociopolitical and economic objective conditions, and the contradictions associated with Africa's history of transatlantic slavery and the European colonization, the unequal nature of the international political economy, and the dialectical nature of the relationships between underdevelopment and development, most studies of the relationship between African and the industrial countries, including Japan, have been generally approached by many with a certain level of intellectual skepticism or Afro-pessimism. Furthermore, political suspicions, and some conspiracy theory perspectives as modes of explaining human realities, and social and political failures were also investigated. Within these perspectives, a number of scholars such as Pierre Jalée (1968) in "*The Pillage of Third World*," Chinweizu (1975) in *The West and the Rest of Us*, Walter Rodney (1981) in "How European Underdeveloped Africa, slavery, and colonialism," and Samir Amin (1989) in "Eurocentrism," have critically and historically examined how international capitalism with its transatlantic slavery base and its European colonial relationships produced the development, underdevelopment and undevelopment almost simultaneously, and how these relations maintained the centrality of the European power and dominant culture in the world system (Wallerstein 1984). Furthermore, Agyeman, for instance, has emphasized (2001) "Africa's Vulnerable Link" to the global capitalist system with a particular attention on Africa's internal structural weaknesses in relationship with the demands, the functioning, and the rules of the powerful states. As he stated:

> By contrast, the concept of linkage vulnerability implies not only that the actors caught in it tend to be severely handicapped in their interactions with the world system, but that they tend to have little or no say in configuring underlying linkages. In a word, potent actors manage and manipulate systematic elements in a way that conduces to their aggrandizement, whereas impotent actors, by their sheer weakness, tend to deepen and augment systemic forces in a manner that reinforces their vulnerability. By any yardstick, Black Africa's relationship to the global system provides the quintessential depiction of linkage vulnerability. This dubious distinction derives from the deadly combination of external (extra-Africa) and internal (intra-African) factors. (Ibid.: ix–x)

The relationship between Africa and industrial countries at large is articulated within a paradigm of international system and its structures that

are creating and supporting the linkage of vulnerability at various levels of economic and political development. Vulnerability is defined here as a result of an uncontrolled dependency situation within the economic relations by the national economic policy that is due to linkages established between two or more countries.

With a similar proposition, Guy Martin (2002) has called for the exploration of pan-African perspectives as part of a needed new political prescription. Despite the recent founding of the African Union in 2002 (the process by which the Organization of the African Unity was transformed into a union) and the propositions made in the June/July 2007 Summit in Accra, Ghana, by some African Heads of States to explore the possibility of creating some forms of African federal ministries, a project that was eventually defeated, the Pan-African approach has been one of the most resisted projects by most African States. The rhetorical statements about the urgency of the Union expressed by some heads of states such as Muammar Kaddafi of Libya and Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal do not reflect the objective conditions within the functioning of the African states. The notion of political and economic distance within the African states is far more significant than the physical geography that separates the African countries. Excessive politicization of the African states and political insecurity of its leaders have contributed to this notion of distance.

During the Cold War era, most studies published in the Global North on political and economic relations between the states or countries in the Global South, especially African countries, and those in Global North, and their policy implications, had tendencies of being theoretically one-dimensional and historically unilinear, based on modernization and classical realist paradigms or state centrism. The countries in the Global South include the former colonized states, developing countries, or less industrialized countries. The countries in the Global North include the former colonial powers, industrial countries, foreign "donors," and industrial countries. The main assumption is that if these countries in the Global South should modernize and industrialize, they should adopt the universal prescribed prerequisites embodied in the public institutions as defined or developed within the European model of development. Rostowian stages of development, which are strongly rooted in the modernization school of thought, have been more or less defined as universally fixed and inevitable in the history. Rostow defined five stages of economic growth through which all societies and their economic dimensions should go, which include, traditional society, the preconditions for takeoff, the drive to maturity, take-off, and the age of high-consumption (1960).

However, in general, the policy and political assumptions of many of those studies met some scientific challenges embodied in their weak or

biased methodologies to structurally and historically understand well the causes of underdevelopment in the Global South. Most of their policy framework and guidelines have not worked yet. In "a simplistic perspective" perhaps, development in the Global South was perceived in terms of the states' capacity for imitation, or emulation and/or adoption of the Western universally defined paradigms and determined guidelines and prerequisites. Their policy base (especially in the books and research projects developed in the past 20–30 years in transnational financial institutions) to solve problems of real people's social conditions in the Global South, especially Africa, has been historically and practically questionable as reflected in the African conditions.

This author seriously raises issues on whether or not the existing African conditions and structures have been profoundly and holistically understood by various models of thinking or methodological analyses invented within linear history inspired by the past universalistic tendencies located in many Western dominated paradigms (WDP). However, since the end of the 1960s, with the reactions and critiques from the Global South, the expansionism of (the progressive movement) left-wing intelligentsia and academics, and the rise of radical social movements, varieties of thoughts and methodologies have emerged within the social science "paradigmatic umbrella" to challenge the existing mainstream theories.

Most of the new and old studies which expanded and touched on the above discussion can be summarized within the frameworks of the modernization theory, dependency theory, neo-Marxist theory, and neo-liberal theory associated with the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of the World Bank and the so-called stabilization programs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), their typologies, and their policy impact and implications. Within the areas of international political economy and development, theories built on, and used to examine, foreign economic assistance were dominated and influenced by elements of the scholarship identified in the works of some well-known figures. Some of these selected authors include: the developmentalism of Raul Prebisch (1964), W. W. Rostow (1960) and A. O. Hirschman's (1958) linear stages of economic growth (also known as supplemental theories), donor oriented theories articulated by M. D. Little and J. M. Clifford (1965), David Apter's politics of modernization (1965), *dependencia* in Latin America by F. Cardoso and E. Faletto (1967), and C. Furtado, F. Cardoso, T. Do Santos, and A. Gunder Frank (1968), self-reliance, African socialism (Nyerere 1968 and 1972), delinking and Third World Forum (Amin 1987 and 1990), neo-developmentalism and a critique of received social sciences (Ake 1992 and 1996).

Some theories of modernization with an emphasis on economic growth have had limited positive applications in many ways and forms to explain

comprehensively colonial and neo-colonial issues and questions, as they lack of a deep understanding of the local and national history, the power of new clientelist state (neocolonial state) and its cultural dimensions, and the contradictions associated with the linear way of projecting the direction of the world. Most of these theories did not appropriately, consistently, or "objectively" examine the social contradictions and policy implications related to Cold War and post–Cold War politics, and the nature and the quality of the relationship between under-development and development in the Global South, especially in Africa. Cultural, social and political phenomena that were considered different were catalogued as pathological or aberration from the main rules of the colonial state. For instance, some of the paradigms associated with the modernization school of thought tended to have little predictability value and capacity in the developing world because of the theoretical inconsistency in their epistemological foundation and policy base. This was the case also because they were most philosophically and ideologically ahistorical and teleologically narrow.

Furthermore, the following general factors did contribute to the unpredictability as well: rapid shifts in international economic trends as a result of industrialization, the high level of interdependency among the actors and their resources and goods, high levels of protectionism and nationalism among the states, the absence of a critical analysis of the grassroots' movements or the so-called informal activities in political change, the "dictatorial" base of global economic liberalization, and the lack of understanding properly the place and the weight of the concept of power from a non-military perspective.

Andre Gunder Frank's publication entitled: *Critique of the Anti-Critique: Essays on Dependency an Reformism* (1984) and Samir Amin's *Re-Reading the Postwar Period, An Intellectual Itinerary* (1994) summarize the abovementioned factors and debates which, though important, are not all directly the object of this book. In short, the deep structural dependence of the African economies and their national policies and politics on the political economy of the Western industrial states for free trade, food, military aid, development aid, educational and technical assistance, grants and loans, and technological transfer, make the study of the Africa's international relations with any industrial country challenging and even much problematic.

Thus, in addition to locating the debates in specific time and space (history and politics), this author also identifies and describes his major objectives and the basis of his motivation, his intellectual excitement, and justifies reasons for undertaking such a study. He also elaborates extensively on the major issues, research constraints and limitations, and personal interests involved both conceptually and analytically in working on this book.

Furthermore, he discusses elements of his theoretical approaches and his assumptions as general guidelines that shape his analytical perspectives.

The study is located within the paradigms of the dynamics of the subfields of international relations and comparative politics. It should be added that the justification and the importance of this work are obviously embodied in the issues that have been already raised and in the questions that have been posed. This author is convinced that the Africans, African states, and the Japanese and the Japanese State can learn from one another, and also gain collectively from their relationship as Africa is in the quest for new paradigms for social progress, and also as Japan is in the process of redefining its power and role in world affairs.

This book is essentially an effort to critically learn more from the dynamics of international relations with specific emphasis on the dynamics of the international political economy. Why and how have the Japanese State and the African states been interacting with one another after the Bandung Conference of 1955, and especially since the 1970s? Which directions are these relations likely to lead to in terms of satisfying African basic needs, posing the foundation for Africa's development, and the redefinition of Japan's power in the world?

As fully clarified and elaborated further in this chapter, the main objectives in this work are summarized in the following points:

(1) To study the complex nature of power relations between Japan and Africa since the Bandung Conference in 1955 with an emphasis on the period starting from the 1970s and the economic and political dimensions of these relations; within these dimensions, the focus is on the Japanese official economic assistance which includes: technical assistance, grants, and loans. Educational assistance is an important component of the ODA that is covered in various types of assistance. The official economic assistance is done at bilateral as well as multilateral levels.

A number of interrelated questions are posed to help clarify further the author's objectives and perspectives. What does assistance mean for both Africa and Japan? Do Japanese aid allocation protocols favor equally all the countries in Africa regardless of their locations in the geopolitics, the nature of their political regimes, their natural resource endowment, their respective colonial experience and the level of their socio-economic development and industrialization? Has Japan been ideologically neutral in its interactions with Africa? Have Japan-Africa's interests articulated in bilateral relations influenced their behaviors and their actions at multilateral, regional or continental levels?

Power is projected at two interrelated locations: (1) the state centrism in international relations and (2) the international political economy. Is

Japan acting mainly from a state centric focus (self-interest basis) or is it acting also from a humanitarian motivation? Or is Japan trying to forge a new perspective in international cooperation in which it is positioning itself as a different and non-controversial leader in this area as compared to the United States and other industrial countries in Western Europe? Thus, the author expands on the literature review on the concept of the official assistance within Japan's foreign policy in order to understand its significance within the logic, principles, and practices of the nation-states or international relations as well as within the Japan's own perspective.

(2) To identify and examine the dominant or observable trends and characteristics of these relations within the world system; comparative illustrations are used and examined to allow the projection of informed generalized trends. This author is also interested in finding if politics of assistance may reveal any particular characteristics, social and political values, or trends that are different from those that are generally embodied and expected in the dominant Western policies and politics of assistantship and cooperation. How much are Japan's economic relations with Africa unique, different or similar to the existing patterns of the international cooperation practices between Africa and industrial countries?

(3) And to analyze the policy implications of these trends, if any, both in Japan and Africa in relationship to the issue of the search for new paradigms for social progress and democracy in Africa and new power location in Japan. The policy implications can be measured qualitatively in terms of the actual performance of the actors involved: Africa and Japan and the quality of the significance of their actions to bring about intended claims of positive changes. For instance, how has Japan used conditionalities associated with structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) such as free market, privatization of the state, good governance, regularly scheduled and frequent elections, human rights, institutional stability, peace as now defined by the global reforms, etc., to assess how African governments and their various regimes have been doing before having access to the Japanese economic assistance?

The study of the nature of the Japan-Africa's political economy in its complexity, and with its policy and political implications within the leading paradigms of international relations during and after the era of bipolarity necessitates first of all, an identification and the location of the role and the structure of the Japanese State and those of African States and their relationship within world politics. This is to say that the study is located also within the context of the exigencies of the nature of the orbit of power

where each political actor finds itself. The orbit of power implies the existence of a high level of competitive centrality of power within each central geo-political region of the world system. It implies a repositioning in having access to commercial and natural resources and in influencing world political events. However, the role and the structures of the political institutions within the existing orbits of power in themselves cannot produce the whole story until the analysis includes the dialectics of the state-society relations, at large. That is to say: how do the state and society relate to one another within the logic of historically opposing views? The question is about addressing the issue of what society benefits from the policy and the position of state and vice versa, and how they reproduce themselves.

It is argued that conceptually, if there is a genuine dialogue in Africa and Japan between the state and society, their relations should produce a certain relative autonomy in which the state can address domestic issues with a high level of confidence. As noted later, it is claimed in this study that only in a real social democracy where the system of governance is centered on societal needs and the consolidation of social institutions would this suggested dialogue more clearly and practically be possible in Africa. In short, the nature of relations between the state and society can influence any state's foreign policy and the role of such a state in international affairs.

As examined later, this study is partially about power relations and partially about economic pragmatism and their policy implications. Japan has considerable structural and relational power sources and also "Japan derives its strength from its political economy, which is structured and moderated by ideological and behavioral patterns" (Drifte 1998: 49). Examining the nature of this strength requires a rigorous questioning about the intentions of the actors, the means available to them to actualize these intentions in the black box of policy making and the consistency or inconsistency of the actors in pursuing their goals.

In a broader perspective, one cannot examine well the base of the Japanese relationship without first understanding the nature of the Japanese structure of power, elements of its political culture and nationalism as suggested earlier, and how they influence the principles, the norms, and the policy of the Japanese political economy, Japan's international relations, and Japan's perceptions of Africa in the world system.

There is no systematic effort or assertion to address all the questions posed above or elsewhere in various parts of this book in claiming to deal with the quantitative direct or linear causal paradigmatic relations between economic assistance and the rise of liberal democracy as practiced in Africa. The logic of correlations between phenomena is advanced as one of the analytical tools. This logic allows attention to be paid to the

intended objectives of the relationship and the quality of human and natural resources available to actualize them.

The general mainstream views stipulate that "the quality of foreign aid can be measured by indicators such as the grant share in the total amount, grant elements, trying status, effectiveness and efficiency in aid administration, implementation, and evaluation" (Fujisaki et al. 1996–1997: 522). In addition to these views, this author argues that the well-meaning intentions of the actors involved, their judgments or the quality of assessment about how to use their power, and above all in-depth knowledge of the donors' expectations and assumptions are important in determining factors in the study of international relations. Besides the specificities of the local milieu, these expectations and assumptions are also important toward an understanding of why some relations produced some anticipated outcomes but others do not.

This book seeks to mainly explain the general patterns of Japan's economic assistance and its policy implications in the search for social progress in Africa as defined by the states and civil societal organizations. The arguments advanced are mainly historical, theoretical, and conceptual interpretations of the elements of the Japanese-African political economy and their policy and political implications within world politics. Both selected empirical illustrations and theoretical propositions are used to explain Japanese-African relations in the contemporary period during and before the collapse of international socialism, and now at the era of global unilateralism, economic regionalism, hybrid multipolarity, global liberal democracy, the nation-state's security politics against international terrorism and growing resistance to such so-called global security paradigms.

Multipolarity does not mean only the existence of a global system with more than two dominant power centers (Kegley 2006: 123–126), but it also implies that there is no state with the monopoly of power, and that there are some systematic practical efforts and movements from some visible and conscious actors, that are struggling to establish some diversified mini orbits of power with some significant influences in the world. It also implies that there is no hegemonic state power in the world of the states. The post–September 11, 2001's international political events and the United States' foreign policy in Iraq and Afghanistan support the view that militarism alone cannot make a state a hegemonic power. As Dominic Kelly stated: "U.S. is no longer the undisputed master of the system of the states. There is the relatively benign picture of a post-hegemonic world characterized by cooperation between advanced industrial states acting through the mechanism of international regimes" (2002: 3). That is to say that the United States does not dominate the system any longer through its military and economic might. The current world-wide economic and

financial crises and their manifestations, and the debates on how to get out of them, support more the arguments of interdependence and internationalism than those of United States as a hegemonic power.

It raises the issues and poses questions about Japanese-African motivations, objectives, expectations, and consistency related to economic assistance within the context of rapidly changing international relations and further deterioration of the African socio-economic conditions. The overall analysis is essentially about a multilayer explanation of "power politics" premises, their pragmatic policy manifestations, and their socio-ideological assumptions, and complemented by the paradigms of historical-structuralism or what has been called "paradigms of historical causation." "Power politics" is essentially a state-centric concept, which is defined as a self-interested and competitive phenomenon in world politics (Lumumba-Kasongo 2005: 135).

But a nation-state cannot be studied and understood fully as a single atomistic entity. It has to be examined historically and structurally. Within its broader intellectual parameters, the study of power politics cannot be confined to only the study of procedures and institutions, and the nature of technical decision-making processes. As Michael Parenti indicated: "The study of politics is itself a political act, containing little that is neutral" (1995: vii). Politics is an interest and ideological oriented phenomenon.

It should be emphasized that in the study of political economic relationships, the context is central toward understanding what social science is and what its dominant paradigms are. In this specific case, two contexts are taken seriously, namely national and international ones as they define the issues, provide the appropriate tools of the analysis, and help to encourage new perspectives of how to project change within global international relations.

The major questions are as follows: What kind of power is Japan in the world of the states and that of international political economy? And second, how is this power reflected or imagined in the Japanese relations with the rest of the world, including Africa? For this author, contemporary Japan is, in all tangible and perceptible dimensions, a complex puzzle, almost an enigma based on its practical successes in consciously planning to avoid the Western colonization, while learning from the West and positioning itself as a regional imperial power prior to World War II, its level of industrialization and the memory of its historical culture and values in the functioning of its institutions. It is, at the same time, part of Western paradigms of modernization and development, but also it is not part of these paradigms in its own functioning. The Japanese State has been challenged by the forces of the American imperialism and expansionism, growing regional powers, especially China as a potential global giant, and the imperatives of

the recent globalization but at the same time, Japanese institutions, imagined or real, within the framework of what this author has called Japanese hidden nationalism, have also resisted to not totally succumb under the international pressures as many peripheral states did.

Why am I conducting a research at this time on this specific topic in the area study of Japan and Africa? And what are intellectual and political justifications, which are supporting my objectives and my approaches throughout this study?

First, personal intellectual curiosity has motivated this author to write this book. Teaching of Japan contemporary politics and Japan's relations with the countries in the Global South both at the graduate and undergraduate levels has also been a source of motivation and inspiration to conduct this research and to write this book. Furthermore, serving as a Visiting Research Fellow at Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE), Hiroshima University, Higashi-Hiroshima (Japan) gave to this author an opportunity to observe some aspects of how the Japanese State and society react to world events and how their scholarship deals with Africa in some specific projects and programs.

As a trained comparativist and internationalist political scientist with a solid background in theory, this author is interested in comparing some aspects of the Japanese political economy with those of other countries including their institutions, the rules, and the elements of political culture that govern their societies and also the projection of how these institutions work at the international level. The selection of the issues and analytical perspectives were inspired by the author's book entitled: *Who and What Govern in the World of the States? A Comparative Study of Constitutions, Citizenry, Power, and Ideology in Contemporary Politics* (2005). The relationship between institutions, personalities of political leadership, and social and historical thoughts/ideas are important in studying Japan-Africa relations.

Second, I am also enthusiastic to make this intellectual investigation primarily because the number of specific major social science publications on Japan-Africa relations is relatively limited (as compared to other regions of the world). As Howard Stein stated:

> Much of the literature on Japanese assistance has focused on the support to Asian countries. Most of the analysis has pointed to a strong correlation between economic interests such as foreign investment and the type and quantity of assistance. The literature has been far less abundant on Africa. While some authors have pointed to the importance of some economic relationships (for example, South Africa), much of the literature on Japanese assistance has explained it in humanitarian terms. (1998: 1)

Schraeder et al. (1998) and Ridden (1999) as reported by Tuman and Ayoub, have also captured some aspects of humanitarianism in the Japan's ODA. The works of scholars such as Ampiah (1995; 1997), Adem (2001; 2008), Kitagawa (2003), Osada (2002), Morikawa (1997; 2006), Stein (1995; 1997; 1998), Ochiai (1995; 2001), Tuman and Ayoub (2004), to cite only a few, on the subject matter, though very important and valuable, are still relatively rare especially in relationship to the growing economic importance of Japan in Africa and high levels of economic needs and expectations in Africa. This author agrees with Tuman and Ayoub when they stated that:

> Although the literature of development studies and international political economy frequently cite policy significance of Japan ODA, the determinants of Japanese aid disbursement in Africa remain unclear. The previous research suffers from two shortcomings. First, many analysts have produced case studies that ignored the cross-national variation in the Japanese aid levels to Africa (e. g. Inukai, 1993; Ampiah, 1996). In addition, in the few comparative studies that have been completed, researchers have tended to focus on a very narrow set of economic determinants associated with Japan's self-interest and, a lesser extent, humanitarianism.... Indeed, even though the recent literature as has been hypothesized that Japan uses aid to promote democracy and human rights, the effects of these variables have not been assessed in quantitative aid studies of Japanese ODA in Africa. (2004: 44)

Third, the political dimension (power of the state, political parties, and the society) has not been seriously and sufficiently factored and projected in the Japanese ODA until recently. In major classical texts of Japan's international relations written and published in the West by international relation scholars, Africa is generally mentioned as an appendage of the European power or a footnote in world politics.

Third, there have been strong assumptions since the establishment of Marshall Plan of 1947 by the United States which specifically targeted the reconstruction of Western Europe after World War II with the World Bank [International Bank of Development and Reconstruction and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Bretton Woods system], that there are some "correlations" between the quality and quantity of foreign economic assistance, national development paradigms, industrialization schemes, new economic opportunities, and domestic economic growth. Although these assumptions have been challenged, as they have not historically been very much verified in light of empirical facts and conditions in most parts of Africa, it is necessary to ask what kind of development model, development policies or development patterns could come out of any foreign economic assistance at large. What are the major values

associated with foreign economic assistance? Thus, the concept of development cooperation has been considered almost as a magic word within international institutions as the foundation for negotiations of their actions. Is the official Japanese economic assistance toward Africa founded on sets of principles and claims different from those of Europe and the United States in the post–Cold War era?

Third, there is also a need to develop non-Japanese perspectives in Japan-African international relations, the views in this work that are essentially internationalist and African. I am interested in finding out what level of economic development and nation building within the international development cooperation, is still a relevant, or not relevant development perspective, and how Africa at large could or could not be beneficiary of this cooperation. An African perspective should put also more emphasis on the African conditions and realities. Being deeply familiar with an African context, its history, its people and its conditions, its internal contradictions, and the nature of its states, provides to this author a historical perspective that qualifies the study to have an African perspective. This perspective is an inquiry about the cost-benefit of Japan-Africa's economic and political relations.

Fourth, this work also has an academic component and policy implications as it is also intended to make a contribution to the debates and reflections on many dimensions of the Japanese democracy and capitalism on the one hand, and Africa's underdevelopment and the struggle for social progress on the other. What ought to be the role of Japan in an exceptionally interdependent but also a turbulent world system? And what could African states and people do to advance their relations with an industrial capitalist country in Asia?

It should be noted that Africans and Japanese, both policymakers/politicians and intellectuals and people in general, know relatively little about the nature of the Japan-Africa relations and their historicity, and the policy and political implications of their relations. Their relatively limited knowledge has created speculations, myths, and stereotyping. Reinhard Drifte was correct when he wrote: "Insufficient understanding of the political economic system easily leads to conspiracy theories or negative assumptions of Japan's intentions" (1998: 3). Another important issue that has led to misinterpretation or misunderstanding of the contemporary Japanese politics or Japanese society at large is the fact that many scholars have focused on a single approach or perspective to examine Japan. As Drifte continued to indicate:

> What has failed is not social sciences but rather our application of social science approaches and the damage of focusing too narrowly on one single

> discipline. The problem has been compounded by the popularity of certain schools within disciplines which gained too much prominence because they are useful for certain political interests such as the liberal economist school which considers that all problems are taken care of in an equitable manner by free market forces, or the culturalist school in anthropology which considers that culture determined everything and therefore nothing can be done about it. (1998: 6)

This author does not take these claims and assumptions for granted. The claimed contributions in this study include an effort to explain and interpret the Japan-Africa relationship using an interdisciplinary approach to the study of international relations. An African interest is reflected in the question of what Africa and Japan can critically and comprehensively learn from one another. And, what can their people, their party politics, their corporations, and their states do with their lessons in search of peace and social progress?

Within this perspective, the analysis of the historical causation, the limitations and failures of the current paradigms, and the rational and human optimism in the search for new paradigms in projecting social progress in Africa shape the arguments advanced and the conclusions made in this book. Furthermore, though the organizing thought is on the contemporary nation-state, there is also an interpretation of dynamics of the state within world politics both horizontally and vertically. That is to say that state-state relationship in its vertical hierarchy remains an incomplete paradigm until it is strongly complemented by a reflection of state-societal relations. This claim is also an intellectual contribution intended to see horizontal elements, such as culture, history, gender, power and class struggles, and social and popular movements as enriching sources in the studies of international relations and comparative politics. As has been stated elsewhere:

> At the level of world politics, state-society relationships are often characterized by power struggles, strong ideologies, and constant processes of redefinition of people's cultural and political identities. These processes, despite the fact that they are generally resisted or even rejected by the nation-states, are part of the dynamics of world politics. (Lumumba-Kasongo 2005: 4)

Obviously, for different reasons and purposes, Japan and the African continent do not have the same or similar political leverages and popularity in world affairs as perceived and defined by the world media as a reflection of the international division of power. Concerning Africa, the news about poverty, wars, diseases, corruption, and dysfunctionality of the state, etc., are predominant as they are perceived as being more attractive and tend to be sold quicker by the CNN, the BBC, and the like, than the news about

some successful outcomes of elections in any part of Africa. The dominant or privately owned media in world politics at large, despite their superficiality or simple descriptiveness of some of their works, have tendencies of projecting power relation analysis in reporting events. The bias of the media is therefore a reflection of power relations and the location of the events within the hierarchy of the orbit of power in the world system.

For instance, why is it that the Japanese Diet held the elections out of which Shinzō Abe became Prime Minister in September of 2006 (he resigned from this post on September 12, 2007) and the world and the media in the United States, for instance, either ignored it or were not much interested in it? And this was so despite the fact that the departed Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, Japanese Prime Minister from April 26, 2001 to September 26, 2006, was very close to the American President during this era of the claimed unilateralism. This news did not become headline news or front-page material in the most important newspapers in the United States. Yet, the same media and their experts of world politics made extensive comments, or reported at length about the decision of Tony Blair, Prime Minister of Great Britain, to exit from politics and be replaced by Gordon Brown, his Secretary of Finance in 2007.

What is the foundation of this discrepancy and perceptions? Is Japan as the world's second largest economy, after the United States, capable enough or willing to project its economic power into a political power? Is the Japanese State solely an economic animal intended on pursuing and realizing its material interests in any dimensions of its international relations without other ambitions? Is it a question of choice or a matter of the nature of the Japanese State? As Inogushi Takashi writes: "Japan has the image of being 'adrift, with an ad hoc, opportunistic, and short-term pragmatism,' but on the other hand projecting the image of an actor determinedly and tenaciously steadfast to its national interests" (1993: ix).

Contrary to those who have thought that Japan's aid policy lacked any definitive objective (Wright-Neville 1991: 7), this author argues that Japanese interest, as articulated in the section on Japanese official economic assistance, though eclectic in nature, has been clearly informed by a strong sense of the rise of nationalism and enforced by an ambition of becoming one of the dominant political powers. Since the 1990s, humanism, ethics, and the market forces have been used as instruments of actualizing its clear political and economic objectives. Its usage of new revised strategic interests and instruments—some of which are perceived as moral—tend to make Japanese pragmatism different from that of the United States as the dominant power.

The contemporary Japanese State and society are a unique political entity both in terms of their history of conscious isolationism during the

Tokugawa period 1600s-1850s, their capabilities to borrow from others or their history of integration into the world system during and after the Meiji restoration (1868–1945). Furthermore, their spectacular movements toward industrialization and economic growth in the 1960s, and their decisions and activism to remain a soft power with its software aid policy in the world that is ruled by hard politics, have made Japan an exceptional case. Japan is the only country in the world that has directly experienced the effects of nuclear weapons, which were used not just as deterrent but also as killing and devastating instruments of war. It has a different story to tell in international affairs. This story, in its various forms, has influenced Japanese behavior in its international cooperation.

Although this point will not be fully developed in this work, it should be mentioned that the relationship between the concept of soft power and that of hard power is very complex and dynamic. Soft power is used in this case to refer to a political actor, which is engaged in the areas of regional policy, agriculture, development aid, some aspects of technology, social policy, environment, and the arts, while the issues such as security, construction, war, energy, etc. are referred to be part of hard policy arena. These concepts change their meanings constantly even when they are legally codified as they also gain their feedback from Japanese society, and Japanese relations with other nation-states within the global political economy. In this case, although the analytical outcomes should help produce a broad picture of the political economic relations between Japan and Africa, it should be underlined that the main objective of this book is to address only a small but important dimension of the soft power, namely official development assistance (ODA).

The complexity of the puzzle of Japanese power is one of the motivating factors behind this author's decision to study Japan-Africa relations. This book is about an investigation of Japan's power and its exercise in the international arena. What also is interesting is to examine how the complexity of the ODA has become vital in the Japanese politics and its political economy, and how this assistance has become the engine of Japanese international relations. There are costs and benefits for Japan in choosing economic assistance as the tool of its foreign policy. And world politics has also been reacting to this choice.

Since the 1960s, it has become unimaginable to appreciate and understand fully, or even partially, the dynamics of the Japanese international relations without examining the scale and the nature of the Japanese political economy and its economic growth. What are the premises or principles that have guided Japanese international relation, especially its foreign policy toward Africa in general in the postcolonial era? How have these premises or dogmas been organized in a systematic manner to guide Japan's international

development policy in the twenty-first century and beyond? How have the Japanese State and its private companies been responding or reacting to the dynamics of the global capitalism and nationalistic claims associated with decolonization, neocolonial politics, and popular demands for democracy in Africa? How can Japanese democracy as a practical tool be used to mobilize Africans in the spirit of law and practice of liberal democracy?

Furthermore, it is necessary to clarify the periodization of this study, which is located between the 1950s and the present with an emphasis from the 1970s. The 1955 Bandung Conference is discussed as an ideological or a regional policy framework. This is a point of historical departure, and an important historical reference, which is used as a political guideline for defining further the debates about the role of the Global South within the international organizations and global political economy during the Cold War era. As explained further, most African countries were still under the yoke of European colonization in the late 1950s. Thus, I decided to elaborate more on the nature of the relations from the 1970s because of the dynamics of the moment in international relations.

What are other plausible justifications of this study? Obviously, as already indicated, the literature on Africa-Japan's economic and political relations including the ODA is relatively limited. It is so partially because ODA was considered in the 1950s and 1960s as an obscure component of economic policy of Japan's foreign policy limited to Asian region (Yasutomo 1989). As Howard Stein stated: "Much of the literature on Japanese assistance has focused on the support to Asian countries. Most of the analysis has pointed to a strong correlation between economic interests such as foreign investment and the type and quantity of assistance" (1998: 1). However, at large, the studies of Japan's ODA to Africa, except in South Africa, were ignored and/or dismissed as not being important in international relations.

However, in the past 15–20 years or so, Japanese studies on African issues, especially on education, science, commercial partnerships, trade, and investments has been significantly increasing, especially through the TICAD (Tokyo International Conference on African Development) and other Japan-led initiatives. The African Studies Association in Japan and newly established African Studies programs or African-related centers within some universities such as Hiroshima, Kansai, Tokai, Tokyo, Tsukuba, or Waseda, have also been contributing to the rising interests in, and about, Africa. Clearly, there is a growing interest in the area of Japan-Africa relations by Japanese Africanists, Africanist Japanese, and African scholars working on Japan (e.g., see Adem, 2005).

Furthermore, as it is well known, Japan's policy toward Africa during most of the Cold World Era was of secondary importance (Morikawa

1997). Described in the 1960s as an emerging stable economic giant and yet "a political pygmy, Japan's political and economic relations with Africa were more localized in South Africa in respect to the United States' foreign policy interests and goals than in any other countries or subregion in Africa. Countries such as the Soviet Union perceived and described Japan as being a "mere appendix of the United States without any policy of its own" (Rozman 1992: 254). This view projects Japan more ideologically than historically. For instance, some scholars tend to view the nature of the relationship between the United States and Japan that emerged in the post-Occupation period as being characterized as essentially a "consensual act." However, based on historical facts, Rozman's position can also be challenged. But surely, in a world of massive economic degradation where the majority of people live under the equivalence of one (1.00) U.S. dollar a day, economic power can indeed be considered more important than political power. Nevertheless, with its eclectic "Goliath-"based kind of economy and its "David-"based kind of politics, Japan has been able to negotiate its way in international relations without much difficulty. As Reinhard Drifte indicated:

> Although the issue of Japan as an economic challenge is still the highest on the Japan agenda of most countries, the end of Cold War and the accompanying uncertainties of the transition to a new period which has been called post–international politics' makes a better understanding of Japan's power more urgent. Economic power seems to have become more important than military power; Samuel Huntington expressed it in the following stark terms: "It is, indeed, probably the most important source of power and, in the world in which military conflict between the major states is unlikely, economic power will be increasingly important in determining the primary subordination of the state." Whatever the new world order will look like, Japan with economic and technological foundation will be an important actor in it and it is therefore crucial to gain a better understanding of the major factors involved in Japan's relationship with the outside. (1998: 2)

The points articulated in the above quotation constitute other important justifications for undertaking this study. In the big picture, the African socio-economic conditions are also gradually worsening as a result of combined internal and external constraints and pressures. And other factors affecting Japan politics are as important such as Japanese economic maturity, the imperatives of its market, the rise of democratic pluralism, Japan's intention of becoming a major political actor, and its redefinition of its strategic interests.

Another justification is that the paradigms of development or modernization that have dominated the studies of Africa have come either from Euro-American scholarship, from Third World dependency/South

American influences, or also partially from national critiques by Africans (both reactionary and progressive African perspectives). This study is unique because its author is inspired by the possibilities or potentialities of what both Japan and Africa can learn from one another. It is an attempt to move away from the focus on paradigmatic domination. The emphasis is on the dynamics of two entities (a country and a continent) and their implications. The work is significant also because of its reference to the Bandung Conference of 1955, with its fiftieth anniversary celebrated in 2005 without being localized to any headquarters. There is a rise of non-alignment ideas/thoughts without the existence of any strong non-alignment organizations or bodies, as indicated in its Fifteenth Summit, which was held in Sharm El-Sheikh (Egypt) in which President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt was elected on July 15, 2009 as its president. This election reflects a serious crisis of identity within this movement. This author thinks that Mubarak within the existing world power relations should, probably, be among last African Presidents to believe convincingly in the non-alignment movement.

Another important justification of this study is that it is contextualized within the framework of the rise of liberal democracy in Africa, the Japanese transition to multipartyism, and the crisis of liberal democracy in the world. It is also necessary to look at the implications of these relations nationally and across the continent.

Finally, the importance of this work is also justified by the utilization of a multidisciplinary perspective such as sociological/cultural arguments combined with critique of a power politics approach, which is essentially militaristic.

It is noteworthy that a systemic analysis of trying to understand the implications of international political economic relations requires that actors be involved in geo-political terms along the dimensions of their relative powers on the one hand and their real or potential wealth on the other. As indicated earlier, this study is fundamentally a critique of new interpretation of power politics relations and development, but without neglecting idealism and constructivism as they are reflected in the Japanese foreign economy policies. The importance of constructivism in this work is that its principal belief is articulated on the premise that state interests are not pre-given or constant, but they are subject to modification and redefinition as a result of mutual agreements between agents (states) and structures (norms).[4] This study is contextualized historically, politically, and economically within the dynamics of world politics, their actors, their policies, and the structures of their states. Coincidence or divergence of their interests helps understand the nature of the behavior of the actors involved.

Selective illustrations or cases from Japan's bilateral and multilateral economy, and the quality of political relations with Africa, with a focus on the period since the 1970s help substantiate assumptions and claims behind these generalizations. Illustrations to be examined will include the domains of agriculture, education, environment, health, trade, technology, and peace. Obviously, this book touches only on generalized principles, theoretical elements, and philosophical assumptions, which help explain the major trends. The emphasis is on ODA and political cooperation with Africa. It is necessary to analyze the policy and political implications of these relations within the framework of Africa's continuous struggles for democracy and the search for new paradigms of development.

The premises upon which this book is articulated present some unavoidable limitations, which should be pointed out and taken into account in these generalizations. The major claim underlying this analysis and projection are based on the assumption that Japanese economic and political relations with Africa should create and promote directly or indirectly the conditions that are conducive to social progress, and that this development in Africa should be mutually beneficial to both the Japanese and African people and their states. This assumption is based on the controversial normative claim or moral arguments that there is a potentially "common good principle" behind these relations. And, this principle is inherent to the nature of interdependence upon which the contemporary nation-state has been formed. And, interdependence is an essential characteristic needed for the functionality of nation-states. This interdependence is supposed to be formed by the ontology and rationality of being a nation-state. The basis of the intellectual skepticism vis-à-vis the above assertion is partially due to the fact that historically nation-state has been essentially a selfish political animal. It pursues its so-called principle of immortality as part of the deontology of its potential or real actualization in the languages of "territoriality, sovereignty, and a loyal population paradigm." Even the core realist theory recognizes the limits of the arguments of self-defined interests in the contemporary world.

Conceived as an organic entity, it is in the interest of the nation-state to reach others in order to expand itself beyond the limitations or constraints related to its geopolitics and its regionalism. It is in the interest of survival and growth that this so-called "common good principle" is supported by the dictum of the principle of sovereignty of a nation-state. Many of these propositions and arguments have been sufficiently advanced since the Westphalia Peace Accords of 1648 (in Prussia) through realist, radical, idealist, liberalist, libertarian, and feminist scholarships. There is no intention to expand in this section on the debates on the nature and the origins

of this interdependence and also on the issue of whether the imperatives of human nature or society tend to force the nation-state to advance cooperation, especially in the age of the neo-liberal globalization in its economic and political forms.

In the case of Japan-Africa relations, what are those specific benefits? How have they been defined and by whom? Although the conditions that led to Japan's economic progress are qualitatively different from those in African countries, Japan's economic development was also somewhat based on the policy and politics of gradual political and economic reforms. Thus, it is assumed that Japan should appreciate the values associated with the global economic and political reforms that are taking place in Africa. Purnendra Jain indicated:

> *Seiji kaikaku* (political reform) has appeared in patches on Japan's political landscape for decades, largely as rhetoric. In the 1990s, political reform took on ever more life—in the machinations of political parties, in parliamentary debate and eventually as legislated change to the political system. Reform implies a problem (e.g., corruption) to be corrected or improved. (200: 10)

However, it should be noted that most of the expected values associated directly or indirectly with global reforms since the nineteenth century have been defined in "universal" developmental or modernization assumptions or in individualistic capitalist dogmas. And this has led to various types of reactions and struggles, which challenged these values in either rejecting them en masse or using them selectively to satisfy the demands of the existing political elite and/or in some cases to satisfy those of popular movements. But it is also true that the concept of reform within the scope of capitalist development has been also controversial as Michael Parenti indicated:

> The defenders of the existing system believe that history of democratic capitalism like in the United States has been one of gradual reform. Can capitalism be credited with the genius of gradual reform when (a) most economic reforms through history have been vehemently resisted by the capitalist class and were won only after prolonged, bitter, and sometimes bloody popular struggles, and (b) most of the problems needing reforms have been caused or intensified by capitalism. (1995: 318–319)

Furthermore, "all things being equal," the possible realization of the projected so-called "common good theory claim" (or "a mutually beneficial common good theory") depends very much on the quality of various domestic economic and cultural factors, and the nature of the national policies and political regimes in Africa.

In addition, the following objective factors should be taken into account in our generalizations: First, Africa has 53 [without Western Sahara (Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic) that was colonized by Spain with its movement called the *Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro (Polisario)* which Morocco and its monarchy continued to dispute the claims of its independence] distinctive countries with different political experiences, various degrees and levels of economic performances, different resource bases and different perspectives on the struggles for democracy and social progress.

Second, these countries have been playing different roles in world politics as peripheral client agencies or partners depending on their political locations and the strength of their historical, cultural, and economic relations with their former colonial powers. Third, based on the UNDP's Human Development Index (2005), of the 32 deprived countries in the world, 30 or 93.75 percent are located in Africa (Mbaku 2007). Fourth, these countries are generally grouped, based on major trends, as being in the one category of Third World. Fifth, it should be recognized that a few are relatively more economically advanced than others. Some have been making some small but gradual progress in some significant sectors of their economies more than others. In fact, some countries are categorized as part of the Fourth World because of their extreme levels of poverty and underdevelopment.

And sixth, Africa has enormous endowments of natural resources, which are distributed unevenly. Africa, in general, is not only the poorest and most deprived region of the world in the sectors of social and economic progress, but it is also the one with the worst prospects for the future within the existing conditions and world system. Thus, generalizing about the nature of the Japan's political and economic relationship with Africa may not provide specificities and particularities that are often needed in the national policy formation and implementation.

However, in this work the intended focus is on informed generalizing comparative theoretical patterns and trends of the relationships, philosophical assumptions behind them, and the main principles that sustain these patterns. There is strong interest here in analyzing the global picture, which is supported by concrete continental or regional illustrations.

Can the Japanese ODA make a significant difference in the Africa's struggle for democracy and search for alternative social and economic paradigms? Do the Japanese political elite (government, political parties, private and public corporations and their associates) consciously intend to promote and/or to contribute to the expansion of any democracy in African countries

with which Japan has solid economic relations? Does the economic and financial assistance systematically or consistently support and/or translate itself into the principles of accountability, political participation, respect for human rights, transparency, rule of law, social justice and gender and social equality as they are being dealt with in the Africa's liberal democracies? Within the framework of these questions, it is necessary to touch on the question of the characteristics and values of the Japanese democracy.

ODA is one of the most important pillars of Japan's foreign policy. There are competing explanations as to what specific role ODA and its impact have been in the recipient countries. One explanation puts more emphasis on mercantilism, the pursuit of its national economic interests, humanism, and *gaiatsu* (translated as "foreign influence") that implies the view of actively supporting advocates of policies desired by the United States in the Japanese domestic policy debates. For instance, William Nester has argued that in general, Tokyo neomercantilist policy toward Sub-Saharan Africa has been a success and Japan's economic penetration of the region has been extensive. Its firms have pushed their foreign industrial rival out of the markets across the continent (1991). Other scholars such as Jide Owoeye (1998) characterized Japan to use neomercantilistic imperialism, and that Japanese capital simply moves to where the profit is, rather than promoting economic and technological development in developing countries such as those in Africa. However, based on the recent development in aid policies in Japan, one should be more careful not to generalize to the extreme about a single trend in its policy toward Africa, the position that is further clarified later in other chapters.

Concerning *gaiatsu*, for instance, Akitoshi Miyashita (1999) argues that the Japanese government often alters its course of action under U.S. pressure even if doing so would apparently undermine its own interests. Japan's unusual responsiveness to U.S. priorities appears counterintuitive given the fact that at least in the realm of foreign aid Japan's power clearly surpassed that of the United States.

However, an analysis of the ODA's Charter, which was adopted in 1992, helps understand how Japan would like to project itself in world politics at large, differently from the United States' influence. Its Charter "identifies democratization, human rights, and restraint in military spending as prerequisite conditions for developing countries to receive Japanese aid" (Hook and Zhang 1998: 1051). With new aid guidelines formulated in 1992, Tuman and Strand confirmed, "Japan aid policy began to promote human rights and democracy" (2006: 7). But, we should continue to ask if these guidelines could be generalized in their application as an effective Japanese foreign policy framework in Africa.

Furthermore, it should also be indicated that during the Cold War era under the threat of the Soviet Union, North Korea, and less so for China despite the external security that had been provided by the United States including nuclear weapons, Japan had the third largest military budget in the world with $47 billion though representing only 0.95 percent of the Japanese estimated GNP in the fiscal year 1995–96. And it had about 237, 500 people under arms, for which 150,000 were in the army, 43,000 in the navy, and 44,500 in the air force. Its army strength in the 1990s was about the equivalent of Britain's army (Drifte 1998: 77–78). Early in 1964, for instance, its Self-Defense Forces were 275,000 men (sic) higher than today. As of 2006, Japan's Forces were 252,000 strong, and technologically sophisticated—particularly the Navy—and supported by a defense budget larger than Britain's or Germany's (Will 2006: 64). It should be noted that Prime Minister Abe in 2006 elevated this Agency to the rank of a Ministry. And in 2007, this agency became a full Ministry of Self-Defense with a portfolio like any other ministry.

It should be mentioned that 75.5 percent of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) was "ODA-related out of a total budget of JPY 77.5 billions as of FY 1997–98. Out of this ODA amount, 12.3 percent was for contributions to international aid organizations. Based on 1987 data, the budget of the MFA ranked fourth with US$2.97 billion, behind the U.S. (US$8.28 billion), Germany (US$5.35 billion), and Britain (US$ 3.36 billion)" (Drifte 1998: 21). As indicated in the Charter, the implications of this aid policy to democratization are part of the reform policies that have been taking place both in Japanese foreign policy and the recipient countries. Democracy is an important sector within political reform dogmas that became one of the conditionalities used by the foreign donors since the early 1990s.

Since the 1970s, Japan has emerged as a "soft" political actor, indeed intimidated by the hard politics of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War era. Japan also has been culturally hesitant to make a big jump in its relations with the countries, especially outside of East Asia[5] and it has been timid with strategic countries in Middle East, the producers of petroleum. However, instead of remaining a reactive actor in its relationships, since the 1970s, Japan became sufficiently determined to make its own inroads gradually in international relations in Africa in the areas related to economic development, education, and later on peace. Japan became an indispensable member of most international organizations and their second biggest financial contributor. Thus, it has gained prestige and higher status within the structures of organizations such as the United Nations system and the transnational financial organizations. These organizations were created without any input from Japan. However,

as a powerful economic nation, Japan has been trying to influence and reform those organizations, which could also be reflected in the Japanese national interests and political ambitions.

Since the end of World War II, peace, political stability, and international cooperation have been perceived as the pillars in international development policy areas, and classical international relations' arenas. But their conceptualizations, their definitions, and their implementations have been controversial, ambiguous, and slow, especially in the Global South. In some countries, the mentioned factors were perceived as "unachievable" in the context of the contradictions within the international political economy. That is to say that in order to achieve them, one should first address these contradictions both theoretically and pragmatically. Another interrelated view is that the nature of the state, its capability, its place, and its role in world politics should be a determining factor in the way a people or a nation-state confront these contradictions with a certain level of confidence or optimism.

To contextualize the dynamics of Japan-Africa relations, it is necessary to identify and locate some major political moments that may have constituted their proper cultural and political identities as defined in their own historical and sociological milieux. Colonization and decolonization processes, and the mechanisms of state formations and reforms, for instance, constitute some of those moments. But these moments are not fixed like stones in time and space. They are dynamic, as they create actors that can transform their own environment to satisfy the imperatives of the moments. Japan and Africa have met to try to satisfy the requirements associated with the imperatives of time and challenges of the nation-states and people in the global environment.

Despite the involvement of the Japanese State and its private companies in various aspects of economic development in some African countries since the 1960s, for instance, in Imperial Ethiopia and Apartheid South Africa, because of the lack of concrete knowledge about Japan, some scholars tend to characterize the Japanese culture, history, and its people as being essentially either "aloof," "mysterious," or "arrogant" within the world politics depending on the historical moment. This kind of simplistic stereotyping is not intellectually and analytically productive. It is important to give a summary of Japan's imperialistic movements and tendencies, which should also help raise issues about its intentions to develop new relationships with selective African States in the postwar era.

Within the context of world politics, Japanese past political history does not inspire trust given the way the Japanese Empire consolidated its power in Asia and also in the way it treated most of its neighbors as slaves and inferior humans based on its military and political ambitions.

Furthermore, the arguments of conspiracy theory and suspicions are also due to the practical nature of the Japanese political economy as Drifte stated:

> It is natural that Japan's political and economic system is open to conspiratorial suspicions because the hierarchical structure of Japan's political economic system with a decreasing number of actors the closer one approaches the top makes agreeing on fundamental interests easier than a system with more effective and rigid checks and balances. (1998: 41)

Contemporary Japan has never been a "mysterious" dragon in world politics. Imperialism is generally actualized in expansionism and invasion. In fact, in contemporary politics, especially in the twentieth century, Japan was never timid or passive. As John W. Dower also argued:

> In the 1920s and 1930s, as the world plunged into depression and instability, the country's leaders responded (and contributed) to this disorder with an increasingly frantic quest for control over the markets and resources of Asia. Dai Nippon Teikoku—the Great Empire of Japan—spread like a monstrous stain…Nineteen thirty-one saw the take over of Manchuria; 1937, the launching of all-out aggression against China; 1941, the attack on Pearl Harbor as part of a strategy of seizing control of the southern reaches of Asia and the Pacific. At the peak of its expansion in early 1942, Japan bestrode Asia like a colossus, one foot planted in the mid-Pacific, the other deep in the interior of China, its ambitious grasp reaching north to the Aleutian Islands and south to the Western colonial enclaves of Southeast Asia. Japan's "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" briefly embraced the Netherlands East Indies, French Indochina, the British colonial possessions of Burma, Malaya, and Hong Kong, and America's Philippine colony. There was talk of reaching further to take India, Australia, possibly even Hawaii. (1999: 21–22)

With the slogan of "rich nation, strong army" (between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth centuries), with the agenda for industrialization, the Japanese political leadership made a conscious decision to be visible in learning about other people, their economies, their education systems, and their cultures, especially those of the West, and in injecting the selected foreign elements into their own culture in what I have called "a relatively perfect fused monistic perspective."

"The Japanese rulers intentionally and unwittingly hastened the demise of colonialism in Asia. By developing modern industries in colonies from Korea to Manchuria to Taiwan, they fostered postwar industrialization" (Gordon 2003: 224). Japan acquired its first colony, which was Taiwan in 1895, after defeating China in the Sino-Japanese War (Maswood et al. 2002b: 164). It annexed Korea in 1910. It should be remembered that it

is in the same period that the African continent was partitioned by the European imperial powers in the Berlin Conference of 1884/85 without any mechanisms of bargaining or dialogues with the then existing political systems in Africa.

Japanese imperialism was surrounded by Asian culture and "mystics," but it was as ruthless as the European colonialism. It was militaristic, exploitative, and had arrogance built into superiority complex of the military imperial power. By 1919, Japan had become an industrial and military great power that was recognized as one of the "Big Five" at the Versailles Conference and enjoyed an alliance with Britain. Indeed, its visibility (and in some cases extreme visibility or "imperial visibility" supported by its military might) in world politics and its militaristic ambition in supporting Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy under Mussolini led Japan embroiled in World War II against the United States and Western European allies. This military embroilment based on its imperialistic vision of the world led the Japanese military to attack the United States naval base in Pearl Harbor near Honolulu on December 7, 1941. The consequences of its militarism and imperialism forced Japan to a total defeat after the United States, under the leadership of President Harry Truman, ordered the dropping of the Atomic bomb over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in June 1945. As Roskin and Berry (1999) stated:

> Strange as it seems to Americans, the Japanese regarded Pearl Harbor as retaliation for a war that we had already begun. From non-recognition to embargoes, to the Flying Tigers fighting for China, the United States had taken one anti-Japanese step after another. But the Americans, then only lightly armed in the Pacific as they helped Britain across the Atlantic, seemed reluctant to plunge into a war with the Empire of the Rising Sun. (104)

It should be emphasized that the physical and psychological cost of invading other countries and imposing its military control on other Asian countries had serious consequences. The people's movement for peace was due partially to their wartime experiences of extreme suffering and resignation. As Gordon puts it:

> The war was also traumatic for the Japanese. About 1.7 million soldiers died between 1937 and 1945. As many as three hundred thousand prisoners of war perished in Soviet detention camps after the war. Air raids left nine million homeless and killed nearly two hundred thousand civilians. The two atomic bombs killed an additional two hundred thousand people immediately. All human beings within a two-mile radius of the epicenter were incinerated in an instant. Hiroshima and Nagasaki became hellish zones of fire, death, and total destruction. Another one hundred thousand or more bomb victims died in the following months and years because of

> the lingering effects of radiation sickness. The overall Japanese death toll of close to 2.5 million, and above all the unprecedented experience of atomic bombing, left to survivors a powerful sense of themselves as victims—and not perpetrators—of war. The experience of defeat sparked a deeply felt revulsion toward all wars among millions of Japanese people. (2003: 225)

Kenneth G. Henshall described further the above situation in indicating the kind of trauma that has been caused in the mind and the way of thinking of the ordinary Japanese as he stated:

> Obviously, in addition to the immediate and serious practical concerns of food and shelter, the people of Japan were in a state of confusion and anxiety. Their indoctrinated faith in Japan's divine superiority and invincibility was now seriously undermined. So too was their faith in their political and especially military leaders. Many Japanese felt anger, disillusionment, and a sense of betrayal toward those leaders. Some even had negative thoughts about Hirohito, though not so much toward the imperial institution itself. (1999: 137)

Between 1945 and 1952, Japan was under the control of the American Military Occupation (AMO) and its allied forces. In Japanese folklore during World War II, the United States was characterized as *oni* (a demon), which possesses the capacity of destroying and bearing gifts. It was depicted as a dangerous gift giver (Yasutomo 1986). However, as argued in this book, despite the magnitude of the attacks, the Japanese political will was not totally destroyed as it was in some other colonial situations. As John Dower referring to Emperor's Hirohito's embracing defeat said: "Although the emperor reaffirmed his faith in "the sincerity of my good and royal subjects" and assured them that he would "always be with" them, he also admonished them not to fall out among themselves in the chaos and misery of defeat. It was essential to remain united as a great family, firmly believing in " the invincibility of the divine country" and devoting every effort to reconstruction of a nation that would preserve its traditional identity while keeping pace with" "the progress and fortune of the world" (1999: 37–38).

As an old imperial power, and by then an ally of peace, the Japanese State knew what it wanted from the rest of world and what its interests would be and what its strength should be in international relations. It reemerged as a dominant power in East Asia, but also as a dominated state by the United States. For example, historically in its language, they borrowed Confucianism and many elements from China and Buddhism from India. Japan has been very much perceived as having a strong confidence in learning from, and/or about, others. For instance, the Japanese language has a tripartite writing system based upon Chinese characters.

Thus from an imperial perspective, the Japanese State tends to perceive itself as being in the center of world power politics. Japanese politics, historically and culturally can be defined as being very Japanese. Japanese are in their traditions and thus react to phenomena around them from their own cultural perspectives. As compared to the Africans, for instance, Japanese are not apologetic about using their cultures as the basis for dealing with the rest of the world. It is with the strength of its culture that Japan became part of the solution in East Asia.

Since the complex Afro-Asian coalitions of the 1950s were established by the actualization of the plan of the 5 Colombo powers, which include, Burma (currently called Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Indonesia, India, and Pakistan (Ampiah 1997), Japan has become part of the broader paradigm, a part of the solution in Asia. Scholars and policymakers have become curious about the nature of the development model of Japan and the role that the Japanese State has been playing in the world of the states.

Since the Japanese economic boom of the 1960s, which started at the end of the American tutelage in 1952, Japan has been an "economic superpower." Because of the rapidity of its economic successes in terms of growth and development, the pattern of its industrialization, and its past history of militarism and imperialism over other Asian countries, its postwar development model has been an object of intellectual and political debates for at least four decades. Although Japanese power is mostly examined as an economic force, a closer analysis in other domains indicates that Japan also has a defensive military might and structure as indicated earlier that can characterize it as a military superpower as well, as Maswood et al. have stated:

> Watanabe Osamu, professor at Hitotsubashi University pointed out that economic globalisation had created new demands for Japan to become a conventional superpower in order to ensure the security and privilege of its capital especially in Asia. He (2001:16–17) argued that at the same time the new "Defense Guideline" Law was passed in 1999, Japan had reached a new stage as a superpower, possessing independent military force. According to Watanabe, this had added to pressures to revise the Constitution, which in turn stirred the calls for nationalism to be nurtured through education. (2002b: 200)

But internationally, the above characterization can also be obscured by the pacifist nature of the Japanese Constitution and Japanese people. As outlined in the Potsdam Declaration and analyzed by Masland:

> Japan is to be completely disarmed, and militaristic, ultranationalistic and anti-doctrines, practices, institutions, and organizations are eliminated. The economic basis for the Japanese military strength is to be destroyed.

> The desire for individual liberties and for the democratic processes is to be encouraged; likewise, encouragement is to be given to those forms of economic activity, organization, and leadership deemed likely to strengthen democratic forces. Japan is to be permitted to resume peaceful economic activity at a level required to satisfy reasonable civilian needs and eventually to participate in world trades. (1947: 567)

Another aspect of misperception of Japanese society from a non-Japanese scholar is about the level of openness, or lack thereof, of the Japanese culture. Intellectually, but more so culturally, it is not easy to know exactly or to make an accurate interpretation of what the Japanese State and its citizens think about Africa and the Africans. In fact, one can even argue further that it is difficult to know how and what Japanese think about other people around them. This is due to the fact that culturally, Japanese are generally reserved people who tend to listen more than engage the public. They are curious to know what one thinks but to reciprocate the same feeling may not always be evident. Japanese are generally polite and appear to be listeners. Although the following assertion may appear like a stereotype, however, it is fair to remark that the Japanese in general tend not to easily accept criticisms coming from any people or institutions they consider as outsiders even about the phenomena that they are internally critical about. What are the implications of such a behavior for international relations? It is hoped that these characteristics will be clearly defined in policy formulation and implementation in this study.

Between the 1960s and 1990s, Japan's relations with Africa, both at bilateral and multilateral levels, reflected the dynamics of the international power struggle between the West and the East. Japan's new schemes of industrialization and bourgeois national development took place in the conditions of a polarized world. But the spirit of, and commitment to, the Bandung Conference guided, to a large extent, the relations among the countries in the Global South themselves and between them and the industrial ones. Japan's economic and financial assistance focused aggressively more on Asia and the Asia Pacific regions than in any other parts of the Global South. In Africa in general, its relations timidly followed the patterns of those of the United States minus militarism, which were basically characterized by a high level of political polarization. At large, Japan's relations with African States have been highly selective, mainly market-oriented but with a least-risk policy behavior. This policy behavior can be generalized as Ichiro Ozawa, the eminent Japanese politician and the then Head of the Liberal Party of Japan cited by Seifudein Adem, stated:

> The fact is that, deep down, most Japanese want to be able to avoid that troublesome area called "foreign relations." They want to carry on with

> their peaceful comfortable lives, and live with their age-old systems, practices and customs without worries about the future. Simply put, Japanese people want the luxury of reacting only when necessary, and want little participation as possible in international relations. (2008: 7)

Even within the framework of the dominant developmental paradigm (modernization) of the 1950s–1970s and its so-called invisible hand principle of Adam Smith, Japan was reluctant to take high risks in investing in Africa, despite its interests in selected countries with rich and exportable natural resources. However, as an exception, Japan maintained solid relations with Apartheid South Africa as Morikawa stated:

> A major step toward expanded exchanges was the establishment of the Nippon Club of South Africa by the Japanese business community in Johannesburg in 1961. This club, created to assist the growing number of Japanese companies in Johannesburg, was responsible for the promotion and early development of the Japanese School of Johannesburg. The racist behaviour of these "honorary Whites"—doing business with South Africa and residing in White residential areas—soon brought criticism at home and abroad. (57)

With the mounting international pressures, the rise of internal peace movements in many parts of Japan, and strategic diplomatic calculations from the government, Japan's relations started to be questioned in the 1970s. However, according to P. J. Schraeder, South Africa has been Japan's largest trading partner in Africa, importing $1.9 billion in Japanese goods, representing about 35 percent of all Japanese exports to Africa (1999). Japan was the only country with non-European dominant population to have diplomatic relations with South Africa in the early 1960s.

Since the end of the 1990s, despite the lack of a well-coordinated policy, Japan's economic and financial assistance to Africa has taken a qualitatively different policy orientation due to Tokyo's decision to diversify its relations and to become more visible in its relations for the benefits of both Japan and the African States and peoples. Howard Lehman argues that the new thinking within ODA, which this author has fully explained in other chapters, has been developed through the TICAD. Japan is trying to position ODA strategy and policy as separate and unique from the Western ODA (2005).

Furthermore, Japan has even been thinking about the possibility of seeking a post of a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in the near future. This sentiment was also well expressed in the Japan Forum on International Relations as follows:

> The composition of the Security Council reflects the international circumstances that exist at the end of World War II, and there is a strong need for

> its reforms. Japan, should, in addition to requesting permanent membership status in the Security Council, present a concrete proposal indicating what kind of reform is needed to strengthen the U.N. Peace, and especially, what is desirable composition and administration of the Security Council. (1992: 47–48)

The above view is supported by the status of Japan in international assistance area as Motoki Takaharashi stated "Japan has become the world largest bilateral donor and has already vowed to take a leading role in development assistance to [S]ub-Saharan Africa" (1996: 5).

Since the 1990s, Japan has become first among the industrial countries in providing ODA to Africa. In 1993, the Japanese government started to sponsor the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), which has become the "*incontournable*" ("inescapable") policy basis for guidelines in Japan. Despite the fact that other donors constantly criticized the quality of the Japanese Official Aid Programs toward developing countries during the Cold War era as it tended to privilege Grant Aid instead of trying to balance between Technical Assistance and Yen Loans, Japan became rapidly an unpreventable economic power in international relations.

Chapter Two

Approaches, Theoretical Perspectives, and Assumptions on Relations of Political Economy

This chapter has two interrelated bases upon which I have localized my theoretical perspectives. On the one hand, I attempt to construct theoretical elements which should help explain Japan's relations with Africa with the focus on ODA from the main historically used and accepted general theories of international political economy. Here I briefly discuss the significance of the geopolitical location of both Japan and Africa as a part of a historical context, which theoretical elements should enlighten. On the other hand, I also examine how scholars on Japan's ODA as the most important dimension of the Japanese foreign relations have also defined Japan's role in world politics. The new theoretical construct takes into account both these two bases but it also transcends the classical intellectual horizons of pragmatism versus idealism.

Between the seventeenth and twenty-first centuries, there have been competing theoretical interpretations of international political economy. Their social and scientific validity and their worldviews depend on the schools of thought the theorists themselves have been in and how their theories have been shaped by the social domain paradigm (SDP). Pierre Bourdieu, for example, has insisted that theory must be rooted in a particular social experience (1990). Theories of international political economy should be able to explain the world holistically, structurally or functionally in the immense complexity of globalization as it is and/or as it ought to be. However, it should be noted also that theories are not just ideologically neutral abstract tools equipped with various perspectives to define what is being studied or explained. Although theories are intended to pursue objectivity and critique of the matter being studied in an organized, systemic, consistent, predictable, and logical basis, they are human constructs based on some concrete human and social experiences and some general assumptions.

Relations of political economy are defined through foreign policy ideals, ideas, practices, and reality. Japanese foreign policies, just like any foreign policies the world over, are not fixed. After their successes in East Asia in financial and economic terms, Japan developed confidence about what its role could be in other parts of the world. At the same time, East Asia is different from other parts of the World. As Hedetaka Yoshimatsu stated:

> Japan has stood at a unique position in East Asia. It has long been the sole developed nation in the region. In particular, its economic power has been preponderant, accounting for roughly two-thirds of total gross domestic product (GDP) in East Asia. Japanese trade, investment and official loans have sustained economic growth in major East Asian countries and "virtually" economic integration in East Asia. (2003: 1)

Japan worked in its past colonial territories until 1945 and 1951 and within broader Asian cultures and "mystics." This confidence implies also that Japan was going to explore other foreign policy alternatives. What theories would reflect the new foreign policy movements and the security dimensions of Japan's society?

Kaori Okana stated:

> All theories (even grand theories) are by their nature tentative, and remain hypotheses to be refuted, modified, and refined. That is to say, when a proposed hypothesis is refuted, it is modified to some degree, and the modified version of the hypothesis is presented as a new hypothesis to be tested again. (1999: 1)

This citation is reflective of the logic of how hypotheses in social sciences work. The international relations subfield is not an exception from this logic. Furthermore, one of the dominant propositions articulated in this book is that there is a world of the states that has its particularities and its logic different from other institutions or social entities. Thus, to understand and appreciate its exigencies, its abilities, its goals, and how it operates, one must use a structuralist perspective. This perspective allows the use of causal, albeit nonlinear, relationship paradigms to determine why and how actors or institutions behave as they do (Lumumba-Kasongo 2005).

These theoretical constructs or elements of theoretical framework also contribute raise the philosophical questions about what kind of market, politics, and development are embodied in the premises and discourse of those of Japan-Africa relations. These theories are selectively and critically utilized under the microscopic analysis of the author's intellectual

perspectives. As stated elsewhere:

> Assumptions in conventional international relations stipulate that all sovereign states can have, in principle, and legally, equal access to the same international resources regardless of their past political history, their location, national resources, and identities, are utopian and ahistorical. However, the view that these states can exercise their rights equally in the international political economy and collective security systems if they respect existing agreements, conventions, laws, and norms of international forums and institutions is realistically and politically unfounded. (Lumumba-Kasongo 1999: 18)

The notion of collective security as advanced in the context of Japan is not limited to realist concept of military or physical territoriality. The comprehensive definition of the concept of security as expanded in this study implies human, social, and physical protection. It also includes individual and collective rights. How does this concept of security fit into the logic, the functioning and assumptions of the international relations as described above?

The assumption embodies in the above citation has been the basis for building the arguments about the value of interdependence. The statement also emphasizes the importance of what is well known in international relations as the sovereign equality principle. It also indicates that in international relations, political actors can transcend the local or regional imperatives and constraints if they do respect the sovereignty of all members in a given political community. However, in light of political history, the assumption can be seriously challenged. These assumptions must be understood within the context of the dynamism of the relationship between and/or among state-nations or nations as expressed below:

> The analysis of political and economic relations is not a technical inquiry. It deals with power configurations and their social impact at a given time in a given society. Political and economic relations can be strategic and instrumental in promoting various objectives; they can also be developmental and intended to essentially pursue social objectives. Thus, economic and political relations must be analyzed in historical context. The degree and nature of the impact of those relations in a given milieu depend on specific local conditions, the actors involved, and the historical configurations in which the relations have evolved. Despite the dynamism that those relations are capable of engendering and their underlying ideologies and policy implications, they cannot be approached as autonomous phenomena. The "non-objective" factors (non-economic or so-called non-rational characteristics such as culture, leadership, and political personality of the leadership) influence the relations of exchange, production, management and consumption. (Lumumba-Kasongo 1999: 16)

Power of configurations within the classical international relations theory is generally built on interest-based factors. Configurations are shaped by the history and ideology in most cases of the dominant forces (social classes or ethnic groups). The above quotation projects an intellectual perspective, a sense of paradigmatic direction, which is pursued in this work. To paraphrase George Santayana: "Those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

In examining the nature of international relations between Japan, a highly industrialized nation-state located in Asia among the competitive newly industrialized countries, and the African continent, known as the least industrialized continent in both manufacturing and other industrial productive sectors with enormous structural economic problems but with strong diverse cultures and histories, a single theoretical perspective may not be equipped enough to explain the nature of such a relationship. One must try to learn briefly from their past history using historical causation logic or dialectics of history in order to understand how they came to be where they are currently at the level of economic development and the maturity of their political systems and institutions.

Using the combination of a critique of neorealism and neoliberalism mixed with the assumptions and arguments of the Third World forum and dependency theory, the book attempts to identify Japan's perceptions and projected elements of reality of Africa at the time of the explosion of new ideological and political alignments, the rise of multitudes of actors, and the chronic world economic crisis. None of the classical or conventional theories namely realism and idealism in international relations is capable of sufficiently providing analytical tools and comprehensive guidelines to depict the nature of the relations examined in this book. For instance, are the claims of realist theory about security and power, which can be summarized in the following three basic assumptions, absolutely sufficient to determine the nature of links between Japan and Africa? Joseph M. Grieco stated:

> First, states are the major actors in world affairs. Second, the international environmental severely penalizes states if they fail to project their interests or if they pursue objectives beyond their means; hence they are "sensitive to costs" and behave as unitary-rational agents. Third, international anarchy is the principal force conditioning the external preferences and actions of states. On the basis of these assumptions, realists have developed two major propositions concerning international cooperation. First, realists argue that states are preoccupied with their security and power; by consequences, states are predisposed toward conflict and competition, and they often fail to cooperate even when they have common interests. Second, realist claims that international institutions can mitigate the inhibitory effects of anarchy on the willingness of states to cooperate only marginally. (1990: 3–4)

Neorealism, for instance, implies that the state is still the sovereign entity, but it is no longer a self-sufficient political entity. The recognition of the centrality of the state does not necessarily mean the exclusion of other actors. Thus, the state needs to compete with others as well as becoming trading partners. And idealism also projects the view of collective and individual physical and social security, cooperation and interdependence among the states (Keohane and Martin 1995), environmentalism, and "free" and "fair" trade that can be pursued at once. The relationships between Japan and Africa were consolidated toward the end of Cold War politics and during the period of "transition" from militarism or totalitarianism to some various types of multipartyism in Africa with undefined concerted directions and purposes. What did Africa represent as an economic force and political entity?

Furthermore, as articulated earlier, neither the state-centric approach (realism) nor the free market (liberalism and its laissez-faire dogma), or a society-centered approach provides sufficient intellectual tools in the study of Japanese-African relations. I am not only interested in simply describing governmental policies and the contemporary state prescribed developmental approaches, but also in how politics shape societal decisions whether it is the labor or capital and also how people's demands force government to change course or decisions or to adjust them in harmony with some specific social interests.

Internal and external factors influence the behaviors of nation-states, their national/domestic policies and laws, and the nature of the relations among them. Although the intent is not to find a direct tangible and quantitative correlation (causal relations) between these factors and the state's behaviors, it is argued that these factors generally contribute to the formation of perceptions and definitions of any relationships. Furthermore, these relationships cannot flourish in a closed kind of historical determinism, especially within a highly interdependent and turbulent world. They have to be examined with historical and comparative perspectives.

Academic and/or intellectual perceptions and social and historical realities are defined dialectically. Each may help clarify the other in a social science research analysis. These perceptions and realities provide the basis for defining social phenomena differently. Perceptions and historical realities are shaped by the dominant ideologies, the dynamics of cultures, and the class basis of those who define them. The styles, personalities, and the attitudes of the prime ministers, for instance, and those of government at large matter and also shape these realities.

Despite the undeniable importance of the centrality of culture in international relations as stipulated in this book, it should be clarified that this author is not using the culturalist approach like the one that is advanced

by Samuel Huntington as the main source of resistance to change, or the main option for redefining humanity as he indicated:

> In the post–Cold War world, the most important distinctions among peoples are not ideological, political or economic. They are cultural. Peoples and nations are attempting to answer the most basic question humans face: Who are we? And they are answering that question in the traditional way human beings have answered it, by reference to the things that mean most to them. People define themselves in terms of ancestry, language, history, values, customs and institutions. They identify with cultural groups, religious communities… People use politics not just to advance their interests but also to define their identity. We know who we are only when we know who we are not and often only when we know whom we are. (1996: 21)

This author does not reject the arguments about the strength of power of a culture in a given society to change social phenomena. I agree with Amilcar Cabral that: "Culture as the fruit of history, reflects at all times the material and spiritual reality of the society, of man-the-individual and man-the-social-being [*sic*], faced with conflicts which set them against nature and the imperatives of life in common" (1980: 149). This author looks at a culture whether it is a religion, a language, a tradition, science, or a way of life, as a cognitive phenomenon, which is influenced by the dialectics of how a given social class, society, or the state produces and reproduces itself in complex rules, physical location, and social, economic, and political relationships. However, as projected into arguments in this book, culture is not a God-given phenomenon fixed in human beings and humanity or a product of a divine rule.

Obviously, my effort is to pursue a comprehension of the complexity of realities, in an attempt to analyze general trends, as they are and not necessarily as they ought to be. In this situation, international relations must be able to demystify, by rigorous analyses, the "generalized perception" and promote informed reality. A theoretical basis of the study should not be divorced from reality. However, one cannot totally reject all individualistic perceptions about the relations between Japan and Africa because some of these perceptions may have been formed and framed within a given historical circumstance.

Where does Africa stand in the current dynamics of the world political economy? In terms of societal projects and human progress, what are the policy implications of this location for the majority of Africans and for African States at the national and regional levels? As noted earlier, African States and people are not monolithic. However, their reactions to the vagaries of world political economy have been relatively similar. That is to say, their "reactive identities" in the dynamics of the international political

economy have been more or less similar and in some cases even identical. Why has it been this way?

Within the dominant paradigms defined as realist and positivist typologies in Western scholarship, studies of the interactions or linkages in political economy include state-state agendas, state policies, economic ideas or ideals embodied in those policies, the availability of the necessary resources to implement policies, and the political climate of the national and social milieu. Synthesizing Mansbach's major ideas (1994) on the imperatives of the end of the Cold War and the demands for search of new paradigms in international relations, I stated:

> After the end of the Cold War, it has become scientifically more difficult, using the dominant paradigms in international relations, namely realism and idealism, to predict the behavior of the actors and structures of their actions in international relations. It is so partially because the logic of bipolarity and its infrastructural base have disappeared leaving room for self-redefinition. It is this way because those major paradigms were heavily influenced by the logic of polarity in world affairs. For more than sixty years, ideological and military struggles between the East and the West were the most important contributors to predictability and unpredictability of the behavior of the actors in international relations. In most cases, the dominant paradigms were philosophically deterministic and tended to be ahistorical. However, it is usually more appropriate to contextualize and historicize the analysis of international relations as this process can help explain how and why the actors in world politics pursue their interests as they do based on the realities of their regions or subregions as reflected in the dynamics of the global puzzle. (Lumumba-Kasongo, 1999: 1)

The context does not just offer a history and sociology of the relationships, but also a potentiality to project the future, which may embody some elements of newness. There are several approaches that one can use to deal with the issues raised above: (1) One may examine how much official economic aid or financial assistance the Japanese State has been providing to, and/or, supporting of, specific sectors of civil societies' agendas, as they are generally set up to challenge the state's monopoly of powers. (2) One may look at how the Japanese State has been contributing financially to the international or regional institutions, which support democracy or rebuilding of the state, peace programs, development, and education. These institutions include the United Nations Development Programmes, United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the African Development Bank (ADB), etc. And (3) one may focus on how the Japanese State has been using democracy at home as the basis for formulating and implementing its foreign aid policy; and how its public national opinion has been formed to mobilize corporate, civil societies,

and individual initiatives. Like in other domains of contemporary politics, the political and economic conditions affecting Japan's ODA have been rapidly changing. Thus, an analysis of how Japanese aid administration or Japanese aid diplomacy has impacted the African conditions within the world politics and within these challenges in light of the complexity of interests, goals, and policies requires a synthesis of the approaches and a critique of the dominant paradigms in international relations, neorealism.

To be able to assess qualitatively the significance of Japan's current official economic assistance in Africa as a "soft power" and its national political, social, and policy implications, it is also necessary to compare the trends of Japan's general international relations with the main objective of locating its intention and its approaches in Africa in geopolitical terms and political economic imperatives.

The study of the dominant, consistent, or inconsistent trends that since the 1970s have tended to characterize Japan-Africa relations for more than three decades requires structuralist and historical perspectives. Old trends, which are basically ideological alignments, expansionism of capitalism, and bipolarity are generally associated with the patterns of Cold War politics, and their intrigues. International power struggles were essentially ideological, militarily deterministic, and very much predictable. Japan was not and could not be neutral vis-à-vis these struggles.

Furthermore, new trends, which also reflect de-alignment, the unilateralism of the United States, global liberalism, and the rise of some elements of nationalism both in Japan and Africa, and Japan's attempts to project a new internationalism in its foreign policies, are embodied in new trends of the emerging hybrid and undefined multipolarity. The emerging multiplicity of the actors, the domination of the United States militarism and the unilateralism of its foreign policy, and the redefinitions of capitalism in political regions have contributed to the rise of undefined multipolar movements. All these trends cannot be discussed in a historical vacuum. In historical perspectives, generally, the old trends can be considered as forming the foundation of the elements of the new ones. However, not all new trends will have their historical origins in the old trends. Localizing the analysis within a framework of historical and structural arguments provides an opportunity to project a broad political picture in linking the questions of "why" and "how" in a dynamic way in international relations.

International relations, their agencies, and agents may be inspired by the Hobbesian theory of human nature, especially in the Western traditions. However, pragmatic international relations are neither natural nor spontaneous. Although international relations can be or even are influenced by biological needs, nevertheless, they are essentially and structurally historical constructs. The main intent behind this study, as already

pointed out, is to examine how to reconcile the search for the balance of the Japanese national interests known as comprehensive security interests, their humanism, Cold War political imperatives, and the political and economic demands of anti-colonial African people and the struggle for social progress. In the postcolonial period, notwithstanding numerous failures of leadership, African people have been struggling against poverty or underdevelopment, and African organic intellectuals and social movements have been also searching for new developmental paradigms. Japan-Africa relations at a specific period are analyzed within the framework of the dynamics of the international relations and these struggles for change.

It is not easy to conceptualize and project within the world system how Japanese and Africans would have met and interacted at a given time in the evolution of world politics despite the fact that they seem to have strikingly similar symbolic elements of cultural behaviors, linguistic sounds, and names. Since the fifteenth century, the disastrous meeting moments of many peoples, states, and civilizations located in parts of the world, have been mostly through slavery, colonialism, expansion of Western capitalism, and different forms of imperialist forces and organizations including the universal or missionary religions. European imperialist and colonial wars, including the total wars of 1914–1918 and 1939–1945 paved roads for the formation and consolidation of contemporary nation-states, and the struggles for sovereignties. If Japan and Africa did not formally and directly meet during the colonial period in a significant way, a rendezvous of history was set in motion of global capitalism *à la Japonaise*. Thus, theories of international relations should help explain how some elements of Japanese capitalism work and how Japan does business with Africa.

While the meaning of geography as a physical and cultural location and as an important factor in international relations is significantly changing in the development paradigms of Western Europe, especially within the framework of the European Union and within the arguments of World Trade Organization (WTO), in the case of Africa and Japan, geography is still a relevant variable in their international relations. That is to say, the Japanese State and the African States are still essentially and ontologically the states par excellence.

Geopolitically and historically, the study of the relationship between Japan and Africa raises important issues, as already alluded to, in terms of the level of analysis and intellectual justifications for such a work as reflected in the following categorization: Japan, an island country, is a Constitutional Monarchy, which is located in East Asia with a strong Buddhist culture. It is perceived and defined by many scholars and people as culturally "homogenous." It is a former imperial power that used its military might to invade and colonize many countries in Asia. But it was

also humiliated and defeated by the United States' military might and was occupied by the United States and its allies between August 1945 and April 1952.

Africa, the continent of 53 (without counting the disputed Western Sahara) culturally and linguistically diverse countries, was mostly brutalized by the external forces such as Americo-European transatlantic slavery, European colonialism, and currently by multinational financial and economic institutions. However, they share strong cultural capital and richness in their ancient past political history. Colonial legacies are still structurally important functional factors to consider in examining the African conditions and any possibilities for changing them. Neocolonial relations are still determining factors for Africa's foreign relations. Furthermore, each country has been engaged in a different process of its industrialization with a different basis of its infrastructures. It has a long history, vast expanse of land, rich natural resources and huge potential for development. Japan is a human resource country without any significant natural resources base.

In July 2006, the total population of Japan was 127, 463, 611 and it ranks the tenth among the most populous countries in the world. As of January 2009, the Japanese population was estimated to 128,000,000 reflecting only an increase of less than 1,000,000 from the population of 2006. Japan is known as a country with a low population growth. In fact, it has a shrinking population. But Japan's population density is very high—339 persons per square kilometer according to the United Nations World Populations Prospects Report of July 2005. Other documents indicate the population density was 343 persons per kilometer ranking the fourth following Bangladesh, South Korea, and the Netherlands. In Africa, it is only the Nigeria's population of approximately 132 million that is higher than that of Japan. Demographically, Africa is highly segmented by the existence of many small countries with small economies and small populations comprising of ethnic groups living across two or more colonial boundaries.

In this brief comparative perspective, it is also necessary to summarize a few other facts to project an historical context. Japan is perceived officially by the Japanese government, the majority of the Japanese population, foreign scholars, and the rest of the world as being linguistically, sociologically, and economically homogeneous or near a total homogenous society. About 99% of the Japanese speak Nippon as their first language and more than 90% of Japanese define themselves as being in the middle class.

However, Japan also has a few distinctive small ethnic groups called also social minorities or underclass groups, though politically and demographically of limited significance, that should be mentioned: (1) the Hisabetsu, the first largest group, also known as the Burakumin (Buraku people).

There are estimated three million Burakumin people spread throughout approximately 6,000 Buraku districts across Japan (Kawamoto 2001). (2) The Ryukyuan people, the second largest group, are originally from the Okinawa Island. Okinawa was an independent Kingdom culturally very close to China that was changed to a status of a Prefecture during the Meiji Restoration. The Island comprises only 0.6% of Japan's total land mass; and the (3) Ainu, the third largest minority group, are thought to be related to the Tungusic, Altaic, and Uralic peoples of Siberia.

It is estimated in 2009 that there are about 200,000 Ainu living throughout Japan though most are on the northernmost island of Hokkaido. They were once thought of as the remnants of a Caucasoid group but this is yet to be proved. Historically, the Ainu (*Ainu* means human in the Ainu language) were an indigenous hunting and gathering population who occupied most of northern Honshu as late as the Nara period (710–784). It should be noted that in 710 the imperial capital was shifted a short distance from Asuka to Nara. For about 75 years, Nara was the seat of government. It is reported in many documents that this was a time of atypical social mobility based on merit, where those with Chinese learning or Buddhist knowledge enjoyed access to power. The most conspicuous feature is the brilliant flowering of culture, especially Buddhist culture.

In 2007, African population was estimated to 944 million (one-seventh of the world population. But in 2009, it is estimated to a billion. It is the world's second-largest and second most-populous continent, after Asia. It accounts for about 14.8% of human population. The population density is 30. 51 km (80 square miles). It is the most diverse continent sociologically, economically, and linguistically as it has thousands of ethnic groups, and hundreds of spoken languages and dialects in addition to the imposed European languages (English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish in a small scale) in educational systems and administration. As Adedeji Adebayo stated:

> While Africa is one of the most geographically distinguishable continents in terms of coherent solid mass, it is also sadly one of the most parceled up in terms of the number of separate national units that it contains. While continents like Asia, Europe or America have only a handful of countries, Africa has as many as 53 countries. Worse still, of these 53 countries, 23 have populations of less than 5 millions each and 10 of these have populations below one million—meaning that there are as many as ten African sovereign countries with a population that is far less than that of the 23 square miles of Manhattan Island. (1992: 7)

As of 2005, more than 300 million Africans were living on $1–2 a day, despite an overall economic growth of 2%–5%. For instance, despite political fragility and instability, and even wars in some countries, by 2004, there

was an economic growth of 2%–4%, in Cameroon, Rwanda, Senegal, Angola, Chad, Lesotho, Namibia, Eritrea, Gabon, Gambia, Madagascar, Côte d'Ivoire Malawi, Niger, Nigeria, Swaziland, Tanzania, and Togo and over 4% in Botswana, Ghana, Benin, Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mauritania, Mauritius, Ethiopia, Uganda, Mozambique, Sudan (World Bank 2005). It should be underlined that the foundation of this economic growth (external based growth) was basically foreign loan and foreign aid. Thus, this growth could not be considered sustainable. In most countries, it was "artificial" and unconnected to the whole political economy of the countries. Various forms of struggle for survival and extreme poverty have been reflecting general people's daily routine activities.

In short, Africa is, in general, and even among the smallest countries, obviously a less culturally homogenous continent. It is also, from the point of view of the nation-states, a politically fragmented region in the world. An intellectual practice to homogenize and generalize about the behaviors, traditions, and policies of the African States, the nature of their citizens and the performances of their institutions by many scholars and consultants, has led, in most cases, to produce extremely vague "tourist kind of knowledge" about Africa. Furthermore, it should be recognized, at the same time, that Africa is also culturally one of the most diverse regions and in terms of natural endowment and complex histories, one of the richest continents. Africa has some of the most ancient traditions in the world because it is the oldest human and living place (Diop 1987). The connection between Japan and Africa has to be examined as a politically motivated phenomenon.

As quoted by Jun Morokawa, Koichiro Matsuura, then Director General of the Economic Co-operation Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs at London's Royal Institute of International Affairs in July 1989 stated:

> Africa is remote from Japan. We have had few historical and cultural ties with Africa. Yet we are being urged to give more attention to that continent and we have been responsive. Since 1977, Japan has increased assistance to Sub-Saharan countries ten times over. Japan was the top bilateral donor in four African countries in 1987: Kenya, Zambia, Malawi and Nigeria. Right now, over 600 young Japanese volunteers, or 35 percent of the total, are engaged in activities of technical assistance in ten African countries. This aid is not only bilateral. Many people may not know it, but Japan is the number two contributors to the African Development Bank from outside region and the number one contributor to the African Development Fund. (1997: 1)

If Japan had to interact with Africa at either a multilateral level or with individual African countries at a bilateral level, these relations had to be

consciously motivated, specifically identified, and nationally or regionally defined. These relations cannot be randomly set up and advanced by the political and social actors and their agencies. Although different theories of international relations have interpreted differently the principles of interdependence, mutuality, and reciprocity, they have become central instruments in the conceptualization and functioning of all international relations theory. One must define the motivating factors that determine those relations, identify the agencies/agents that define them, and discuss the means set up for advancing them. The specific relations are analyzed within a broad perspective. This study has to lead to the appreciation and understanding of what Japan and Africa represent in world politics and for themselves.

This general perspective and background captures some recent phases of historical development associated with the state formation in Japan and Africa that may help explain the nature of their operations in world affairs today.

Although the focus is not on bilateral relations, in order to have a comprehensive view of the nature of the relationship, I include some selected available figures, illustrations or data from selected countries and economic regions of Africa.

However, it should be noted that Japan has had particular relations with countries in Southern Africa. These relations, conditioned by Japan's strong belief that South Africa has an overwhelming economic power in the region upon which other economies, are essentially dependent or peripheral. Although this author does not expand in this specific book on multilateralist dimensions of economic relationship, a few illustrations are selected as the basis for articulating how Japan has been dealing with African economic organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union (AU), and the African Development Bank's (ADB) projects.

In short, I summarize my views of my theoretical reflections and assumptions for this study in the following statement:

> As indicated earlier, the relations of political economy are more complex than just the mechanisms of capital inflow or outflow, technological dependencies or transfers, and the distribution of surplus accumulation, which are regulated and monopolized by the dominant classes. Social and cultural classes interests also contribute to shaping of center-periphery relations. Relations in the periphery are not always passive, even in the most reactionary political situation. A periphery state can manipulate international economic relations or resources for its own political survival. This was the case with many regimes in Africa until the emergence of the recent popular and

> democratic movement. That is to say, international relations can also shape and/or determine national policies in a given context. Those relations can also take different forms and expressions. (Lumumba-Kasongo 1999: 17)

What is alluded to in the quotation is to reiterate our intention of looking for alternative theoretical perspectives. Although the classical approaches/perspectives used in the international political economy are still broadly relevant in examining many dimensions of the relations of international political economy between countries located in the Global South and those located in the Global North, they are not totally sufficient tools any longer. However, in the context of this study, for instance, the power of the internal dynamics of the actors involved in Japan and Africa are important in contextualizing the arguments. Intellectual and analytical values of the "historization" of the relations help to define the issues more sharply, as they also provide a new perspective that takes the local politics more seriously on the real local social forces and their needs. Thus, though there is no intention to expand on their historicity, a brief comment on these approaches is necessary to continue to elucidate our points about their incompleteness.

Three major schools of thought, or theories in international political economy in the West, are classical, modern or neomercantilism, classical or neoliberalism, and leftist Radicalism known also as classical or neo-Marxism.

It is argued that, based on the reasons and factors fully discussed earlier in this chapter and which were also expanded elsewhere, these approaches are not theoretically finite and totally complete in providing the tools of analysis of political and economic relations. For instance, both classical mercantilism and neomercantilism put more emphasis on economic strength as a critical component of national/state power. And national power and wealth are perceived as tightly connected (Oatley 2006: 8). As reflected in the politics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in old Western Europe, the acquisition of power within the European mercantilism was often associated with acquiring territory, an exploit requiring military capability and engagement. As Waltz stated: "All the economies work within the orders that are politically contrived and maintained. One cannot understand an economy . . . without consideration of rules that are political laid down . . ." (1979: 141). It should be added that neomercantilists recognize the importance of the global economy and its value of interdependence. However, they defend trade barriers as means to protect states' exports. One of the issues here is to be able to examine whether or not Japanese State or African States can be fully characterized as mercantilist states. What would be national interests within them? Can a neocolonial state be qualified to be a mercantilist state?

Thus, it is perhaps correct to argue that within the complexity of classical definitions of the national power or national sovereignty, it is difficult to predict why and how African States have been behaving the way they have. The centrality of the African States, their actions, and their behaviors or political choices must be historically examined and understood in relationship to some other dominant phenomena such as the culture, the private sector, external influences, power struggle, and capitalism.

The classical liberalism or neoliberalism has its limits to help explain the complex relations between Japan and Africa in many ways. As Oatley states:

> First of all, liberalism attempted to draw a strong line between politics and economics. In doing so, liberalism argued that the purpose of economic activity was to enrich individuals, not to enhance the state's power. Second of all, liberalism argued that countries do not much enrich themselves by running trade surpluses. Instead, countries gain from trade regardless of whether the balance of trade is positive or negative…The state must establish clear rights concerning the ownership of property and resources. (2006: 9)

Being the incarnation of liberal thought in the political economy, Adam Smith, for instance, put more emphasis on free trade within international political economy as the most important liberating or modernizing force in world politics, which should be more powerful than the state. With the quality of their goods and services, and the capacity of their institutions, nation-states should be able to compete with one another in the free marketplace in order to advance their interests or causes. As Lairson and Skidmore state:

> Perhaps, liberals' most important contribution is the idea that all participants in a system of free markets and trade are beneficiaries. But the arguments of liberals sometimes extend beyond respecting to worshipping markets; their views often have effect of rationalizing the interest of powerful groups; and liberal almost never understand the role of politics and power in creating and conditioning markets. Liberals generally have a somewhat negative and even hostile view of government. They see government spending as harming economic efficiency and reducing liberty. They often see the state as composed of self-seeking individuals who use power only to promote their narrow ends. More recently a new version of liberalism, neoliberalism, has built on older versions of political economy. Neo-liberals make broad claims about the impact of markets, international interdependence, and the possibilities for cooperation among nations. (2003: 12)

It should also be mentioned that classical liberalism rejected the age-old concept a unified political and economic order and replaced it with two

separated orders as Spero noted:

> First, argued the liberals, an economic system is based on the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services; these economic processes operate under natural laws. Furthermore, they maintained, there is a harmony in these laws and in economic system, and such natural harmony operates best and to the benefit of all when political authority interferes least with automatic operation . . . Second, they contended that political system consists of power, influence, and public decision-making. (1985: 1)

The dualism of liberalism, as a theory, does not project the relations of political economy in a consistent explanatory way. It segments not only the nature of the impact of these relations on society and individual but also neglects to deal with the relations in a holistic manner.

Most of the radical approaches such as those inspired and supported by socialism, Marxism, social democratic movements, dependency, Third World Social Forum, labor unionism, etc., whether they were produced in the Global North or in the Global South, were historically born as reactive sets of rules to the dominant paradigms and their policy and social consequences. However, it should be specified that gradually these approaches also developed their own bases of scientific inquiry and legitimacy in the power for explaining the contradictions within social relationship of production and the ownership of means of production, projecting how to change the world system and the establishment of predominantly socialist or Marxist regimes. Social change can be produced through the struggle of the working class (proletariat) against the bourgeoisie.

These approaches in the twentieth century constituted various options to explain the world as it was with an intellectual momentum of attempting to change it. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite regimes, and the globalization of the neoliberal economic and political reforms, politically the legitimacy of those radical approaches in their classical forms has been also questioned and diminished significantly. But it is necessary to summarize the claims of radical perspective as articulated by Lairson and Skidmore as follows:

> A third perspective, "Radicalism," by contrast holds that the system of national and international capitalism biases economic outcomes to the benefit of certain social classes within the most powerful capitalist nations. Drawing their ideas from a Marxist perspective on political economy, radicals focus our attention on the area of greatest weakness for liberalism and mercantilism: the way that economic power and political power create interests and shape out-comes. The merit of radical arguments is that they tend to see power relationship that others miss (or want obscured)

> the central purpose of radical analysis is to uncover the role of power in seemingly: voluntary market relations. An important benefit of the radical perspective is that it presses us to see beyond national economies or even a world economy created by transactions among the states… Though radicals help us see how power can affect the distribution of economic benefits, they may not adequately appreciate how nations that are organized effectively for economic competition can turn the weak into the strong in a market system. (2003: 13)

From the above Marxist perspective, international cooperation between Africa and industrial countries can be projected on the contradictions embodied in international capitalist system and dialectical change that is related to those contradictions. In any kind of formal relationship or the state's relationship, each class acts to maximize the economic well being of such a class as a whole (Frieden and Lake 1991: 8). It is in the struggle for social justice that the working class organizes the productive forces to change unequal relations imposed on them by those who own and control the means of production recently including the managers.

I reiterate that none of the approaches defined above is consistently self-sufficient to help analyze the complex conditions, structures, and nationally defined relationship and their policy implications. Thus, a combination of comparative and historical-structural perspectives is used with the assumptions of the "win-win theory." The questions are: Who is winning? What is being won? How can we quantify and qualify the expression win-win? In the process of winning, is there anything that is being lost? In short, who is really benefiting from these relations within the framework of unequal power base and unbalanced international political economy between Japan and Africa? Benefit in this case is discussed as part of development policy paradigms and the dynamics of social relations of production. It is a collective social agenda to be set up by the state in the name of the state, society, and globalization.

Finally, it would be necessary to conclude and synthesize, in this section by recapturing, the elements of the debate on the Japan's foreign aid with other complementary and/or challenging theoretical interpretations of the role of ODA that has been tested in light of some empirical cases or illustrations.

The unfinished story, as I discussed in various parts of this work, is that we have to continue to raise the issues of whether Japan has only been pursuing its foreign aid policy on an altruistic motivation basis, on ideological and strategic planning, or in underscoring economic importance with free trade and interests related to the dominant social paradigm (DSP) and the protection and the advancement of the Japan's security through the capitalist world. Is Japan pursuing its policies through a combination of two of

the above theories? Or it is pursuing its interests through a combination of three of these theories? Or is it using none of the above?

In a well established and quoted empirical based study entitled: "The Role of Mercantilism, Humanitarianism, and *Gaiatsu* in Japan's ODA programme in Asia," P. John Tuman and Jonathan R. Strand (2006: 7) clarified and examined the determinants of Japanese ODA in 14 countries in Asia for the period of 1979–1998). They drew interesting conclusions that are summarized that: there is no "empirical support for the claim that US security interests have had an influence on Japanese aid disbursement in Asia," and that "US interests were found to have little effect on ODA disbursement in Asia." "While the US strongly endorsed IMF adjustment programmes as part of its overall commitment to international openness, Asian countries that were implementing these reforms were not more likely to receive Japanese ODA in comparison to non-adjustment years or in comparison to other non-adjusting countries." And "the presence of human right abuses would appear to have little effect on Japan's aid programme in Asia." "Japan's national economic interests have influences ODA disbursement in Asia."

However, as reported by Tuman and Strand, and also as documented in previous studies including the ones of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, they found that poor countries in Asia received more ODA during the time series, on average, in comparison to wealthier countries (see Hook and Zhang 1998; Tuman and Strand 2006; Tuman and Ayoub 2004). Clearly, one of the chief goals of Japanese aid policy was the poverty alleviation (Njinkeu et al. 2000). Based on the findings from the above studies of the poor countries in Asia, humanitarian interests constituted the most important motivation factors while in the relatively rich Asian countries, Japanese national interests prevailed.

The conclusion from the above works supports the fact that Japan's commitment to adjustment has been particularly strong in Africa. As Stein indicated: "Japan has not only participated in adjustment through their support of multilateral agencies and through the Paris Club, but also since 1986 with a significant amount of policy loans at bilateral level aimed at rewarding countries undertaking adjustment measure" (1998: 2). However, it should be noted that Japan's support for the adjustment programs in Africa implies also, to a large extent, its acceptance of neoclassical approach to development, which Japan did not encourage, nor did it support it in East Asia. It did not use it as a dominant part of the paradigm in its own development paths. Its well-known position was the state-led development.

In short, there are new trends of changes and old trends of continuity within the ODA. Japan is consciously making new interpretations of

internationalism, as it is maintaining some aspects of nationalism or neomercantilism, and it is also pushing for new idealism and at the same time, it is projecting itself as a different quality leader in economic cooperation with Africa. The interpretation of the concept of cooperation from the advocates of constructivism is projected into this analysis, as this cooperation is defined as a process of learning in which interactions produce shared understandings of reality, redefines interests, and may even lead to the development of collective identities (Wendt and Duvall 1989). In this book, the new trends and the dimensions of this leadership are fully identified and examined.

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Chapter Three

The Bandung Conference (1955): Ideology of Non-Alignment and Pragmatism of Afro-Asian Alliances

Its Origins, Main Objectives, and General Background

Since the 1990s, there has been the rise of the Global Social Forum (GSF) with the coalition of progressive groups from different social, environmental, and intellectual backgrounds all over the world. Its role, as an umbrella of a resistance movement against neoliberal globalization and its reformist policies and agenda, has been to influence or to disturb the meetings of the boards of directors of the global institutions on behalf of the poor people, the poor economies, and poor countries. In the long run, the ultimate claim of this movement is to search for an alternative system of governance with a high dose of participatory management of social and human resources, and a strong basis for equal distribution of the global resources. The majority of the poor people are located in Africa.

This new movement did motivate this author to revisit the meanings of the meeting of the Bandung Conference. Furthermore, because Japan finally participated in this conference as an invited political actor, and because upon the ideology of this conference, the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) was born, it is crucial to examine the evolution of this conference and see if it has influenced, directly or indirectly by action and intention, Japan-Africa relations.

What did the Bandung Conference in 1955 specifically mean or represent for African countries and people that were at the time still mostly colonized by the European powers and for the Asian countries and people, which were politically independent from the same powers, though a few of them were still facing serious political instability because of the international and regional power struggles? What were the main agenda items of this conference? What specific role did Japan play in it? Finally, has the Bandung Conference succeeded in influencing, directly or indirectly,

African-Japanese relations in some positive and significant ways during and after the end of bipolarity?

Although this chapter does not specifically address all the above questions in a systemic or scientific manner, a general discussion on the historical significance of the conference helps locate its main objectives and strategies within the context of the imperatives of the international bipolarity of the world system. I encapsulate its main objectives, identify major elements of the grand ideological foundation of the conference, if any, and describe the conference's policy implications for Japan and Africa.

One of the main issues raised in this chapter is about the "political vision" embodied in the declarations of the conference. The question of "political vision" also implies the existence of an ideology or ideological principle, or norms. However, historical facts testify that based on various political locations and historical backgrounds of the participants, the Bandung Conference could not be intended to produce a consensual political ideology, which would have been incorporated into the national party politics of any nation-state. The diverse voices of the participants and the advocates of the conference's ideals should transcend any national ideology basis in their actions against the imperialist nature of the world system as perceived and defined in the twentieth century, for instance, by Samir Amin and Immanuel Wallerstein. Whether or not in reality, the above assumption could possibly be translated into national political actions in mobilizing the people and the states without creating any strong transcontinental ideological basis, is part of my problematic. However, it is sufficient to say that the conference aimed at creating a collective consciousness and a common platform based on the nature of the existing international political economy. What is the philosophical foundation of that consciousness?

Historically, the Western powers created the world system ideologically. As such, the struggles against those powers logically should start by deconstructing that ideology. These powers tend to react and/or appreciate better to the actions that are ideologically based than those which are not. It is so because in general with an analysis of an ideological framework, actions of a social group, a political party or an individual are more discernable and thus, predictable.

Major cultural, socioeconomic, and political differences among the states represented were the factors which made the ideological foundation of their public speeches difficult to reconcile with the common agenda of the forum. But the emerged critics of the world system from the delegates can be considered by themselves to be ideologically framed phenomena as well as the embodiment of the futurism that was projected during and after the conference. As argued elsewhere: "One cannot fully or comprehensively understand the dynamics of the nation-states, the policies, politics,

and their international relations without linking them theoretically and empirically to their ideological base… the Nation-state is essentially an ideological construct and a self-motivating entity" (Lumumba-Kasongo 2005: 152). Although it would be difficult to systematically demonstrate that the non-alignment has been a common functionally accepted ideology among the participants of the conference, it is also equally difficult, based on historical facts and the nature of alliances that took place after the conference, to argue persuasively that it was not an ideologically based forum.

The agenda for holding an Asian-African Conference was gradually negotiated among its organizers on the initiative of Ali Mohammed of Pakistan. The vision was not shared by all at once. It is not clear what interests he had in Africa and what concrete factors motivated him to start this initiative. There was no collective regional interest in Africa at the time. As George McTurnan Kahin stated:

> Indonesia's idea originating primarily with Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo. At first his proposal was to invite only the Afro-Asian group within the United Nations, and it was with this in mind that he introduced the idea to the prime ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, and Pakistan at their meeting in Colombo at the end of April 1954. Initially, only Pakistan's Mohammed Ali was enthusiastic; Ceylon's Sir John Kotelawala was willing to go along but India's Jawaharlal Nehru and Burma's U Nu, while both nodding polite approval of the idea, were skeptical of the feasibility and value of holding such a conference. Not until his trip to New Delhi in late September 1954 did Sastroamidjojo, win Nehru's full acceptance of his proposal. (1956: 2)

Thus, *le fait accompli*, from April 18 to 25, 1955, the Prime Ministers of the group called five Colombo powers, namely, Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Indonesia, India, and Pakistan organized a meeting in Bandung, Indonesia, to discuss the themes and problems of economic cooperation, human rights, self-determination, the problems of dependent people, and the promotion of peace (Ampiah 1997: 39). Colombo is the capital city of Sri Lanka. Egypt was also an active member of the organizing committee located outside of Asia. This conference was a historic meeting in which political leaders and foreign ministers of 29 Asian and African countries gathered on the initiative of the leaders of the Third World at that time, including Premier Chou En-lai (China), President Achmed Sukarno (Indonesia), Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Prime Minister Mohammed Ali of Pakistan, Prime Minister U Nu of Myanmar, and Sir John Kotelawala of Sri Lanka. Who were specifically invited and why? The above organizers agreed that the conference should

have a broad geographic basis as Homer Jack described:

> "All the countries in Asia and Africa, which have independent governments should be invited." However, "minor variations and modifications of this basic principle " were made and the invitations were limited to 25 specific countries as follows: Afghanistan, Cambodia, Central African Federation, China (not Formosa), Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Viet-nam (North), Viet-nam (South), and Yemen. It was further stated that "acceptance of the invitation by any one country would in no way involve or even imply any change in its view of the status of any other country" and the Prime Ministers also emphasized that "the form of government and the way of life of any country in no way be subjected to interference by another." They were certain striking omissions from the list of countries invited: North Korea, South Korea, Nationalist China on Taiwan (Formosa), Australia, New Zealand, Russia (which is at least in part of Asia), Israel, and the Union of South Africa. While the basis for these omissions were politically obvious, there were never any official reasons given. (1955: 2–3)

There were more than 2,000 delegates, journalists, and observers who attended the meeting. The African region had the smallest number of delegates from Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast (Ghana), Liberia, Libya, and Sudan. The Egyptian delegation was led by Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser. That of Gold Coast/Ghana (only 3 members) was led by Kojo Bastio, Minister of the State. Egypt and Ghana played a central role in advocating the creation of political pan-Africanism in the 1960s.

The Conference is therefore recognized as a symbol of unity and rapprochement amongst the Asian and African States. It took place in the middle of Cold War tensions between the Soviet Union, the United States and the People's Republic of China, and the continuous march of Western colonial powers in the countries within the Global South, despite the rise of the various forms of nationalist and popular resistance to Western imperialism.

For many, this Conference historically became the cornerstone of the African-Asian solidarity, despite the reality of the economic and political domination from the Global North and the structural weaknesses of the countries and states in the Global South, especially in Africa. Since the 1950s, regular African-Asian Summits have been contributing to revive the spirit of Bandung and encourage the creation of a new partnership between African and Asian states and countries.

The fiftieth year anniversary of the Bandung Conference was celebrated in the Asian-African Summit 2005 and the Commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of the Asian-African Conference 1955 on April 20–24,

2005 in Bandung and Jakarta, Indonesia under the leadership of President Megawati Sukarnoputri and the African President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa. The theme of the conference was "Invigorating the Bandung Spirit: Working toward a New Asian-African Strategic Partnership." Japan was the only industrialized country that was formally invited to the Conference. As a bridge between the Conference and the G8 Process, it holds a special important position. The meetings of the preparation for this anniversary were held in Indonesia (Bandung) in August 2003 and South Africa (Durban) in August 2004.

In relation to what Bandung has historically represented and a relatively large number of the countries involved in the non-alignment movement, it is perhaps correct to argue that it would have been expected that major international events would have been organized by the United Nations for the celebration of this occasion as well as other mini-national conferences at the regional and national levels. The demands for such celebrations were not totally absent among African and Asian scholars and their research agendas. For instance, many African and Asian scholars expressed directly to this author as the Editor-in-Chief of the African and Asian Studies, a social science journal published by Brill in Leiden, the Netherlands, the need to organize some of important conferences on the Bandung Conference. However, by lack of financial resources, this author only encouraged scholars who contacted him to organize seminars in their own institutions.

Has this major event been, to a large extent, forgotten in the euphoria of post–Cold War liberal politics and globalization? Many people, including this author, have thought that it would be necessary to rethink this conference in the context of permanent struggles in Africa to search for new paradigms of development—as the old ones have been in, most cases, clearly deficient or inappropriate more so in Africa than in Asia.

An attempt to answer to some of the questions posed above requires a critical interpretation and an understanding of political history in light of national and international empirical facts. The Bandung Conference was essentially an international event. As part of international relations theory, it can be examined as being part of the nation-states' projects in Africa and Asia. Pragmatism of international imperatives also may require that we make a deductive reasoning out of the dominant patterns of relationship among the states that participated in the conference and those which were yet to be born. The deductive analysis from the general rules helps relate the effects of the Bandung Conference to local national issues. This deduction does not imply abstraction of the global context.

African and Asian delegates did not go to Bandung with the same agendas and expectations. The ways these nation-states were going to gain their

independence, their political location in international relations, the level of their socioeconomic development and the level and quality of the struggles toward the independence are some factors that influence the discourse that took place in the Bandung Conference and beyond. But participants had a commitment to have common resolutions about the process of political change.

As already indicated, this Conference occurred at a period of decolonization in Asia. Although the movements of decolonization had gathered some important momentum in some African countries, most of them were still firmly under the yoke of the European colonialism.

Burma (Myanmar) gained its independence in 1948, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1948 and Indonesia proclaimed independence earlier on August 17, 1945 but it took 4 years of diplomatic negotiations and armed resistance against the Dutch to recognize its independence on December 27, 1949. India won its independence in 1947 with nonviolence but there was a bloody struggle between the Muslims and Hindus that was instigated, inspired and supported partially by the divide and rule principle of the British colonial political strategy. Pakistan separated from India by the British signing a peace treaty with India in 1947. Thus, British colonial administration was forced to "abandon" its former colonies of India, Burma, and Ceylon after a combination of armed struggles and negotiations.

There were all together 29 nation-states represented in the conference. In addition to the Prime Ministers who were the conveners, foreign ministers and many delegates from African colonized countries and many parts of Asia also joined the conference. The conference was well popularized and publicized. In that year, in Africa, only Egypt, Ethiopia, and Liberia were independent countries.

Liberia gained its independence from the American Colonization Society (ACS) in 1847. Egypt gained its independence in 1922 from the United Kingdom, and Ethiopia was never formally colonized by the European powers (though it became a neocolonial state), despite the Italian invasion of 1930 by Mussolini. Mussolini's invasion was supported by Japan, although Japan had previously good relations with the imperial Ethiopian power. But the "Northern province of Ethiopia," Eritrea was firmly colonized by Italy. Some people from Eritrea have claimed that they were historically different from Ethiopia before it was colonized by Italy. It is necessary to link this general background to the main objectives of the Conference, as Ampiah stated:

> The conference was organized to promote the highest aspirations of the peoples of Asia and Africa; that is, positive life chances for the disadvantaged nations of the international community. These ambitions were to be

> further channeled into an articulate and coherent "third force" in a world supposedly frozen into two camps by the Cold War. . . . The one underlying theme that ran through the economic, cultural, and political objectives of the conference was a sense among the members, irrespective of their ideological orientation, that they would not be trapped with their experiences as "dependents" or appendages of colonialism. This was clearly expressed in the conference's universal declaration that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end." Essentially, the spirit of the conference hinged on the determination of the member states to preserve their newly won freedoms and to reach out for more through their persistent opposition to colonialism and imperialism, as well as through a systematic attempt to advance the economic well-being of the people they represented, thereby questioning the essence of the UN. (Ampiah 1997: 39–40)

Although Japan became occupied by the American and allied forces, it was an imperial power in Asia not long back before the conference. In addition, the delegates talked about a "third way" while Japan was already located in the "first way" associated with capitalism led by the United States. Thus, it is clear that Japanese delegates had some difficulties ideologically locating themselves in the discourse of the conference.

However, despite the reluctance to accept the invitation, the Japanese delegates attended the Conference after being persuaded by the United States to do so. It was in the interest of Japan to have it represented in a conference that was going to talk about a new Asia. "The proposal of the invitation was made by Pakistan with support of Ceylon, but also a certain amount of contention from others" (Ampiah 1997: 41). As a result, in a strange or awkward way, Japan came back to Asia through the implementation of many dimensions of the Bandung Conference, as Kitagawa indicated:

> Invitation of Japan to the Bandung Conference was a product of international political dynamism in Asia. This conference is widely known as the arena of the union of newly independent Asian and African countries that hoisted the flag of anti-colonialism. In reality, this conference was strongly coloured by the Cold War system in which Asian countries of liberal camp defended against offensive move by communist or neutral countries like India and China. India tries to call China to the conference. On the contrary Pakistan, who was in the liberal camp and opposed to India, schemed to invite Japan, an important figure as anti-communist, in order to put a check on the India-China leadership in this conference, Japan tries to survive this difficult situation by the passive political stance but her existence itself had already become an important part of international politics regardless {of} her intentions. (2003: 3)

The Japanese delegation was led by Tatsunosuke Takasaki, who was a Minister of the State and the Director-General of Economic Counsel

Board. Japan has been operating within the orbit of the Western world, but it also made an "unspoken" commitment to the Afro-Asian group, as articulated in this Bandung Conference. Japanese commitment to the conference's declaration may determine, to a certain extent, how Japan has defined and dealt with Africa later.

Obviously, as a former colonial power, Japanese delegation's position was not comfortable. But, geopolitics' interests and those of world politics must be reconciled.

As a nation-state par excellence, an auto-centered political entity in terms of its interests, Japan desired to renew ties with Asia in trade areas and also to become a member of the United Nations in 1956. And it must correct its past mistakes as Kweku Ampiah indicated:

> Most importantly, Takasaki's speech at the conference contained an element of apology to Japan's neighbours for the atrocities Japan committed against them: "In World War II, Japan I regret to say, inflicted damages upon her neighbours." And he tried, obviously as instructed, to use the occasion to assure them that Japan had "no intentions of repeating its past vicious foreign policy." Japan has reestablished democracy, having learned her lesson at immense cost. (1997: 43)

This speech did not have any immediate impact in Africa because most countries in Africa were still under colonization in the 1950s. However, since the 1970s, the situation started to change.

It should be also emphasized that in Asia at large, the political situation was still very tense, volatile, and extremely complex at the time of the Conference as C. P. Fitzgerald, who also attended the Conference also, wrote:

> From north to south there are four major trouble areas in the Far East: Korea, Formosa, Indochina, and Malaya. The Korea problem has been solved—or shelved—in manner highly unsatisfactory to both parties in Korea, yet in all probability for a long time to come. Formosa remains acute, Indochina threatens renewed danger, Malaya smolders on. In each case, behind the immediate local conflict is the factor that makes these troubles significant for the world at large, growing power of China and her alliance with Russia. The West has wished to impose settlements of these issues which took no account of China, and the attempts have failed everywhere; for where settlements or partial solutions have been achieved it has been in each case necessary to abandon the pretense that China does not exist and come to term with Peking. The example of Bandung, where China was accepted, and where useful negotiation between China and her inimical southern neighbors proved, cannot in the future be ignored. (1955: 114)

The rise of the communist movement in Malaya was fully supported by China. Most of the communists were born in the mainland. China had

both Russia and Japan in its political mind and its definition of security. Britain did not admit that a "foreign Asian power" could have a strong influence in its former colony (Ibid.:116).

In addition to the above matters, the issue of security of Japan in the region was also important for Japan and its sponsor and mentor, the United States. The Conference took place in the real hot international political atmosphere of Cold War politics. Its imperatives and implications were part of the debate. The Afro-Asian coalition was looking for the new definition and location of Africa and Asia in world system. The issue of anti-colonialism was also central, as this sentiment was the foundation of the Afro-Asian alliance, as Seifudein Adem stated:

> Invitation of Japan to the Bandung Conference was a product of international political dynamism in Asia. This Conference is widely known as the arena of the union of newly independent Asian and African countries that hoisted the flag of anti-colonialism. In reality, this conference was strongly coloured by the Cold War system in which Asian countries of liberal camp defended against offensive move by communist or neutral countries like India and China. (2003: 3)

In Japan itself, it also should be noted that in the same year of the conference, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) consolidated its power in becoming what is known as the 1955 System of Japan. It was called so in reference to the year in which the LDP was created from a merger of right-of-center political parties (Maswood et al. 2002b: 164). A new strong political machine, which subsequently ruled the country for more than 3 decades, did also shape its perceptions of Bandung in ideological and pragmatic terms.

Japan became an active participant in the Bandung Conference in 1955, which promoted solidarity in developmental policy and political decisions among the countries in the Global South (African and Asian) through the emerging non-alignment movement. This grouping later constituted the foundation of the group of 77 in the United Nations. As Samir Amin stated: "If I define Bandung as the dominant characteristic of the second phase of post war period, it is not from any "third worldist" predilection, but because the world system was organized around the emergence of the Third World" (1994: 14).

The Conference offered a new departing ideological definition about the existing capitalist system and its main agency, the state. It would be necessary to look at how Japan-Africa relations may reflect political struggles within the spirit of the Afro-Asian alliances and how these alliances could influence the orbit of power as Samir Amin indicated:

> The real obstacle to the United States hegemony came from the Afro-Asian national liberation movement. The countries in these regions

> were determined to throw off the colonial yoke of the nineteen-century. Imperialism has never been able to make the social and political compromises necessary to install stable powers operating to its advantage in the country of the capitalist periphery. (1994: 28)

It should be noted that most forms of political nationalism that emerged later in Africa and Asia, including the reactionary and the progressive ones, have had some associations with the non-alignment movement.

Non-Alignment Foundation of the Conference

The Bandung Conference has generally been recognized as a forum in which its political actors initiated the motion of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) from an Afro-Asian perspective. In my point of view, this conference was, in terms of its ideological and policy claims, and its international relations' implications, perhaps the single most important Afro-Asian Conference in the twentieth century.

Within the United Nations system, the Group of 77 was formed to pursue nonalignment as a way of consolidating strong ties among the states, which were either formally colonized by the Western powers or those with economic and political characteristics of the Global South. The G-77 countries are a group of more than a hundred less industrialized countries, which set up as a counter-lobby to developed G-7 countries (Adams 2001: 89). As of 2001 the group was constituted of 128 countries.

The establishment of the Non-alignment Movement in 1961 was intended to begin the process of actualizing solidarity and cooperation among all nation-states, which were willing to join a block of interests called the Global South. For instance, on the principle of "ideological neutrality" and cooperation, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed on August 8, 1967 by the representatives of Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Malaysia in order to deal with the subregional economic and political issues within the spirit of finding a common ground to address them. It declared its non-alignment position in 1971.

As a movement, the non-alignment idea dominated the political discourse in the United Nations in the 1970s with some episodic eruption in the United Nations General Assembly in the 1980s. However, toward the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, despite the continuous visibility of the so-called group of 77 in the United Nations, with the rigid implementation of the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) and the so-called International Monetary Fund (IMF) stabilization programs and their social consequences in the Global South, and the abrupt end of the Soviet Union and its satellite states, the flame of the movement started

to weaken significantly. However, with the rise of global social forum, toward the end of the 1990s, the movement has risen again, this time with different agendas. It should also be mentioned that although the movement is well known internationally, there have been fewer empirical or historical research projects developed in the academic and research units on the policy and political implications of the Bandung Conference than what one would expect, given its historical importance.

The Conference was held when the colonial alignments were gradually breaking down in some parts of Asia. However, the United States, China, and Russia were struggling to reestablish and/or maintain their interests in the region, while the colonial alignments were being redefined in South America, especially with the United States' neocolonial domination and control in the subcontinent within a framework of "in my backyard policy reasoning" and when also, in Africa, the ideologies of colonial alignments with their regional nuances, were still too strong in most countries.

In the 1950s, many popular and social movements against colonial policies and politics in Africa were expanding and in some cases consolidating themselves despite the brutal actions and policies associated with the postwar colonial powers. At the same time, reformist colonial state policies, for instance, the French and British policies of gradualism as an approach to the political independence had started to be implemented. The discourse on transition politics had started with the exception of the Belgian administration that believed in extending colonial administration for a longer period of time because of its deliberate policy that was characterized by lack of preparedness and readiness.

Furthermore, C. P. Fitzgerald indicated in 1955 that the atmosphere produced at Bandung was one of relaxation of tension. The controversial questions were put aside, and the conference did in fact "seek common ground and found it in the unanimous condemnation of colonialism in all its manifestations" (1955: 113).

In addition to nationalism, what were other important objectives pursued in the Conference? The Conference created a new possibility, new arena, for Japan to deal with—the fear of socialism in the region. The spirit of nationalism associated with the Conference engendered new dynamics between Japan and China. It should be reminded that China was very influential to all over South East Asia partially because of the nature of its revolution, namely people's revolution, and partially also because of the existence of extensively scattered Chinese Diaspora. Most of these Chinese groups were obviously not Maoists or Marxists, but they had a strong cultural nationalism, which made them attached to the mainland. China came to the Conference with attitudes and strategies not to antagonize anyone or show moral and intellectual arrogance, which generally is

associated with any revolutionary socialism and its superiority complex. According to C. P. Fitzgerald paraphrasing Chou En-lai (Zhou Enlai)'s keynote speech:

> The Chinese Delegation has come here to seek unity and not to quarrel.... There is no need at this Conference to publicize one's ideology and the political system of one's country.... The Chinese Delegation has come here to seek common ground, not to create divergence. (Ibid.)

This conciliatory perspective was more of a strategy for the Chinese leaders to gain the trust in Asia and Africa than a reflection of a process of giving up their socialism. In Africa, as indicated earlier, popular and social movements on the one hand, and reforms originated from the colonial African states on the other, were advancing different agendas: namely decolonization, independence, and the politics of "immorality" of, and/or the maintenance of quasi status quo within, the state by elements of the emerging African political elite.

In the decade of the 1950s, several African countries gained their nominal independence namely, Libya (1951), Sudan (1956), Morocco (1956), and Tunisia (1956). In the same period, the war of liberation was being waged in Algeria. In 1957, Ghana gained independence from Great Britain in the euphoria of pan-Africanism of Kwame Nkrumah with a strong cooperation of Nasser of Egypt who also was articulating pan-Africanim and pan-Arabism. The case of Ghana was highly popularized—partially because of Kwame Nkrumah's charisma and his pan-African perspective on Africa and also because Ghana was the first country colonized by a European power to gain independence in Sub-Saharan Africa.

A brief detour is necessary to point out the importance of Ghana in the initial Japan-Africa relations. The views about, and/or on, Africa as defined by the Japanese newspapers in the 1950s were very much fragmented for one to gain any systematic understanding of the problems colonial Africa was facing (Kitagawa 2003). However, with the independence of Ghana, and other countries later in the 1960s, Japan started to define its relationship with Africa differently though it also followed the British and American diplomatic paths. This issue is expanded in the section on Japanese foreign policy. The beginning of the Japanese relations with Africa started gradually in the 1950s in South Africa—then slowly they expanded to the independent countries following the political prism of the United States.

Although the Bandung Conference took place at a period of serious political tensions in Asia and the unpredictable acceleration of popular and social movements toward decolonization in most parts of Africa, it also

produced achievements as C. P. Fitzgerald noted:

> Unity, agreement, and common resolutions were therefore achieved on a number of more or less abstract questions, such as colonialism, human rights, the promotion of world peace, racial discrimination; but the major problems of Asia were not touched upon in the public sessions of the Conference, nor in Committees. How far have these matters have been discussed in the many private lunches, dinners, and other meetings, is, of course unknown. Bandung created a feeling of fellowship of goodwill; it provided, the opportunity for a new departure, or it was used as a convenient occasion to announce a new policy. But the goodwill must meet hard problems, the new departure must find a way round major obstacles, and the new policy must try to resolve difficulties, which the old policies only aggravated. (1955: 114)

The leadership of the conference was divided between India, which had adopted its liberal democracy model, Indonesia, which had articulating its nationalism under Sukarno, and China with its communist revolutionary dogmas. However, Zhou Enlai of China displayed a moderate and conciliatory attitude that tended to quiet fears of some anticommunist delegates concerning China's intentions. The outcome of this conference set up a motion that consolidated the relationship between Africa and Asia through the NAM.

Final Declared Resolutions

Despite cultural, ideological, historical and political differences among the delegates, a ten-point "declaration on promotion of world peace and cooperation" was adopted, which included the following principles:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and principles of the charter of the United Nations;
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations;
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small;
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country;
5. Respect of the Right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the charter of the United Nations;
6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve any particular interests of big power;
   (b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries;
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country;

8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the charter of the United Nations;
9. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation;
10. Respect for justice and international obligation (Jayaprakash 2005 and Jack 1955: 28).

Other points of the final resolutions include economic cooperation (trade affairs, and nuclear energy), cultural cooperation, human rights and self-determination, problems of dependent people, other problems such as the existing tension in the Middle East, and the promotion of a world of peace and cooperation. To actualize these resolutions into the policy arena, the state system was firmly valorized, regional cooperation was encouraged and supported, and the principles articulating human dignity were promoted. On the one hand, statism was going to maintain many dimensions of status quo in the world of the states, and on the other hand, the concepts of cooperation and solidarity, and the values of human rights were intended to advance political and economic reforms.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's Speech in the concluding session embodies the core thoughts reflected in the listed resolutions above and final principles adopted. Thus, it is necessary to recapture a few short excerpts for the purpose of this work. As he articulated:

> So, we all came with our own perspectives, with our problems, each one considering his own problems the most important in the world, but, at the same time, trying to understand the big problems of the world, as also the big problems of Asia and Africa; trying somehow to fit our problems into this larger context, because, in the ultimate analysis, all our problems, however important they may be, cannot be kept apart from these larger problems and can hardly be solved unless these larger problems are settled.... We are determined in this new phase of Asia and Africa to make good. We are, primarily not to be dominated in any way by any other country or continent.... It is time to bring happiness and prosperity to our people and to discard all the age-old shackles that have tied us not only politically but economically—to those you might call shackles of colonialism—and also shackles of our making.... I know we directed such criticism ourselves because we thought that it was not the resolutions that would solve the problems that face us today, but that only our practices and actions would bring success to our aims and ideals.... Well, if there is anything that Asia wants to tell the World, it is this: "no yes-men" in Asia, I hope, nor in Africa... But in the future we shall only co-operate as equals; there is no friendship when nations are not equal, when one has to obey the other and when one dominates the other... I wish to speak no ill of anybody. In Asia, all of us have many faults as countries, as individuals. Our

> past history shows that, nevertheless, I say that Europe has been in the past a continent full of conflicts, full of trouble, full of hatred, and their conflicts continue and we have been dragged into their wars because we were tied to their chariot wheels. . . . Are we copies of Europeans or Americans or Russians? What are we? We are Asians and Africans. We are nothing else. (Government of India 1955: 5–11)

Nationalism, self-determination, anti-colonialism, and anti-imperialism, and the spirit of cooperation were emphasized in this talk. The position of Japan in the new projected international and regional relations was difficult to very clearly read. Japan was still strongly aligned to the United States politics (Japan became the most close ally of the United States after 1952), foreign relations, and their international relations. It did not adhere to the ideas of non-alignment. In fact, it was antagonistic vis-à-vis this movement. But at the same time, Japan was obliged to work with countries, which have adopted the non-alignment as their policy guidelines in international relations. NAM implies some kinds of "ideological neutrality" within the international power struggles that characterized post–war politics. However, considered as a "third way," in a world that was dominated by two other ways, non-alignment became clearly a new ideological symbolism (or an ideological umbrella) that was more important than a simple strategy. While most of these countries claimed for non-ideological commitment at the top (international level), at the national/domestic level, most of them had ideological positions, which also shaped their foreign policies and politics.

Given the nature of the Japanese political economy, its place in international political economy, and its hidden political ambitions, it did not have any choice but to dialogue and also develop strategies for conducting businesses with other conference participants. The Japanese Chief representative in the conference, Mr. Takasaki Tatsunosuke, emphasized that Japan had interest in (1) international peace; (2) economic cooperation; and (3) cultural exchange (Ampiah 1997: 43). In this regard, Japan has been consistent in its international relations.

To conclude, it is necessary to recollect the most important elements that are related to the claims and ideas of the Bandung Conference. These points are reflected in the grand ideas of the political leaders in Asia and Africa. The leaders of China led by Zhou Enlai articulated socialism not *à la Moscou* and peaceful relations, those of India led by Prime Minister Nehru expressed liberalism, nationalism, and nonviolence, those of Indonesia led by President Sukarno articulated nationalism and decolonization, and the emerging leaders in many African countries were pushing for decolonization agenda with different strategies among which later nationalism, panAfricanism, or accommodationism became the most prominent. The

opposition against colonialism, neocolonialism or any imperialistic based kind of policies was probably the most important single consensual position that unified various interests, mobilized human spirit in envisioning a new and better world system. Could this opposition be forcefully managed and actualized without any concrete and well-defined ideology?

The final speeches and the declarations made cannot escape the evaluation from an ideological canon of geopolitical location of the participants. Broadly, non-alignment was de facto an "ideological alignment" of the countries that were structurally facing similar problems within a bigger framework, oppressed by similar forces and subjected to the same global rules of the games.

The Bandung Conference provided an arena to discuss structural problems of the world and project how their impact in Asia and Africa was felt. It gave hope through cooperation and struggle against all forms of oppressive colonial forces. However, it failed to address the question of the structures of the Asian and African states and their relations to the international political economy. Nor did it deal adequately with the issue of the nature of the ideologies of the states in Asia and Africa. Thus, although the symptoms of the problems were well defined, it did not sufficiently clarify what kind of political societies to be created based on what kind of national ideologies, as a result of the declarations and final resolutions of the Conference.

The spirit of the Afro-Asian solidarity and cooperation rooted in the Bandung Conference has had various interpretations over the past four decades. It has been an instrument of power consolidation by both leftist and rightist African political leaders.

But the Bandung Conference projected for the first time the consciousness of Third Worldism. The term third world was first used as a political category at this Conference. The Conference's main figures—Nehru (India), Nasser (Egypt), Zhou Enlai (China)—were already in power. This consciousness led to the movement of global solidarity among the countries located in the Global South. This was a big achievement then. However, within the current global economy, is this movement still relevant?

Finally, between 1956 and 1973, the non-alignment solidly emerged within the United Nations system as a new solidarity group among the countries in the Global South. The solid participation of Africans in its conferences is an indicator of how African States adopted this movement as part of their national agenda. For instance, in every single conference whether it was in Belgrade in 1961, in Cairo in 1964, in Lusaka, in 1973, or in Havana in 1983, the African delegates constituted almost half of the total number of the delegates (Ebodé 1999: 82). In the last conference of

the members of the non-alignment on September 1989 in Belgrade, it was clear that the movement was losing its fuel as a result of internal conflicts and the force of polarization of the Cold War era.

In the last Summit of the NAM held in Cairo in Egypt in July 2009, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt was elected as the President of the movement. Indeed, according to this author, the election of Mubarak reflects the lack of seriousness and commitment among its members to consolidate the movement's momentum in order to deal effectively with the marginalization of its members in the functioning and political hierarchy of the world system. Most members of the NAM, especially those located in Africa, suffer from the deepening of the impoverishment in their conditions, which is partially caused by the contradictory actions and political philosophy of the forces and agencies of the "disaster capitalism." Mubarak is the strongest ally of the United States, the champion of this capitalism, as it was reminded through the current financial and economic crisis.

With the rise of China and India in their particular triangular relationship with the European Union and the United States, does the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity matter any longer? Does, Japan, the second largest economy in the world, in a new competitive world economy, need the spirit of Bandung?

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Chapter Four

Contextualizing Contemporary Japanese Politics and Japanese Nation-State in the "Caricature" and Reality of Bipolar World since the 1970s

Major Characteristics of the Japanese Party Politics

In this section, I am concerned in briefly identifying and examining the dominant features of the Japanese party politics. Party politics is part of the state apparatus and the national politics that is involved in the decision about international cooperation. In a liberal democracy, while the ruling party is generally expected to govern, the loyal opposition is also supposed to make constructive criticisms of the agenda of the ruling party—criticisms that should be viewed as valuable in assisting the party in power to clarify its own policy positions.

The "caricature" about the contemporary Japanese State and politics has been in general its depiction by many people and scholars in stereotyping terms. From this caricaturist perspective, Japan has been described after the American Occupation as a uniquely stable state and society, the Japanese as always disciplined, its culture and people as homogenous, and its public administration or bureaucracy as nationalistic. Being the first non-European country to join the members of the OECD, as it also challenged Western Europe on its own terrain of modernization, made the world project and perceive Japan as a uniquely different and almost a "superhuman society."

Although some of these attributes that have been used by some experts to describe Japan have been historically proven relevant and correct, there have been also many myths and exaggerated opinions and views about Japan, its history and culture, and its people. The "caricature" has led some researchers to build "intellectualistic rumors or built faulty images" about the nature of the Japanese political culture based on the lack of rigorous

interpretations concerning the nature of the Japanese politics and its relations to society and economy. In short, "the caricature" is used here to imply exaggerations, extreme generalizations, and lack of tested or testable observations.

In our approach, however, the Japanese state is defined as a social and historical construct. Its identities, its behaviors, and its politics are examined within the framework of historically defined human constructed logic and objectives. Japanese politics is not "a caricature." It is a real functioning phenomenon that is studied contextually and historically within the structure of world politics and international power struggles.

During the period of bipolarity, Japan navigated in the zone of liberal politics. Its politics were shaped and influenced by the United States' foreign policies and the British structure of the parliamentary democracy. However, the rigidity of its sociological political values such as the roles of various groups, gender relations, and the division of labor in politics were neither American nor British. Thus, it is necessary to look at the political history of Japan and its own imperialism as areas that can provide some important explanations about its contemporary politics.

Most aspects of the Japanese party politics have been examined elsewhere in this book, especially in discussing the nature of the Japanese Constitution. Party politics is a central phenomenon in "the science" of governance within liberal democracy. The ultimate aim of a party is to participate in the elections within the main intention of winning and governing. Party politics is an arena in which party cadres are trained to compete in any pluralistic elections. The values and rules of liberal democracy are practically examined in the party politics. It is about the process of governance. In a liberal democracy the role of party politics is central. It is here that political competition takes place, the candidates are initially selected for higher offices, and the agenda of governance is set up.

In general, party politics can be considered as the mirror of the state. The structure of the party politics can relate stories about the nature of the state and that of political culture. From party politics perspectives, we can learn a great deal about the culture of the politics in a given society and that of its general culture. In the Western traditions, party politics represents the central value of political pluralism. It is a space in which conflict and consensus as, permanent social and political means, are used by the actors in developing strategies that lead to think or rethink politics.

It should be noted that Japanese ODA toward Africa started to be consolidated when Japanese party politics began to change toward a real political pluralism. While de facto one-party state for more than 40 years was responsible for the Japanese economic growth and industrialization;

international cooperation toward Africa took place when Japan party politics started to have political *éclatement* (explosion or also openness) within its ruling party.

In addition to democracy, stability, and peace that are the most important characteristics of the postwar Japanese politics, it is necessary to mention that the Japanese politics has faced political instability in the 1990s—a phenomenon that seems to repeat itself in some forms after 2006.

As a liberal state, in theory, its constitutional division of powers between the Lower House (also known as House of Representatives), the House of Councilors (or called the Upper House), the Executive and the Judiciary powers should maintain and also promote democracy. The principles of universal suffrage and power to the people through elections reflect this democracy.

In the 1970s and the 1990s, institutional stability and predictability (Jain and Inogushi 1997: 2) were other important characteristics. However, despite the imposition, and the gradual acceptance, of the American model of Constitution, the democratization of Japan did not become similar to the American one. Within the implementation of an "imperial type of democracy," some scholars have even referred to the concept of "Japanization" of the American model of Constitution. The legendary rigidity of the Japanese public administration and its tendencies of controlling the institutions in the name of cultural harmony, development, and traditions did not change much in the 1970s.

Most of the Japanese postwar achievements occurred under the ruling of one single party, despite the ephemeral coalition between the Liberal Democratic Party [(LDP) *Jiyō-Minshutō*] and the Japan Socialist Party [(JSP which has been renamed since 1996, the Social Democratic Party) Nihon *Shakaitō*] (Jain and Inogushi 1997: 16–17). As Jain and Inogushi further stated:

> It is not surprising, then, that Japanese political life rarely made headlines in international media, except at times when a major political scandal broke, something which was rare until the late 1980s. Even though Prime Ministers changed far more than often in Tokyo under the stable LDP regime than in many of the world's national capitals, Japan watchers generally assumed that no drastic political or policy changes were imminent. An apt description of political system in which Prime ministers and cabinets changed while policy direction remained largely unchanged, is "karaoke democracy"; on a karaoke stage, the visible singers come and go, but the songs remain the same, selected from a limited rarely changed menu. (Ibid.: 2)

While Japanese state has become stable, the capitalist system in which Japan is operating as a major actor was described in the 1970s and 1980s as

essentially chaotic as it created disorder and international economic instability (MacEwan 1990). However, despite the containment and *détente*, international socialism gradually expanded in the 1970s. The struggle for multipartyism, power sharing, or coalition politics started to emerge in 1976 as Jain and Inogushi stated:

> The formation of the New Liberal Club as an LDP splinter group in 1976; the rise of the Socialist Leader, Doi Takako in the late 1980s as a potential Prime Minister; the LDP's loss of its majority in the House of Councilors' elections in 1989; the seething discontent in the LDP reflected in the establishment of Japan New Party (*Nihon Shintō)* renegades in 1992, and further splintering of the party just before the LDP's momentous fall from power. However, it was until the July 1993 general election that the LDP lost its majority in the House of Representatives . . . thereby its ability to form a government in its own right over three years, coalitions became the norm in Japan. (1997: 2)

Since the 1970s, the country has been absorbed by the search for a new domestic political constellation (Drifte 1998: 1). Japan has gradually been emerging as multiparty democracy. The implementation of electoral and legislative reforms in the 1990s is also a sign of its democratic change. The author agrees with Seifudein Adem as he indicated:

> Despite LDP's de facto monopoly of political power for nearly forty years, the system showed some signs of instability in the last decade. Between 1992–2001, a period some Japanese political scientists dubbed the years of trial, nine prime ministers alternated in the country. In 1994, the government of Tsutomu Hata, in fact, lasted only nine weeks. Some analysts have attributed the instability of the 1990s to the coming to power of a coalition government, a notion that has been largely unknown in Japanese politics. But one cannot also discount the possibility that the "coalition government" was itself a symptom and not the cause of political instability. The frequency of governmental changes in the 1990s was in any case startling even if compared to the corresponding situation in most unstable country. The rate of turnover is incredibly high. No wonder a Japanese political scientist called the phenomenon a *karaoke* democracy—a political system in which Prime Ministers and Cabinets changed while policy directions largely remained unchanged. (2004: 17)

Another important dimension of party politics that became more manifested and demanded by the opposition is party competition. In Japan, it implies the ability of the opposition to challenge the LDP in the electoral process. This dimension did not develop well before the 1990s partially because of the failures of the opposition to mobilize effectively the people to support their causes or also because of the clientelist nature of the

Japanese politics. Ethan Scheiner defines clientelism as follows:

> Clientelism refers to the exchange of benefits (by the government, parties, and/or politicians) for voter or organization support. Clientelist benefits are those awarded to people who support a specific party or candidate and withheld from those who do not. Clientelism plays front and center in the Japanese political system, and clientelism lies at the core of Japanese opposition failure. (2006: 64)

This definition of clientelism can be applied to any other political systems in Africa or Europe. What makes the Japanese State's clientilism different from others is the fact that its ultimate outcome was shaped in the past by a strong sense of nationalism with less individualism and no place for personification of political offices. Various groups or regions in Japan benefited from it in term of the distribution of development projects. However, this distributive capability of the Japanese clientilist state has also engendered some concerns among the opposition politics. For instance, it has embodied some elements of monopoly politics. Furthermore, in general terms, in the absence of other guidances such as a rigorous regulation and a performing legal framework, the effects of clientelism can create local financial dependence of certain constituents, weaken political competition, polarize society, and even enlarge social cleavages.

The decade of the 1990s is known as a period of political instability in Japan. This instability was also partially due to the rigidity of the 1955 system to adapt itself fully into the logic of the demand of new political pluralism. The 1955 system of conservative governments and a socialist opposition fell apart in the mid-1990s and this was followed by enormous fluidity, as new political parties formed, merged, and disappeared in a manner that was in sharp contrast to the stability of the 1955 system. Political instability perhaps delayed effective actions through extensive responses to the lingering economic crisis, which many argued could be resolved only through an extensive overhaul of economic and corporate structures (Maswood et al. 2002a: 2).

This instability, which led to a high frequency of change of prime ministers was partially also due to the central role of money in the Japanese politics as manifested in the 1990s. Concerning this issue of money, Javed Maswood indicated: "Japan's politics had become dominated by money politics and elections had degenerated to crass money politics rather policy contest" (2002a: 3).

Liberal Democratic Party has been working closer with private corporations than any other party. It has had strong financial supports as from large corporations and but it has also enjoyed political support from various social groups of the Japanese society such as rural farmers and small

entrepreneurs. As Ethan Scheiner confirms: "The LDP sought electoral success through the support it gave to a variety of groups, especially large firms, professionals, small subcontractors and distributors, and farmers. As large firms grew internationally competitive, Japan's tremendous growth created a positive-sum economy, in which it was possible for the LDP to continue to support all of its major constituents" (2006: 159).

The trend of domestic political change has reappeared since 2006 when Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi stepped down from the higher political office in the country. For different reasons, there were three Prime Ministers in Japan in a very short period of three years. There are Shinzō Abe (from September 26, 2006 to September 26, 2007), Yasuo Fukuda (between September 26, 2007 and September 24, 2008), and Taro Aso (from September 24, 2008 to present).

All these prime ministers have been members of the Liberal Democratic Party but belonged to different factions and age generations. For example, Junichiro Koizumi, a young reformist cadre, was a member of a new LDP faction, *Shinseiki*. He stabilized the party politics, to a large extent. In 2005, Koizumi led the LDP to win one of the largest parliamentary majorities in modern Japanese history. He had three terms in the office as Prime Minister from April 26, 2001 to September 26, 2006. The length of time he stayed in the office is a rarity in Japan.

Finally, a new political party that I characterize ideologically to be on "the center-left" side of the Japanese politics has come to power since the summer 2009. What does the victory of the new Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) that was created in 1998 mean for Japan-Africa relations? The victory of this new party on August 30, 2009's elections, in which DPJ won 308 members in the 480-seat House of Representatives, is a big majority for the party to claim to have a "mandate" for change and organize the Japanese politics differently. However, it should be noted that this party was created not on the basis of the evolutionary maturity of its ideological foundation, but rather on a coalition basis of various small opposition parties against the ruling party, Liberal Democratic Party of Japan. Yukio Hatoyama and his party claimed to have a new agenda of change à *l'Americaine,* an Obamaist phenomenon in terms of the message and people's expectations without a diversity of the American political culture.

In any liberal political election, electors are generally expected to choose their candidates from parties or social groups of and about which they have had some knowledge before. In this case, what the Japanese have known has been a very powerful clientelist political system with solid reconciliatory sets of relations that can be characterized by a top-down hierarchy. The LDJ was responsible for both creating a Japanese welfare state and advancing its industrialization plans. Thus, the new demand for change,

as reflected in the outcome of the elections, must be perceived as strong, real and genuine.

As discussed in this book, the demand of political pluralism in Japan has been gradually emerging since the 1990s. This victory would not have been possible without a "conspiracy" or a substantive support of business, civil society, and powerful politician families. For instance, Hatoyama, a graduate of Stanford University in the United States, is also from a powerful political family from which he might project some idealist/liberal Kennedy type of messages and actions to expand the rights to the people. But the Japanese society is no equivalence of liberal pluralistic America. For this change to truly happen, the party will have to create a solid ideological framework and inject it into the youth and broad middle class cultures and activities. Factionism has been an important factor, among many others, that has slowed down progress on the road to the Japanese political pluralism.

Imperatives of the State and Politics of Stability

What kind of political actor is Japan as a contemporary nation-state? What are its major characteristics and structures? What have been its unique factors that are contributing to significantly influence Japan-Africa relations in their political economies?

In order to understand and appreciate better why and how Japan as a political actor behaves the way it does, it is necessary first to define Japan within the context of its state formation, its policies, practices, and its own movements toward change. My objectives are neither to expand on the complexity of the Japanese culture, its past long political history such as Japan's political evolution during its hundreds years of isolationism nor am I examining historically the criteria that were used to constitute Japan before these years as a nation-state. I am only identifying and examining the major characteristics of the Japanese State. I summarize the arguments about the nature of the contemporary Japanese State during and after the American Occupation as defined in the Japanese Constitution and in the Security Treaty.

Despite the rise of the multiplicity of the actors in world politics, and many critics from various perspectives about the failures (in some cases absolute failures of the states, especially in the less industrialized world) of the contemporary nation-states to advance the humanity and protect citizens and people's lives, the nation-state is still the essential actor in determining how the world affairs are managed.

The contemporary nation-state imposes its own conditions on its subjects, its citizens, its laborers, and its rulers, regardless of their own wishes,

conditions, and cultures. The level of its functionality and that of ideological acceptability within a given social context and international arena depends on the feasibility of its objectives, the nature of its capacity to perform its expected or regulated functions in rendering services and in protecting its citizens and people around it, the quality of forces of its creativity to innovate, and quality of its pragmatism.

The war between the United States and its allies, and Japan in the 1940s, besides their tragic impact and manifestations, laid the ground for a very different postwar politics and economic development in Japan. A new Japanese Constitutional Monarchy elaborated on principles of individual rights and not necessarily on individualism and liberal democracy produced laws and institutions that created a new Japan within new international economic and political order.

Within international organizations, multilateral and bilateral relations, the nation-state is still legally the organizing agency, an engine in designing the frontiers of the national politics, in creating and allocating political values in relationship with the society, and in defining citizenship and citizens' identities. The nation-state is also a consumer on a large scale in the world economy.

In a very simplified definition of a nation-state with a defined territoriality, a loyal citizenry (a population), a government (political institutions), and sovereignty (freedom/autonomy) in policy formulation and implementation, and national security), obviously, Japan fulfils partially the legally and politically agreed upon or accepted criteria or conditions of a contemporary state before and after the American Occupation. However, the interpretations of the notion of sovereignty in relationship to the Japanese external security raises a number of issues in the Japanese political studies about the degree of its autonomy to act based on its own interests. Implicitly or explicitly, how has Japanese sovereignty been defined in relationship to the notion of territoriality and history, a loyal citizenry, and the government? And how has the government defined the nature of the relations to the rest of the world of the states, especially Africa?

The rapid industrialization of Japan is the outcome of many factors among which its spectacular stability is vital. Since the end of the American Occupation up to 2009, Japan has produced 92 prime ministers. Yet, these changes of political leaders did not produce any tangible sign that the Japanese State could collapse or a sign that could raise societal anxiety at any period since the end of the American Occupation. Even when some of the characteristics of the state were still being debated, the stability of the Japanese institutions and policy consistency have not been challenged.

For example, based on its economic performance, it joined the OECD countries in 1964. The 1970s at large was a decade of the high point

in world respect for Japan as a new economic superpower. This reality made the Japanese State a new actor with its own unique credibility and achievement in the world system that was ideologically divided between the United States and its allies and the Soviet Union and its allies. Thus, the role of the Japanese State and the question of political stability in the country must be examined within the framework of the Japanese achievement and performance in the world system and the nature of the Japanese system of governance. As Kenneth G. Henshall articulated:

> It was not always unqualified praise, for there were a number of obvious problems, but on balance it was the praise that prevailed over the criticism. One of the greatest of all accolades came from in 1979 in the form of Ezra Vogel's work on Japan as Number One. Vogel praised in particular Japan's economic performance and its apparent skills in state management and nation-coordination. Not surprising, the book immediately became one of the bestselling works ever in Japan as the key Japanese flocked to the bookstores to lap up praise from a Harvard professor. (1999: 90)

Besides the stability of its institutions, the history of Japanese imperialism brought new input into its model of governance. The nature of the Japanese State of nineteenth century is qualitatively different in its ethos and its structures from the Japanese State after 1945. However, the culture and history of the culture of the Japanese State of the nineteenth century has influenced the behaviors of the Japanese State of post–World War II, which is the object of our discussion. As Fukunari Kimura stated: "Barely escaping colonization by western powers, it went through the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and started building a modern nation state under the strategy of *fukoku kyohei* ('enrich the country', 'strengthen the military') and *shokusan kogyo* ('promote industries')" (2009: 1).

Either as a colonial power or as a contemporary welfare state, the Japanese State has been interventionist. It has had a mandate to improve people's conditions, maintain the stability and promote peace. From the logic and principles of the realist school of thought, the contemporary state is essentially militaristic, self-centered, and expansionist. The basis of its claim of "immorality" derives partially from this militarism as well as from the physical territorial control, and the people's loyalty to it, and its autonomy in the exercise of power and the formulation and implementation of its policy. However, the contemporary state is more than the sum of its parts. It is more than what it can control locally.

Japan is a Constitutional Monarchy, a government led by an elected Prime Minister, a member of the majority in the Chamber of the Representatives, and a Diet with two Chambers, Lower House (the House of the Representatives) and House of Councilors (the Senate) and a strong

small public administration. The National Diet was first convened as the Imperial Diet in 1889. It took its current form in 1947 upon the adoption of the postwar Constitution. It is the equivalent of the European Parliament.

As an independent state, it was born out of a combination of these major processes namely constitution making and the San Francisco Peace Conference that led to the event that took place in San Francisco on September 8, 1951 at 10:00 am in the Opera House where the Security Treaty as well as the Peace Treaty were signed by the delegates. As Tetsuya Kataoka wrote: "The Treaty of Peace recognizes that Japan as a sovereign nation has the right to enter into collective security arrangements, and further, the Charter of the United Nations recognizes that all nations possess an inherent right of individual and collective self-defense" (1991: 225).

It should also be mentioned that the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty included a clause requiring Japan to make war reparations to the countries it devastated between 1931 and 1945. This implies that some kinds of reconciliatory mechanisms were set up within the former institutions of reconstruction.

It is this San Francisco Treaty which gave Japan its "fragile sovereignty" and also forced Japan to recognize the independence of its former colonies in Asia. The initial Peace Treaty was supported by a Security Treaty (Five Articles) which, despite other treaties and revisions, has not essentially changed the military nature of the Japan–United States relations until today.[1] As Article I of the Treaty states:

> Japan grants, and the United States of America accepts the rights, upon the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace and of this Treaty, to dispose United States land, air, and sea forces in and about Japan. Such forces may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East and to the security of Japan against armed attack from without, including assistance given at the express request of the Japanese Government to put down large-scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan, caused through instigation or intervention by an outside Power or Powers;

Article II of the Security Agreement states that:

> During the exercise of right referred to in this Article I, Japan will not grant, without the prior consent of the United States of America, any bases or any rights, power, or authority whatsoever, in or relating to bases or the right of garrison or of maneuver, or transit of ground, air, or naval forces to any third Power.

Clearly, this new political actor is different from other political actors (nation-states) because of the nature of this Security Treaty and the Japanese

Constitution. The United States was at liberty to project its forces in Japan against the Soviet Union or China without Japan's consent (Kataoka 1991: 96). How was the Japanese state defined in the postwar constitution?

The preamble of the MacArthur's Japanese Constitution locates powers in principle in the people similar to that of the United States as it is stated:

> We, the Japanese People, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim the sovereignty of people's will and do establish this Constitution founded upon the universal that government is sacred trust the authority for which is derived from the people…

This constitution is characterized by people's sovereignty, guarantee of fundamental human rights, limited monarchy, renunciation of war, and abolition of feudalism. People have substituted the Emperor as the locus of sovereignty. "The Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and of the Unity of the People, deriving his position from the sovereign will of the People, and from no other source (Article I of the Japanese Constitution). And "He shall have no governmental powers nor shall he assume nor be granted such powers" (Article II).

The nature and the origins of ideas of the contemporary Japanese Constitution can help define the Japanese State. As John Maki stated:

> The 1947 Constitution appeared in a society already modernized, but suffering from the trauma of military defeat and the near-shattering strains and stresses created by the impact of a military occupation on an already dislocated nation. (1968: 3)

The Japanese Constitution is characterized as a Peace Constitution because of the Article IX, which "prohibits use of military means to solve international disputes" (Ochiai 2001: 38). The pursuit of peace and stability became vital in the industrialization of Japan and thus, they became central objectives in Japanese capacities and willingness to intervene in international affairs. Most nation-states in Europe since the Westphalia Peace Accords have not been able to pursue peace and stability without strong military power. This is a unique case study from the point of view of the evolution of nation-state as well as its definition of the concept of sovereignty. As this author has indicated further elsewhere:

> Thus, the origins of the ideas of Japanese Constitution can be located in the project of the total military defeat of Japan, the final solution to war in Asia

> and Europe, the new role of the United States as the "champion of liberal democracy," and peace between Japan and the United States. It is a pacifist state as perceived and defined by the victorious forces, the United States and its allies. (Lumumba-Kasongo 2005: 28)

The Japanese Constitution was written by General Douglas MacArthur after Japan was defeated by the allied military forces led by the United States. Although few members of the Japanese elite were able and allowed to provide a degree of informal input in the final document, at large, its American origin and the fact that it was drafted by an inexperienced team of Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP) that worked with a control document from Washington, are important indicators of the Japan Constitution's paradoxes (Henshall 1999: 142). Of course, it was debated and approved by the Diet (which had then 466 Lower House seats among which only 39 were women).

As early as 1946, MacArthur proposed the conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Japan (Masland 1947: 565). Thus, this Constitution was written in the United States' image according to a liberal democracy model (or a representative democracy model) within a framework of a strong vision of utopianism. It was promulgated on November 3, 1946, by the Emperor, and went into force on May 3, 1947.

The Constitution became effective while Japan was still under the Occupation of the United States Military and its allied forces. Both the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese government were subjected to Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (SCAP). The occupation ended only in 1952. Japan has to be protected under the United States–Japan Security Treaty. As the Article 9 of Japanese Constitution states:

> Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. (2) In order to accomplish the aim of preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

One of the main issues in this book is to examine how the Japanese State as a "soft power," its potential, and its agencies have influenced political and economic factors and policies in Africa. The focus of "a soft power" is humans and their conditions. Despite a long-standing of developing and having close relationship between the state and the private sectors, the role of the Japanese State in the effective management of the postwar Japanese society, its industrialization, its economic miracle, its prosperity, and the

contradictions of the Japanese society and those of capitalism, is vital. As a state with "a soft power basis," it should not manufacture, possess, and introduce nuclear weapons, for instance.

All the nation-states claim their "immortality" through their actions, their performances, and their relationship to domestic and international agencies. Various social groups and foreign forces have always interpreted the intention and actions of nation-state and its claims of "immortality" differently. Social scientists and the humanists have divergent views on the interpretations of the meanings of the characteristics of a nation-state, but at the same time, they have established theoretical agreements, philosophical norms, and concepts of laws and orders about them. In short, the interpretations of what constitutes the nation-state are not natural process and ideology free.

Obviously, all the schools of thoughts in international relations recognize that a nation-state is not a natural phenomenon. It is a product of complex historical and social processes and struggles. It is created to actualize some concrete political, social, and individual purposes, and advance some specific and general agenda and interests. These agendas and interests can change and be reformulated differently depending on the imperatives of the time and political space, the nature of demands of the forces involved in defining these interests, and means used to actualize them. It is an organic entity that can grow, be atrophied, shrink, can be destroyed by outside conditions and forces, and it can also destroy itself from within its own logics and internal contradictions. This definition of nation-state can be legal, political, cultural, and economic. It can also be formal, institutional, informal, or behavioral. The above brief conceptual discussion does also apply to Japan even as a "soft power."

Furthermore, it should be emphasized that, for instance, even the hard notion of military security as the one defined in San Francisco between the United States and Japan involves interdependence in that the realization of the national security depends on what other nation-states do. It is actualized in common with others (Milner 1991). From this perspective, even the notion of sovereign autonomy, which is the center of being a nation-state, becomes a myth. That is to say that the notion of sovereignty is also a relative term in its application. Thus, the degree of sovereignty is an important concept in assessing how the states define the basis of their actions or policies.

In the case of Japan, it should be noted that it became a member of the United Nations since 1956 within its security agreements with the United States and it joined later many other international, multilateral, and regional organizations. Some scholars have argued that the nature of the Japanese State though it has significantly changed through reforms,

these reforms were appropriated to reflect the past as they produced a state and a society, which are responding more to the imperatives of the Japanese nationalism than those of the World Trade Organization (WTO) or the United States' free market approach. As Dominic Keller suggests:

> Assuredly, the constitution was re-written, the Diet reformed, the Japanese armed forces neutered militarily and politically but many of the more far-reaching reforms were either never undertaken, were later only partially implemented, or were reversed. It was noticeable in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the Japanese economy appeared all-conquering and unstoppable in relation to its major competitors, that some feudal and semi-feudal habits, customs, practices and ideas were being actively propagated and lauded as traditional sources of national strength and cohesion through which to resist foreign pressure for Japan to internationalize its economy and society in line with the new-hyper-liberal orthodoxy. (2002: 33–34)

Although the notion "of more things change, more they remain the same" cannot fully be applied toward the understanding of how the postwar Japanese State behaves the way it does, it is clear that the Japanese past history and traditions such as Samurai traditions within the bureaucracy, the notion of honor, and discipline, etc., have been playing an important role in redefining the behavior, norms, and policy of Japanese State. Contemporary Japanese State did not start from *tabula rasa*.

Political stability of Japan and its model of economic development are strongly determined by how the notion of peace, which is an important feature of the Japanese State, has been interpreted and injected into policy formulation and implementation. Because the concept of peace has been in practice a vital variable in determining the Japanese State and its foreign relations with African countries within the context of neorealism, it has been fully expanded in a separate chapter and thus, needs not to be further examined in this section.

Finally, it is important to underline that while the openness and internationalism constitute other important characteristics of a nation-state, the Japanese model, to a large extent, has been shaped by the Japanese system of thought, which discourages openness and cross-cultural communication (Adem 2008: 6).

In short, the nature of the Japan State is reflected in the following Inogushi Nagashi's observation (1993: 9, ix) reported by Reinhard Drifte:

> Japan's state is neither dominant nor subservient to private business; it is instead tied into "relational" networks enmeshing politics in multiple formal and informal linkages across the business-government frontier. Political coordination is based more on organizational intelligence and strategic

> financial incentives than on coercion and tends to blur the line between the private and the public realm. In a similar vein, relations among private businesses involve "controlled competition"—a combination of fierce market competition for customer on the one hand and cooperative relation among networks of banks, manufacturers, and their suppliers on the other. (1998: 20)

An important question behind the issues raised and discussed in this section is whether or not the Japanese State can be categorized as a small power, a great power, or superpower in relationship to the level of influences it actually has exerted or could exert on other nations through its resources and the number of states and people that have been impacted or could be impacted by its power.

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Chapter Five

A Reflection on African Conditions in the Period of the Recent Global Reforms

General Issues

In its Human Development Report of 2003, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) warned that given the current trends, Sub-Saharan Africa would take another 150 years to reach some of the development targets agreed upon by the UN members for 2015:

> Unless things improve, it will take Sub-Saharan Africa until 2129 to achieve universal primary education, until 2147 to halve extreme poverty and until 2165 to cut child mortality by two-thirds. For hunger no date can be set because the region's situation continues to worsen. (UNDP 2003: 33–34)

African conditions are fluid, complex, diverse, and challenging, as they are constantly changing as a result of the local dynamics and as part of the global reforms. It would be a futile exercise and an erroneous intellectual approach to perceive, define, or discuss the African conditions in general, timeless, and spaceless terms void of specificities.

In a study that examines critically the policy implications of international cooperation in Africa, it is absolutely necessary to summarize the African conditions since the 1980s as they relate to two sectors of global reform: the economy/market and the democracy/state. Thus, in this chapter, the intent is an attempt to reflect on the African conditions that were either produced by the specific policies of global reforms or the conditions that those policies were supposed to peremptorily alter during the period that Japan started to increase its official development assistance (ODA) to Africa. Understanding the nature of the African conditions and their origins, and how they have manifested themselves in the people's lives, is an important step in projecting any kind of relevant solutions that would fit in the African contexts.

It is important to recall that a combination of structuralist and holistic approaches—defined and analyzed in chapters one and two—and their theoretical frameworks are used to localize, describe, and critically examine the African conditions in two related sectors, namely, the economy and the democracy.

As it is recognized in this chapter, these conditions have generally presented some serious challenges toward the process of rethinking new paradigms of international cooperation and of development, especially with reference to the persistence of poverty. This persistence has also contributed to engender and promote pessimistic intellectual attitudes and views on, and/or about, Africa.

Thus, it is important to identify and examine the conditions that the Japanese state intended to change to presumably benefit the majority of the African people. John Senders summarized his pessimistic outlook as follows:

> It is hard to find an economist, social scientist, or journalist who does not take a jaundiced, indeed tragic view of development in sub-Saharan Africa. People at all ends of the ideological spectrum appear to agree on a pessimistic prognostic. They commonly use a language that evokes disappointment, moralistic outrage, repugnance, and a barely concealed, if not overt, contempt for African barbarism. The predominant and stomach-churning metaphors are medical/biological: blood, rot, scars, mutilation, plagues, deterioration, starvation, and pathological crisis are said to be endemic. (1999: 89)

Many scholars have had these extreme views without presenting any apology or giving any credit to the African people who, on a daily basis, are struggling to survive, or to positively change their social conditions against the oddity of the programs established by their states, and the national and global economies. However, in this book, my attitude toward the African crisis has been framed with dialectical thinking of understanding the origins and consequences of such a crisis structurally and historically at national and global levels. African conditions since the middle or second half of the twentieth century cannot be fully understood without a cross-sectional methodology.

The crisis has produced social and economic devastation in people's lives, such as high level of permanent unemployment, disguised unemployment, lack of health/medical services, the elimination of any agricultural subsidies for peasants and farmers, nonexistence of housing schemes for the poor and social security system for the majority of the African people, and reduction or elimination of support for access to basic education, and even the introduction of school fees. Although this crisis has clearly

retarded many people's efforts for survival and making progress in Africa, the mobilization of people's energies to deal with it has also projected some new opportunities for social change that can be produced through social contestation (democracy) and a new national consciousness (nationalism).[1] It is the analysis of politics of linkages and their national and local policy implications rooted in historical causation that guide the author's propositions and arguments.

Since the 1980s, African conditions have been defined by some scholars as decades of "a total" ideological confusion and paradigmatic failure. Africa has been a land of many different experiments in development regardless of the ideological choices of their leaders. To adopt these experiments, African states have been constantly in the middle of global reforms. As discussed earlier, African conditions have been significantly shaped and defined by different types and various dimensions of reforms, which were domestically and internationally oriented and induced. Most of the reforms have been in the areas of the market, education, and later in politics. However, the policy implications of these reforms and their social consequences vary from one country to another on the basis of the socioeconomic conditions in the countries, their natural assets, their degrees of industrialization, their roles in the international political economy, their geopolitical significance for the global powers, and their relationship with the former colonial powers.

Furthermore, the origins of the reforms and their initiators make a difference in the ways the reforms have been defined and implemented. In short, the nature of the state and that of the public administrations can indicate whether any given reforms would be successful or not.

The policies of global reforms, especially those dealing with the market and those that descended from the transnational financial institutions and international organizations, started to be implemented in Africa in the early 1980s. Thus, the current general African conditions have been shaped, defined, and structured by the implementation of the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of the World Bank and the so-called stabilization programs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Another dimension of global reform recently introduced, especially after the collapse of the international socialism, is about various forms of the struggles for democracy. Although several strategies have been tried in different parts of the world with some relative success in the implementation of the SAPs, in Africa, they have produced, in the long run, mostly negative outcomes.

With its population of approximately 650 million in the 1980s, about 40% of Africa's population was poor, about 300 million lived under absolute poverty with only less than one U.S. dollar a day, about 30 million people infected with HIV AIDS and life expectancy dropped in many

African countries from fifty-six years in the 1980s to forty-eight years in 2003. A rampant unemployment rate, internal conflicts, major regional wars, and massive displacement of people ensure that Africa remains economically the poorest region of the world despite its richness in natural and human resources. At the end of the 1990s, Africa's share of the world trade was only 2%. And Africa's share of world investment was also only 1%. As George Ayittey stated:

> Each year, African countries compete for the lowest HDI ratings. In 2001, for example, the twenty-eight countries at the bottom of the ranking were from sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, compared to other regions in the Third World, sub-Saharan Africa lags far behind in terms of economic performance. Not only have already low incomes fallen, but per capita GDP growth over the period 1977–99 averaged—1 per cent. In 1999, Madagascar and Mali had per capita incomes of $799 and $753 respectively, down from $1,258 and $898 (1999 PPP US$) twenty-five years previously. In sixteen other sub-Saharan African countries per capita incomes were also lower in 1975. (2004: 26)

With the population of about 930 million in 2008—a population that is estimated to be a billion in 2009, the general conditions of the majority of the African people have not significantly changed, despite some economic growth of 3%–5% between 2000 and 2007, in some countries.

The process through which countries gained independence and the quality of the leadership in those countries could not prevent the political disintegration of many African states and the excessive openness of their economy, as agents of peripheral markets through the SAPs. For instance, heads of the state of Ghana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Uganda, Sudan (under Nimeiri), Zimbabwe, and others became les *enfants chéris* (beloved children) of the neoliberal financial institutions (World Bank, IMF, and Paris Club) in one period or another. Thus, truncated nationalism (without genuine agency), African Socialism, and Afro-Marxism that were fabricated served as the vehicles of global capitalism.

Most of the African states' problems can be located not only in Africa but also in the structures and the processes of unequal interactions between Africa and major political agencies of the world economy and European-American states' policies and politics.

Despite the lack of clarity in its complexity, there is an emerging momentum in Africa that needs to be critically reexamined. Its dynamics relate partially to the conditions created by total failures of neoliberal economic policies and their devastating consequences on the African people and their institutions since the 1980s. Although I am skeptical, based on the current practices, politics, and the rules of the Dominant

Social Paradigm (DSP), the dynamics of the rise of liberal democracy in the 1990s has produced an apparent impetus that should not be totally neglected or dismissed in the analysis of existing global conditions. Some expressions that are part of this momentum include judicial activism, governmental accountability, struggles for people's rights and gender equality, high aspirations and efforts among the poor and lumpen proletarians toward changing their social conditions from a mood to just survive to a vision of development.

However, despite this emerging minimal consensus and positive thinking, there is no clear agreement on the causes of the complete failure of current policies and politics. Why is it that to date nearly all the experiments tried in Africa have generally failed to improve the social and economic conditions of most people? The symptoms of the African maladies, as reflected in the social conditions and poor state's performances, are known. However, the real causes continue to be enigmatic and are the topic of several intellectual controversies. Thus, it is argued that the prescriptions provided have been either wrong or irrelevant and, as such, have also contributed to the deepening of the African maladies.

Reflection on First Reformist Agenda: The SAPs since the 1980s[2]

As previously mentioned, the period since the early 1980s has been literally dominated by the experimentation of the IMF/World Bank–sponsored SAPs in Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries. Quoting Collier and Gunning (1997), Alemu Mengistu reiterated that:

> GDP per capita declined by 1.3% per annum, a full 5 percentage points below the average for all low-income developing countries. This deterioration was even worse during 1990–94, at 1.8% per annum, further widening the gap with other developing countries to 6.2 percentage points. Likewise the external debt of SS[A] has more than doubled over the adjustment period without any increase in economic growth to sustain its servicing in the future. (2009: 20)

There have been three broad multilateral programs associated with adjustment in Africa, the World Bank's structural adjustment loans, the World Bank's sectoral loans, and the structural adjustment facilities. Although each has its own particularities and specialization, all these programs combined to constitute what is known as SAPs. As Howard Stein has indicated: "Structural adjustment loans to Africa started in 1980 in Kenya. By 1993, a total of 35 sub-Saharan countries had implemented structural adjustment programmes" (1998: 2). In 1995, for instance, the World Bank

directly or indirectly put Africa on to a "critical path" of capital flows and debt relief that accounted for nearly 75% of the total help received.

By the end of 1999, for instance, out of the forty-seven countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, thirty were implementing adjustment programs, with eleven implementing ten or more programs. A one-size-fits-all model was adopted with a high level of arrogance without examining carefully or critically the internal factors that could support its success and/or the factors that could also lead to its failures. This so-called adjustment has been the most comprehensive and controversial program in postcolonial Africa.

A brief discussion of the SAPs' claims underscores their philosophical assumptions. In order to understand the nature of the SAPs' impact on African societies and its policy implications at large, it is necessary to ask the question: what kind of society and what kind of economy were intended through those programs? In the past twenty-nine years, the SAPs have had different names or labels and different interpretations, all of which makes understanding them more complex and difficult in terms of specifying the nature of their impact. As is stated in a report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives: "In response to the African economic crisis of the 1980s, international donors have been reforming their assistance programs, spawning a rapid and confusing succession of labels: 'stabilization,' 'adjustment,' 'economic policy reforms,' 'structural adjustment,' 'sector adjustment with a human face,' etc."

Since the inception of the SAPs, the so-called stabilization policies of the IMF, and their adoption by the African states in the 1980s, these programs and their derivative policies have been theoretically, politically, and socially controversial. These controversies have arisen due to the nature of the design and implementation of these programs and policies, their social and political implications, their underlying philosophical and ideological assumptions, and the epistemological and ethical issues related to the World Bank/IMF policies.

These issues are derived from recommendations based on the social sciences or from self-proclaimed infallible agents of churchlike institutions, which assume they own the truth and dispatch preachers with their core message and recommendations (commandments) that those in need must accept to be saved from chaos and disaster. Through these programs and policies, there has been a systematic effort to "reintegrate" Africa into the world economy through the so-called free market. However, the so-called successes of the SAPs have not translated into concrete improved living standards of the majority of people or into real benefits to the societies at large. The failure to do so has come under much debate. Yet, Edward Jaycox, the then World Bank vice president for Africa, concluded in his 1994 report that about fifteen African countries improved their policies

and reaped gains in higher rates of growth; moreover, he claimed, between 1987 and 1991, there was a median improvement of 1.8% in the growth rate of per capita gross domestic product (GDP) and an improvement in GDP per capita of 1.1%.

Similarly, the World Bank and the IMF, the principal sponsors and implementers of the economic adjustment in Africa, argued that the strategies had already produced considerable positive results. The Bank claimed, for example, that the economies of adjusting Sub-Saharan countries grew at the rate of 4% during the period of 1988–90, compared to 2.2% for nonadjusting countries (Mengisteab and Logan 1995).

This view was also echoed by Pierre Landell-Mills, a World Bank official, who claimed that structural adjustment had worked where it was undertaken on a sustained basis. He cited, for instance, Guinea-Conakry and Ghana, which had annual growth rates of 5% to 6%, and Madagascar, with –2% to 2%. He also noted how two economic recovery programs, from 1984 to 1986 and 1987 to 1989, reduced inflation in Ghana. This argument is similar to the one that was advanced when some countries, particularly Côte d'Ivoire in the 1960s, were being presented as success stories ready for "take-off." Then and now, the argument that growth is not necessarily conducive to development has been intentionally ignored (Clower et al. 1966; Owens and Shaw 1972). The issue of the origins of the growth and its sustainability should be part of the discourse that defines the African conditions.

The objectives and the mission of the World Bank and the IMF have been well and fully defined, discussed, publicized, and established. The objectives are synthesized in the paragraphs that follow. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) or the World Bank was established in July 1944 at the Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire (United States) as part of a concerted effort to finance the rebuilding of Europe after the devastation of World War II and to save the world from future depression (Stiglitz 2003: 11). "The missionary" objective, to borrow Stiglitz' expression, was intended to extend long-term loans to finance physical and social infrastructure needed to reduce poverty and promote development. These loans are financed by bonds that IBRD sells in private markets. (Oatley 2006: 391). International Development Assistance (IDA), which is part of the World Bank Group, was established in the early 1960s as a separate development-lending agency. It is a concessional loan agency; its loans have longer time maturity than the standard IBRD loans have, and they carry 0% interest rates. These loans are financed by member government contributions. To qualify for IDA lending, a country must have a per capita income of less than $885 per year (Ibid.).

The IMF was charged with preventing another global depression. Thomas Oatley defined this mission in stating that "the IMF was initially charged with helping governments finance and ultimately eliminate balance-of-payments deficits in order to maintain stable exchange rates. Since the shifts to floating exchange rates in 1973, the IMF has become increasingly focused on the management of debt and balance-of-payments crises in developing countries" (Ibid.). Joseph Stiglitz noted that "The IMF was supposed to limit itself to matters of macroeconomics in dealing with a country, to the government's budget deficit, its monetary policy, its inflation, its trade deficit, its borrowing from abroad and the World Bank was supposed to be in charge of structural issues." (2003: 14) He also indicated that "The ideas and intention behind the creation of the international economic institutions were good ones, yet they gradually evolved over the years to become something very different" (Ibid.: 16).

For the purpose of this book, the SAPs need only to be summarized in the following points: (1) to implement measures to stop economic decline and improve the general performance of a country's economy and (2) to assist in assessing budget deficits and imbalances in import/export terms of trade through packages of corrective measures. Most of the adjustment programs in Africa contain varying degrees of corrective policies focusing on devaluation of the currency, interest rates, reduction of government expenditures into line with real resources, privatization, liberalization, and institutional reforms. Exchange rate policy is supposed to act to devalue currency so that export commodities can become cheaper and more attractive to foreign buyers. Terms of trade are expected to be fully liberalized to improve the movement of goods and fiscal policies by removing tax and tariff barriers. Interest rate policies are undertaken to encourage the population to save money and to tighten credit so that people borrow less. The government is encouraged to cut spending on subsidies and other services.

In short, generally, adjustment programs include reforms to:

- Establish a market-determined exchange rate;
- Bring fiscal deficits under control;
- Liberalize trade;
- Improve the financial sector, the efficiency of public enterprises, and the coverage and quality of social services; and
- Privatize hitherto the state (public agencies).

The World Bank officials have continued to argue that the main factors behind Africa's stagnation and decline have been poor macroeconomic and sectoral policies, emanating from a development paradigm that gave the

state a prominent role in regulating economic activity. The World Bank has believed that overvalued exchange rates and large and prolonged budget deficits undermine the macroeconomic stability that is needed for long-term growth. Protectionist trade policies and government monopolies also reduce the competition so vital for increasing productivity.

In short, despite some shifts in terms of strategies and priorities, the World Bank's thinking in recent years—for instance, its emphasis on rural poverty alleviation, women's integration into the economy and issues about social equality—its strong reliance on the free market dogma and market forces remains the key dimension of its mainstream policy prescription.

By any standard, however, including that of the World Bank itself, general African conditions became considerably degraded in the 1980s and the early 1990s compared to the 1960s. Indeed, the level of poverty is sharply increasing, although those who support SAPs may argue that the situation would be worse if there had not been this type of intervention. Liberalization of the market, efficient management of the state resources, and further integration of the African economies into the global economy are the most important dogmatic elements of the systematic theology of the World Bank. Building of the free market economy and strengthening and stabilizing a weak state with a no-interventionist agenda of the state has been the main underlined objective of the World Bank. Nevertheless, the actualization of this objective in Africa has been empirically problematic. In newly industrialized countries (NICs) in East Asia and South America, for instance, capitalism was produced with a strong interventionist state. Furthermore, industrial countries such as France have state capitalism and the control over their higher education. Given the importance of education, how and why is it that, in the case of Africa, higher education, for instance, has been integrated more into the debate and policies of the free market dogma of the World Bank than on the social and national agenda at the domestic level?

Another aspect of the SAPs in Africa is the question of international debt (foreign debt). Mechanisms and policy used to deal with it during the Cold War era produced social and economic conditions that led to various types of external interventions by foreign countries and more transnational companies, especially since the 1970s. A short discussion on the question of debt as reflective of the African conditions is necessary at this junction.

International Debt[3]

International debt is an important aspect of the saga of the SAPs in Africa. African states were requested to increase their credits in the international financial or banking systems and borrow more in order to balance their

budgets. The African conditions were shaped by the borrowing process, the conditionalities imposed on the African people, the amount borrowed, and the social and economic impact of the borrowing.

> By the end of 2005, African countries owed by a total of $293 billion to creditor countries and institutions, of which $208 billions by the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, and the balance of $84 billion by the countries of north Africa. The debt grew from $120 billion in 1980 to $340 billion in 1995, the so-called "structural decades when countries in crisis began to take more loans as part to the IMF/World Bank mandates structural adjustment programs." Almost 80 percent of Africa's debt is owed to official institutions, and about one-third of it was multilateral debt. At the same time, total debt service paid by the continent increased from 43.5 million in the 1970s to a peak of $26 billion in 1999. Of this, sub-Saharan Africa's share was $14.6 billion in 2003. As the Commission for Africa pointed out, for every dollar that Africa received in aid, nearly 50 cents has gone straight back to the developed world in debt payment. (Cheru 2010: 17–18)

As reflected in table 5.1, in the 1990s, the total external foreign debts were increasing annually; this situation alarmed the donors and international financial institutions—the same institutions that provided the loans.

What have been the social and political implications related to the external debt figures in Africa? What do they mean for the majority of the African people in relation to the search for paradigms of development, which is also part of the objective of this book?

International debt has been an important dimension of the economic reformist agenda. In developing countries, especially in African countries, as it is demonstrated in this section, international debt has been the most vital symptom of the crisis of the capitalist economy. Through the studies of foreign debt, one can understand how the world capitalist system works. As Arthur MacEwan pointed out: "The story of international debt is also a particularly interesting and important part of the larger tale of what has been happing to the world economy. The debt story ties together many aspects of that larger tale of disorder, and in addition it gives a window through which to see how the world economy is moving." (1990: 14)

Thus, international debt is examined as an essential part of the operations and structures of international capitalism. The fact is that the African debt crisis is therefore part of a larger world debt crisis. Nevertheless, given the local and regional African particularities associated with the dynamics of the world economy, the implications of the African debts should be analyzed through the geopolitical regional paradigms and the role of Africa in world capitalism. International debt issues should inform how capitalism works regionally and globally in modern and contemporary times.

Table 5.1 External debt of net-debtor African countries in total, 1989–1999

	1989	*1990*	*1991*	*1992*	*1993*	*1994*	*1995*	*1996*	*1997*	*1998*	*1999*
Africa											
Total External Debt	275.5	288.8	291.1	287.5	290.1	315.6	335.2	330.1	315.4	324.6	—
Long-term Debt	241.5	254.5	257.6	251.6	250.2	275.6	290.3	282.8	269.5	276.5	—
Concessional	77.1	84.9	91.8	95.8	100.8	110.6	119.2	125.2	122.8	130.4	—
Bilateral	51.8	56.6	60.1	62.2	64.2	68.8	72.0	76.1	73.0	76.4	—
Multilateral	25.2	28.3	31.7	33.6	36.6	41.9	47.2	49.1	49.8	54.0	—
Official, non-concessional	79.8	81.4	84.1	82.5	81.1	91.5	97.2	90.1	82.7	84.5	—
Bilateral	51.8	50.6	51.7	50.5	47.8	55.3	60.7	55.4	52.0	53.3	—
Multilateral[a]	21.4	24.6	26.6	27.0	28.2	30.4	31.3	29.2	26.1	26.9	—
IMF	6.6	6.1	5.7	5.0	5.0	5.8	5.2	5.4	4.5	4.3	—
Private creditors	84.7	88.3	81.8	73.2	68.4	73.4	73.9	67.6	64.0	61.7	—
Of which:											
Bonds[b]	2.0	3.6	3.1	5.1	2.9	4.5	5.3	5.9	9.7	9.8	—
Commercial banks[b]	31.9	31.1	29.4	22.9	21.3	21.9	22.9	25.1	22.3	21.3	—
Short-Term Debt	34.0	34.2	33.5	35.9	39.9	40.0	44.9	47.3	45.9	48.1	—
Sub-Saharan Africa											
Total External Debt	123.8	140.0	145.9	149.5	153.7	162.5	172.1	170.6	165.8	171.1	175.7
Long-term Debt	108.4	121.3	125.7	127.1	129.2	140.0	147.4	145.1	141.8	147.4	149.9
Concessional	50.0	58.4	63.1	66.3	69.8	77.9	82.2	84.6	84.6	90.5	94.2
Bilateral	29.0	33.0	34.5	35.8	36.7	38.4	39.8	40.3	39.9	42.3	42.7
Multilateral[a]	21.0	25.3	28.6	30.5	33.1	39.5	42.4	44.3	44.6	48.3	51.5
Official, non-concessional	33.7	37.4	37.3	36.7	35.3	37.2	39.5	36.6	33.0	33.6	33.0
Bilateral	20.0	22.8	22.9	22.8	21.7	24.7	25.8	24.8	22.6	21.1	22.9
Multilateral	9.3	10.5	10.9	10.8	10.9	11.2	11.1	10.0	8.8	8.7	8.1
IMF	4.4	4.1	3.5	3.0	2.7	1.3	2.5	1.9	1.6	1.8	2.0
Private creditors	24.7	25.6	25.3	24.1	24.1	24.9	25.7	23.8	24.3	23.3	22.8
Of which:											
Bonds[b]	.4	.3	.3	.2	.2	.2	.3	.2	2.7	2.6	3.2
Commercial banks[b]	8.1	8.7	8.5	8.2	8.2	8.5	9.3	12.2	10.1	9.9	10.2
Short-Term Debt	15.4	18.7	20.2	22.4	24.5	22.5	24.8	25.5	23.8	23.7	25.8

Notes:
a. Including concessional facilities of IMF" (278).
b. "Government or government-guaranteed debt only" (278).

Source: All the calculations and the chart making were carefully made by my then teaching assistant, Kristen Powlick, now Assistant Professor of Economics who used the data of the World Development Report and the World Bank published in *World Economic and Social Survey* (New York: United Nations, 2000), Table A.25 pp. 276–278.

The issue concerning foreign debt forgiveness, known also as the debt relief, has been internationalized since the 1999 Conference in Germany of the G-7. In the April 2000 Conference held in Cairo on debt issues, Jacques Chirac the then President of France announced that France would forgive

the totality of bilateral debts to the poorest indebted countries and urged other countries to follow suit. It was also stipulated that in the following fifteen years, France would make an effort to waive about $23 billion owed by heavily indebted countries. The process of selecting the first group of these countries was completed in early 2000. Eleven poor countries already qualified for debt relief from the IMF, the World Bank, and other creditors. These countries included Benin— $460, Bolivia—$2.1 million, Burkina Faso—$700 million, Cameroon—$2 billion, Honduras—$900 million, Mali—$870 million, Mauritania—$1.1 billion, Mozambique—$4.3 billion, Senegal—$850 million, Tanzania—$3billion, and Uganda—$2 billion. The debt relief package was pending in Congress, which had to approve the U.S. share. It should be noted that it has not been clear how the IMF and the World Bank came up with the above figures. However, many speculated that the debt relief scheme was basically part of bilateral debt.

Other countries that were also to benefit from debt relief before the end of the year 2000 included Chad—$250 million, Gambia—$130 million, Guinea—$1.2 billion, Guinea Bissau—$700 million, Guyana—$1.1 billion, Malawi—$1.1 billion, Nicaragua—$5 billion, Rwanda—$800 million, and Zambia—$4 billion. Also under consideration were Ethiopia—$1.5 billion, Madagascar—$1.5 billion, Niger—$700 million, and Sao Tome and Principe—$170 million.

It should be reminded that in general conditionalities for debt relief are similar to those of the SAPs as discussed earlier, with an emphasis on electoral democracies, poverty "alleviation," and women's issues. But these conditions have come into play in an ad hoc fashion, depending on the unwritten geopolitical factors that shape the major powers' interests, their behaviors in the discourse of the global economy, and their security paradigms. What do all the above figures represent in the total African debts?

In order to have an idea of what debt relief may represent in the African debt saga, I present a simple illustration using 1998's data to calculate the relief as percentage of debt (in the absence of data concerning current debts). It should be noted that the selected countries in the chart are likely to continue increasing their loans between 1998 and 2009, so the percentages depicted here may not be representative of the reality. However, the exercise gives some general ideas about what this relief may be in terms of statistics. Unless between 1998 and 2009 countries selected here doubled or tripled their foreign borrowing, it is clear that the debt relief scheme or programs may have a significant reduction of between 20% and in some cases almost 100% of the total debt in some countries. The effort seems to be a positive one. The impact of debt relief has to be also assessed with regard to the performance and structures of the total African political economy (see table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Debt relief and debt in US$ millions of selected poor countries in 1998

Country	*Debt Relief (Millions)*	*Debt in 1998 (Millions)*	*Debt minus Relief*	*Relief as % of Debt*
Already Completed				
Benin	460	1,044	584	44.1%
Bolivia	2,100	4,933	2,833	42.6%
Burkina Faso	700	826	126	84.7%
Cameroon	2,000	8,198	6,198	24.4%
Honduras	900	3,220	2,320	28.0%
Mali	870	2,183	1,313	39.9%
Mauritania	1,100	1,423	323	77.3%
Mozambique	4,300	2,731	–1,569	157.5%
Senegal	850	2,710	1,860	31.4%
Tanzania	3,000	5,682	2,682	52.8%
Uganda	2,000	2,371	371	84.4%
Expected This Year				
Chad	250	630	380	39.7%
Gambia	130	269	139	48.3%
Guinea	1,200	2,512	1,312	47.8%
Guinea Bissau	700	695	–5	100.7%
Guyana	1,100	1,078	–22	102.0%
Malawi	1,100	1,371	271	80.2%
Nicaragua	5,000	5,238	238	95.5%
Rwanda	800	682	–118	117.3%
Zambia	4,000	5,317	1,317	75.2%
Under Consideration				
Ethiopia	1,500	8,733	7,233	17.2%
Madagascar	1,500	3,273	1,773	45.8%
Niger	700	1,114	414	62.8%
Sao Tome and Principe	170	144	–26	118.1%

Source: World Bank, *Global Development Finance*, Volume 2 (Washington, DC: World Bank 2000). This was formerly published as World Debt Tables.

Why do nation-states, companies, and people take foreign loans? Who is to pay back these loans taken by Africa? What are the programs that are not funded when allocation of the already limited resources goes toward payment of foreign loans? Who would benefit from services that could have been provided if money was not diverted to pay back the loans? What are the social consequences of the absence of such services?

There are no simple answers to these questions. Some nations, companies, and people are at a given time in need of cash in order to run their businesses and correct their budgetary problems. It is also obvious that people are paying back their loans with their labor. But in Africa, its many governments have been paying their financial obligations with people's "blood and lives." Many people are socially and physically suffering so that governments are able to repay their loans. For instance, governments

have been selling people's assets, such as their land and water, and also the legal and illegal exploitation of mineral resources by private corporations with the support of the states. In some situations, governments have forced people out of their land so that it could be available for private corporations to establish businesses such as timber. Many people are starving to death as a result of policies related to loans.

Since the 1970s, along with the oil crises, international debt has become also an issue not only in international relations, trade arrangements and agreements, and diplomacy, but also in fiscal policy management, and resource allocation and distribution. In principle, executive branches of the states, governments, from the views of both realist and idealist schools of thought, have an obligation to secure resources for social progress of their citizens. This complex issue has to be examined within a structuralist perspective.

The amount of international or public debt taken by Africa has been gradually and annually increasing since the 1970s. As compared to other countries in the developing world, especially those in South America, the African total public debt represents only a relatively small percentage of the total public debt of the world. For instance, in 1998, the total public debt of Nigeria represented 3.485% ($23bn 455) of the total public debt of the world, while that of Côte d'Ivoire was 1.608% ($10bn 822); of South Africa was 1.579% ($10bn 626), Ghana 0.828% ($5bn 570), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) 1.330% ($8bn 949), Kenya 0.836% ($5bn 629), Senegal 0.487% ($3bn 274), and Ethiopia 1.429% ($9bn 618).

In South American countries, the percentage of the total public debt was higher than that in Africa and Asia. For example, in Brazil it represented 14.707% ($98bn 959), Mexico 13.076% ($87bn 996), and in Argentina it was 11.413% ($87bn 799). In Asia, for instance, the South Korean debt represented 8.612% ($57bn 956), and that of Indonesia was 9.948% ($66bn 944). These trends have been consistently and qualitatively very different from those in Africa during the 1980s.

As stated earlier, the issue is about the limited availability of resources to pay back this debt and the possibility of alternative sources, and what the payments represent in the total annual revenues of African countries. In a simple formula, money that one is paying the debt with has to come from some other sources. What are those sources and how are those sources related directly or indirectly to human conditions?

In 2005, Rodrigo de Rato, Managing Director of the IMF, announced the decision of the IMF to grant 100% debt relief to 19 countries under the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) amounting to US$3.3 billion. Thirteen of these poorest countries are located in Africa. It was believed that these countries would be able to increase spending in priority areas to reduce poverty, promote growth, and to make progress toward achieving

the Millennium Development Goals set up for 2015. They were expected to receive this debt relief in early 2006.

It should be noted that the HIPC's (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries) debt relief initiative and MDRI aim to cut the poorest states' foreign debt burden to a level in which these states would afford to pay their debts and also in the long-run, they would be able to save some financial resources to be used in the public sector. Of the forty-one countries that were granted comprehensive debt cancellation under the HIPC and MDRI initiatives, thirty-two are in Sub-Saharan Africa. As of 2009, twenty-six countries have successfully completed the HIPC initiative and their debt burden has been completely mitigated under HIPC and MDRI. Of these countries, twenty-one are in Sub-Saharan Africa. Another set of nine countries, eight of which are in Africa, has completed the first of two debt relief phases under HIPC. When the programs with the IMF and the World Bank are concluded, they too are expected to benefit from full debt cancellation.

Why debt forgiveness or debt relief at this time? The question is complex as it reflects both cost-benefit analysis and power relation issues. Generally, it is difficult to relate them in a nonlinear process of reasoning. What short-term and long-term benefits would Africa achieve from this relief? And what would the "forgivers" gain as a result of their actions? It should be emphasized that in a capitalist pragmatic logic, there is no such thing as a free lunch. But Africans could take advantage of the principle of mutuality in order to have access to new resources, a principle that should be examined carefully.

I argue that there is no such thing as compassionate capitalism among nation-states. To save capitalism and advance national security issues, some decisions (even some difficult ones) were made within the various orbits of powers. So this specific scheme of the debt relief is not a humanitarian action from the industrial countries. It is a corrective process that will integrate Africa further into the world of international capitalism. Jacques Chirac, former President of France, clearly articulated this in the aforementioned Cairo Conference in April 2000. He indicated that what Africa needs are European investments, further integration into world economy and also the competition with other actors in the world economy. Political and juridical stability is needed to accomplish these interrelated goals; this is where the role of electoral democracies becomes vital. African conditions during and in the post–Cold War era are reflective of the peripheral capitalism in the Global South known also as aspirate or disaster capitalism.

The worst scenario might have been that without the creation of the debt forgiveness programs, some African states could default on the payments of their increasing loans and their economies could totally collapse, which could lead to either anarchy or the rise of nationalisms, or popular movements. Debt forgiveness was intended to prevent any such situation

within the peripheral capitalist Africa. The actualization of such a scenario would have led to predictable responses from the corporate world, and its military and police apparatuses.

The African socioeconomic conditions that I have briefly examined in this chapter are comparatively reflected in tables 5.3 and 5.4.

Table 5.3 Changes in human development over time: Selected countries

	Human Development Index (HDI)							
Country	*1975*	*1980*	*1985*	*1990*	*1995*	*2000*	*2002*	*2003*
Asia & Pacific								
Malaysia	0.614	0.657	0.693	0.720	0.759	0.789	0.793	0.796
China, PRC	0.523	0.557	0.593	0.627	0.683	0.721	0.745	0.755
Sri Lanka	0.613	0.648	0.674	0.698	0.719	—	0.740	0.751
Indonesia	0.467	0.529	0.582	0.623	0.662	0.680	0.692	0.697
Thailand	0.613	0.651	0.676	0.707	0.742	—	0.768	0.778
Singapore	0.724	0.761	0.784	0.821	0.859	—	0.902	0.907
Korea, R. of	0.705	0.741	0.779	0.817	0.852	0.878	0.888	0.901
Latin America & Caribbean								
Argentina	0.784	0.799	0.808	0.810	0.832	0.854	0.853	0.863
Venezuela	0.716	0.730	0.739	0.759	0.768	0.776	0.778	0.772
Colombia	0.661	0.689	0.706	0.727	0.751	0.771	0.773	0.785
Jamaica	0.687	0.695	0.699	0.726	0.737	0.752	0.764	0.738
Ecuador	0.630	0.674	0.696	0.710	0.719	—	0.735	0.759
Bolivia	0.512	0.548	0.580	0.603	0.635	0.670	0.681	0.687
Brazil	0.644	0.680	0.695	0.714	0.739	0.771	0.775	0.792
Africa								
Togo	0.396	0.445	0.445	0.474	0.486	0.491	0.495	0.512
Congo	0.451	0.497	0.541	0.532	0.530	0.487	0.494	0.512
Lesotho	0.457	0.499	0.517	0.544	0.549	0.513	0.493	0.497
Uganda	—	—	0.395	0.395	0.404	—	0.493	0.508
Zimbabwe	0.547	0.572	0.629	0.617	0.571	0.511	0.491	0.505
Kenya	0.445	0.490	0.515	0.540	0.524	0.496	0.488	0.474
Madagascar	0.400	0.433	0.429	0.436	0.443	0.469	0.469	0.499
Nigeria	0.324	0.385	0.401	0.430	0.455	—	0.466	0.453
Mauritania	0.339	0.362	0.382	0.387	0.423	0.449	0.465	0.477
Senegal	0.315	0.332	0.359	0.382	0.398	0.425	0.437	0.458
Rwanda	0.341	0.386	0.397	0.351	0.341	0.413	0.431	0.450
Benin	0.288	0.324	0.351	0.356	0.381	0.406	0.421	0.431
Tanzania	—	—	—	0.413	0.406	0.403	0.407	0.418
Côte d'Ivoire	0.382	0.416	0.428	0.429	0.410	0.402	0.399	0.420
Mauritius	—	0.658	0.689	0.723	0.747	0.775	0.785	0.791
Botswana	0.503	0.574	0.633	0.675	0.666	0.620	0.589	0.565
Burundi	0.282	0.306	0.332	0.338	0.311	0.325	0.339	0.378
Egypt	0.438	0.487	0.539	0.577	0.608	—	0.653	0.659
Morocco	0.429	0.474	0.510	0.542	0.571	0.603	0.620	0.631

Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report, 2004* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 142–146; UNDP, *Human Development Report, 2005* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 220–222.

Table 5.4 The 32 poorest countries in the world as measured by the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI)

Country	*Life Expectancy at Birth (Years), 2003*	*Adult Literacy Rate (% Age 15 and Above), 2003*	*GDP per Capita (PPP US $), 2003*	*HDI, 2003*
Madagascar	55.4	70.6	809	0.499
Swaziland	32.5	79.2	4,726	0.498
Cameroon	45.8	67.9	2,118	0.497
Lesotho	36.3	81.4	2,561	0.497
Djibouti	52.8	65.5	2,086	0.495
Yemen*	60.6	49.0	889	0.489
Mauritania	52.7	51.2	1,766	0.477
Haiti*	51.6	51.9	1,742	0.475
Kenya	47.2	73.6	1,037	0.474
Gambia, The	55.7	37.8	1,859	0.470
Guinea	53.7	41.0	2,097	0.466
Senegal	55.7	39.3	1,648	0.458
Nigeria	43.4	66.8	1,050	0.453
Rwanda	43.9	64.0	1,268	0.450
Angola	40.8	66.8	2,344	0.445
Eritrea	53.8	56.7	849	0.444
Benin	54.0	33.6	1,115	0.431
Côte d'Ivoire	45.9	48.1	1,476	0.420
Tanzania	46.0	69.4	621	0.418
Malawi	39.7	64.1	605	0.404
Zambia	37.5	67.9	877	0.394
Congo, DR of	43.1	65.3	697	0.385
Mozambique	41.9	46.5	1,117	0.379
Burundi	43.6	58.9	648	0.378
Ethiopia	47.6	41.5	711	0.367
Central African Republic	39.3	48.6	1,089	0.355
Guinea-Bissau	44.7	39.6	711	0.348
Chad	43.6	25.5	1,210	0.341
Mali	47.9	19.0	994	0.333
Burkina Faso	47.5	12.8	1,174	0.317
Sierra Leone	40.8	29.6	548	0.298
Niger	44.4	14.4	835	0.281

Note: *Asterisks indicate non-African countries.

Source: UNDP (2005), pp. 220–222.

In the post–Cold War era, African conditions by and large can be summarized as sociologically and historically complex characterized by high levels of political fragility, ethnic violence of various forms, sharp power struggles and wars, large-scale refugee situations, economic degradation, and also struggles for democracy. However, all the conditions have not been permanent or of the same intensity over the years and decades despite

some similarities. For instance, based on the UNDP data, out of forty-four Sub-Sahara African countries, eleven improved their rankings on UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) between 1994 and 2004. Of these eleven, seven (or 64%) are classified economically and socially as very fragile. This is a higher proportion than the share of the nineteen very fragile countries (58%) out of the thirty-three Sub-Saharan Africa countries that actually lost ground on the HDI league table during the same period.

It should be noted Japan strongly supported the implementation of the adjustment programs in Africa, but did not support the SAPs in its relation with Asia. This backing reflects a conflict vis-à-vis the historical pattern and policies responsible for Japanese development. As Stein stated:

> Japan has not only participated in adjustment through their support of multilateral agencies and through the Paris club, but also since 1986 with a significant amount of policy loans at bilateral level aimed at rewarding countries undertaking adjustment measures.…In general, the policies embedded in adjustment in Africa significantly diverge from those historically to develop the Japanese economy. (1998: 2)

Japan's participation in the adjustment programs in Africa implies that Japan was also partially or indirectly responsible for the consequences that the implementation that those programs caused in Africa. However, in February 1991, JICA (Ibid.: 8) produced a report to criticize structural adjustment's performance in Africa, especially in relation to currency devaluation, retrenchment of public finance, reduction of government intervention, and inadequate direction. It also suggested the Japanese experience in modernizing its economy as a possible alternative policy (JICA 1991: 22).

One of the implications of these programs in Africa is the gradual weakening of the state and the irrelevance of its notion of sovereignty. In the 1990s when Japan started to engage most vigorously with the African states in the same period, most of them were weak, vulnerable, and ready to continue with the dependence syndrome of the 1970s and 1980s. The overall African conditions continued to deteriorate until positive signs of economic growth started to be forecasted in 2000–2007. As Edward Miguel wrote:

> In 2000, Sub-Saharan Africa—That is, all of Africa excluding North Africa, which represents only 15 percent of the continent's population—was at the end of an uninterrupted quarter century and political failure, a downward tailspin that have the world the 1984–85 Ethiopian famine, the 1994 Rwandan genocide, and the more recently blood diamonds and mass amputations in Sierra Leone. Africa ranked lowest in the world in just about every economic and social indicator, including public health, as one might expect from the epicenter of the global HIV/AIDS epidemic. (2009: 7)

The major question is: Could Japan's ODA make any qualitative difference toward the improvement of African people's economic conditions that have been described in this chapter? What happened with the increase of the Japanese foreign aid in the 1980s and the 1990s at the time of the collapse of the African economies?

Liberal Democracy as the Second Major Reformist Agenda in the Post–Cold War Era

General Issues

How has this reformist agenda been actualized? What have been the forces behind it? What have been its agencies and agents? What are the conditions that liberal democracy created? And what have been the working assumptions behind the rise of liberal democracy? The main objective in this section is to try critically to examine the meanings and the values of this relatively important phenomenon—liberal democracy in Africa since the end of the Cold war politics. Most of the references and assumptions used in this section about liberal democracy and its values have been synthesized from the author's edited book entitled *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics in Africa* (2005).

Working and Observable Assumptions

a. Liberal democracy is not a natural phenomenon that can be produced by a natural evolutionary process. It is a socially cognitive phenomenon that can be learned, appropriated, and actualized only through a conscious process and a resistance;
b. Internal contradictions and their pathological manifestations are the products of the immaturity of liberal democracy, but they are not permanent outcomes of cultural failures in practicing and accepting democracies;
c. Regardless of its desirability globally, liberal democracy and its practices cannot succeed internally in any context as products of external agencies or as an externally imposed phenomenon;
d. The capacities of liberal democracy are socially and politically measured by the performance, stability, the quality of the civil societies, and transformative agendas of the democratic institutions; and people do not believe in liberal democracy as a religious dogma;
e. And historically, no society or social theory has produced linear universal steps to be used by all for reaching or actualizing their forms of democracy.

One of the issues raised in studying democracy at the global level is that despite the fact that it has become a global desirable end among many peoples the world over, no model of democracy can claim universal acceptability and relevance. We also need to keep in mind that every actual democracy has always fallen short of democratic criteria. Finally, we should be aware that in ordinary language, we use the word democracy to refer both to a goal or ideal and to actuality that is only a partial attainment of that goal.

Different regions, subregions, countries, and societies have engineered the foundation of their own democratic experiments in a cumulative process that reflects their respective historical contingencies and internal dynamics. Each democracy among the liberal democratic societies in Western Europe, the United States, and Japan, for instance, has its own technical mechanisms and procedures that define its uniqueness and particularities. Furthermore, people's attitudes, expectations, and responses to democratic institutions, and the nature of the democratic institutions and their values also vary from country to country. Nevertheless, in a broad sense liberal democracy can be defined by the following characteristics:

1. Respect for the rule of law and procedures;
2. An extensive competition among individuals and organized groups;
3. A highly inclusive level of participation in the selection of leaders and policies;
4. The existence of a dynamic civil society;
5. A high level of individual civil and political liberties (with all kinds of freedoms);
6. And it is a political system, separate and apart from the economic and social systems to which it is joined.

In short, a liberal democracy is a political system that supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials, and that permits the population to influence major decisions by choosing the holders of political offices.

Contextualizing Democracy Movements and Demands after the End of the Cold War Era

Contemporary African states were not born out of democratic processes and democratic states. It is argued that based on their historiographies, liberal democracies in these countries are ontologically alien to their structures and their raison d'être. Of the thirty-six countries that gained

independence in Africa through different means between 1956 and 1970, thirty-three became authoritarian (or one-party states with some objectives of nationalism and socialism in the name of nation building and national unity) at their birth or shortly after.

Some African leaders such as Félix Houphouet-Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, to cite only a few, despite their ideological differences, claimed that democratic expression—for instance, dissenting or critical views/positions—could still be freely and productively voiced within the one-party state and that democracy was not a monopolistic domain of political pluralism of liberal democracy. However, the veracity of the assessment about the practice of democracy within the one-party state depends on the nature of the political regime in which this practice can be applied, its origins, and its broad acceptability in the country.

During the Cold War era, the polarization of the world accomplished by the ideological, military, and power struggles between the Soviet Union and the United States did not contribute to the development of liberal democracy. On the contrary, these struggles inhibited, by controlling the agencies of social changes within African countries, any possibilities of the rise and expansionism of both "centralized democracy" and liberal democracy models in them. Wherever these models were experienced in Africa, they were used mostly as instruments of control and manipulation. Both categories of rights, namely social rights and political rights, which are considered to be the foundation of democracy, were limited and constrained by the dictum of the dominant ideologies. In fact, the international conflict triggered by the Cold War created a nondemocratic world, heavily armed and policed by the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies. By the 1970s and 1980s, military, civilian, and semicivilian dictatorships were firmly consolidated in Africa with the full support of the Western and Eastern powers, multinationals, and the transnational financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. The voices of people calling for democratic expressions were violently silenced in many parts of Africa under authoritarian regimes in the defense of the global Cold War agenda.

Yet, since the 1990s, liberal democracy has produced excitement and also advanced contestation. In its various characteristics such as the presence of active civil society, the claims of the promotion of individual rights, formation of multipartyism, and national and domestic electoral competitions, liberal democracy has become in many ways a rule of the new political game and power struggles in Africa. New elected presidents, prime ministers, and local members of the public are all a reflection of a new era, a new society, and a new democracy in the making.

Societal institutions and social groups from various social origins and diverse interests, and the state apparatuses and their national and international agenda have been dialectically engaging one another with the intention of promoting some kind of democracy as a global norm. While various expressions of liberal democracy are being generalized, their social meanings among various groups in most African societies have been divergent.

Thus, the 1990s can be proclaimed as the starting point in the wave of new multiparty democracy in Africa with a momentum similar to that of the 1960s when most African societies emerging from the brutal and essentially undemocratic colonial systems were struggling to realize their individual and collective rights. Since then, liberal democracy or multipartyism has been on the rise in most parts of Africa, increasing the activism of civil societies and the defeat of one-party-state presidential candidates.

Multipartyism was also pursued as a channel of power struggle through four main political mechanisms: (1) organization of sovereign national conferences by the coalitions of members of the civil societies and popular movements; (2) pressurization by foreign powers of the states' internal reforms; (3) organization of self-proclaimed revolutionary or nationalist forces outside of the state boundaries and powers; (4) a military approach with the claimed "reconciliatory" national agenda.

Despite disagreements among people about its content, origins, production, and sustenance, the concept of liberal democracy has become, interchangeably with multipartyism, a global aspiring value. Liberal democracy or procedural democracy has become almost the dominant play in the theater of world politics. In countries such as Benin, Burundi, Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, South Africa, Zambia, etc., the renewal of electoral democracies has produced new presidents, new prime ministers, and new members of parliaments as well as national assemblies. Not only have the claims of democracy become global but also is democracy being perceived and appreciated in itself as a developmental global value. Although the ideological and philosophical foundation of African democracy is still weak and its policy implications unpredictable, African politics can be characterized as being in a transition that can be studied in the scholarship of the dynamics of democracy and its critics. There are high expectations regarding the functions of these electoral democracies. Yet, some questions need to be answered further in order to broaden our understanding of these democracies. What is the nature of the transition that these democracies are going through? What is the nature of its agents and agencies? What processes has it created? Who are socially and economically benefiting from its dynamics?

Since the end of the 1990s, democratic reversals have occurred in countries such as Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Niger, and Sierra Leone. The brutal reversal led to civil wars and the collapse of some of these states. Semi- or

full-scale power struggles involving high levels of political violence have erupted in countries such as in Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Uganda, and Zimbabwe as a result of the resistance of the ruling parties against the sharing of power democratically with the political oppositions.

Tendencies to authoritarianism have also been reemerging as "a kind of illiberal democracy" where formal democratic institutions are widely viewed as the principal authority but rulers violate the rules so strikingly that the regime fails to meet conventional minimum standards of democracy in its representation and its electoral forms. The "fallacy of electoralism," which is reflected in unfair free elections and the buying of votes by powerful candidates in the open markets of ethnicity and clientelism, has been expanding. These practices have also been reflected in the behavior of hybrid regimes where formal democratic institutions widely viewed as the principal means for obtaining and exercising political authority are juxtaposed with the consistent violation of those very rules by the incumbents. Until recently, extreme Islamization of Sudan after Nimeiri has not allowed the development of liberal democracy in that country. And the recent movement of Islamization of the states in Northern Nigeria by using Shariah Law, for example, has been also threatening the new development of some aspects of liberal democracy in that country.

Since September 11, 2001, in the name of national security and the so-called fight against international terrorism, with the adoption of the mini United States' homeland security apparatuses in Africa (or an excessive centrality of new national security agencies in the public sector), the governments of the majority of African states have been officially resisting the promotion of genuine democracies as demanded by the African people.

There is the rise of the third-term syndrome in many African countries in which the constitutions are amended to allow the incumbent presidents to run again for presidential elections with serious consequences in weakening the civil societies and opposition parties (Lumumba-Kasongo 2007). Constitutional amendments allowing the presidents to run for third or fourth terms in countries such as Burkina Faso, Guinea-Conakry, Cameroon, Egypt, Niger, and Togo, have become almost routine mechanisms for the reversals of liberal democracy.

By and large, various African peoples' struggles and voices (middle classes, grassroots movements, civil societies, women and gender-based organizations, etc.) are consistently and slowly making inroads in the ethos and the change of organization of the states' apparatuses. Based on the role of liberal globalization, massive information and communication technology systems, and international judicial activism, it has become difficult for any single African government and/or any governmental institution to create a monolithic political culture that can mobilize the resources for its long-term survival.

As of 2005, there were at least twelve retired presidents in Africa who had completed their constitutional terms and handed over power peacefully after elections. Interestingly, as in the cases of Zambia and Malawi, the newly elected presidents turned against the previous presidents who were accused of corruption. In democratic terms, over the years Africa has witnessed the birth of new political parties, the active involvement in politics by civil and religious sectors and the opening-up of some democratic spaces. In terms of the space they occupy, the power of ideas behind them, and the freedom of expression they can provide, both liberal democracy and democratic processes matter for many people. They also embody the articulation of the African new vision of social progress. However, these processes are being defined differently based on the unique realities and objective conditions of the African states, their cultures, and societies; the quality of their political economies; and the nature of Africa's international relations.

In summary, since the end of Cold War politics, four broad phenomena have been taking place simultaneously in different periods in Africa: (1) African states are working hard to legitimize their economic and recent political reforms in the forms of the domination of the free market and the so-called free trade, the adoption of various revised SAPs such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and liberal democracy in the form of election (in short, legitimization of liberal globalization); (2) the intensification of the African people's demands for better living conditions but without necessarily having any strong ideological foundation to shape these demands; (3) various forms of power struggles which have used different interpretations of ethnicity, cultural/religious elements, colonial boundaries, and the support of multinationals and powerful nation-states as reflected in blood diamond wars; these struggles have led to full-fledged wars, severe political instability, massive displacements of populations in most subregions of Africa, and the deepening of underdevelopment that has undermined the establishment of relevant educational systems—systems which could produce the next generations of informed and democratic citizenry. And (4) despite the uncertainty advanced toward liberal democracy, owing to the strength of existing authoritarian enclaves, some signs of its consolidation have started to emerge in several African countries. The degree of consciousness about liberal democracy is slowly increasing and the relative scrutiny of processes of its reproduction is also taking place among various groups in different African countries. However, an area of contestation is still the nature of the relationship between the rise of poverty, people's rights to live well and their demands for democracy.

Chapter Six

International Cooperation between Western Powers and Africa: A Comparative Reflection

Introduction: Objectives and Issues

The main objective in this chapter is to identify general trends of the official economic assistance within international cooperation practices and policies between the Western powers, including former colonial European powers and the United States in Africa and to reflect on their policy significance. I discuss the nature of the general economic assistance that was provided by specific European countries and the United States to Africa between the 1960s and the 2000s. Given this as my goal, it is necessary to divide this economic assistance by sectors or to contrast systematically the trends of economic assistance specifically by countries as I attempt in some aspects of the case of Japan and Africa. My effort is to construct a global picture of the European' and the United States' international cooperation that can comparatively help understand further the nature and quality of the Japanese cooperation in analyzing some numbers/figures/spending and also in philosophy.

Furthermore, I am not expanding on all the former European colonial powers, their policies, their social implications in Africa, or on all the sectors of cooperation. The ultimate aim of this section is to be able to project a comparative dimension of the Japanese trends of international cooperation or development cooperation with those of European-American relations toward Africa in a holistic manner. Thus, I define my approach here as a reflective and general perspective. However, a few selected illustrations and figures are used to clarify my reflective positions and support my general claims and assumptions.

Since most African countries gained their nominal political independence between the 1950s and 1980s, what have been the general trends of international cooperation between Europe, the United States, and Africa?

And what has been the significance of these trends in the central issue of the African development policies?

For many people the world over, most of the causes about, and manifestations of, the contemporary African political instability, extreme poverty, and excessive dependency can be explained by the exploitative nature of the links that were established between European states and the United States, and the quality of the institutions that emerged in Africa out of these links. Although this claim has a strong sympathetic justification based on the current African conditions and the persistence of poverty in Africa, it has also been interpreted differently depending on internal and external factors related to the process of the African state formation and theoretical perspectives of the thinkers. Thus, it has been scientifically difficult to prove that all the African problems can be lumped only into a single explanatory factor, regardless of its importance—the nature of unequal neocolonial relationships between the former colonial powers and Africa. This is why a comparative perspective both in terms of periodization of the relationship and its dynamics, the identification of the actors and their agencies are necessary to avoid stereotypical perceptions and myopic declarations and, consequently, the stupefaction of the analysis.

It is a legitimate question to ask in a book that deals with Japan and Africa, why should we devote a chapter on Europe and the United States' international cooperation toward Africa? As stated above, I am convinced that a comparative analysis would add another important dimension of understanding, appreciating or clarifying further the Japanese perspectives, which are the focus in this book. It is worth reiterating that several approaches (realism, neorealism, idealism, or dependence theories, etc.) of international cooperation as elaborated in chapters one and two do not provide in themselves sufficient knowledge to enable us to make strong and conclusive assessment with a certain level of confidence, precision, and predictability about the nature of the motivation and the strategies of Japan's movements toward Africa. It is my hope that within a comparative framework and a firm interest in Japanese case, some European and American general propositions would enlighten some aspects of the Japan-Africa relations.

The selected Western countries from which more illustrations come from include Belgium, Britain, Germany, France, and the United States. I have expanded a little more on the case of the United States because of its role and place in the world economy, as the center of the international capitalism, the beacon of hope for many regarding its liberal democracy, and because of the existence of a large African presence in its state formation. However, I have also used the figures from the European Union at large because of its importance in the new Europe and in the world economy.

The choice of countries is due not only to the availability of data, but also to the place of the national economies of those countries in the world and their roles within the existing orbits of powers.

The nature of the current relationship between the Western European states and Africa is controversial, as these states were colonial powers with specific imperialist interests. These types of interests have generally realized through exploitation, domination, and control of others. The historical analysis of *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* by Walters Rodney (1981) makes this examination part of a critique of history of imperialism. As already stated, there is a range of contending theoretical interpretations of the international cooperation between Africa and the industrial countries. Contemporary history of international cooperation between African states and Anglo-Americo-European nation-states and their based multinational or transnational corporations has not produced a history of equal relations or equal availability of means for advancing these relations. Slavery and then colonization created traditions, attitudes, and practices through which economic and political relations are organized.

Given the magnitude and duration of these historical factors in the modern and contemporary African experience, they cannot be expected to cease to impact the current situation in African societies and their social systems. A legitimate question to ask is whether Japan can fully understand Africa's predicaments that resulted from centuries of transatlantic slavery and the equally destructive colonization/apartheid, since it never experienced any imperial domination (with the exception of the short episode of the American Occupation). Because of the absence of Japan's experiential and historical ground for empathy in general, it is expected that by including in this book a chapter on old imperial powers' relations with Africa, it can contribute to increase the level of understanding of the ongoing factors.

In addition, it is important to clarify further that the discussion of European and American states' relations with Africa should be essentially part of the studies of power relations and the dynamics of the international political economy, which is the interplay between international politics, their actors and institutions, and domestic actors, their economic conditions, their institutions, and the availability of resources. In international relations, though they are intimately related to one another, sovereignty is not the same as power. Power is more about the ability to influence others and actualize one's programs as the ability to use effectively one's political leverage or position over others to push for one's agenda. There are sovereign nation-states with weak power basis, which cannot positively influence much other nation-states.

It is within the field of international cooperation that various theories of international relations such as realism, liberalism, constructivism,

feminism, environmentalism, and Marxism have located the political debates concerning the place of foreign assistance in the development arena. Thus, for instance, from a realist perspective, the location of the states provides the political context in which to reconceptualize or rethink the notion of assistance.

Yet despite various interpretations about the nature of the relationship between Europe and the United States with Africa, one fact remains true—African countries gained their political independence from the European states about four to five decades ago. As part of the search for new developmental paradigms, it is about time to assess the quality of those relations and also see what Africa has or has not collectively gained from the postcolonial relations. These countries are part of the world of the states as they are politically independent within international law, and they are members of the United Nations as independent nation-states. As sovereign nation-states, they can decide on their own fate or destiny in developing any new linkages in a global political economy.

Thus, the relationship we examine should be influenced by the principle of sovereignty of all the states involved. Even though sovereignty is consolidated through the nature of the relationship that a given state can create and extend its power outside of its territoriality and its loyal constituencies in the search for resources and alliances. Furthermore, these relationships are conditioned by the positions and the roles of the European-American and African states in the world economy. The imperatives of the free global market economy and its technologies do play an important role in the way states interact, formulate their policies and strategies, and implement them.

By and large, it should be emphasized and summarized at the same time that contemporary Africa entered into the world system—the world of the Westphalian states and global capitalism—from a history of transatlantic enslavement, colonial, and neocolonial designs and politics. European states and the United States relations with Africa have been influenced by the dialectical relationship of struggles for independence and aspirations for social progress by Africans. However, the entry of a multitude of actors in the international political and economic arena, including Japan since the 1970s, the decline of the powers of some industrial countries, for instance, the end of the United States' hegemony, the collapse of the Soviet Union, China's adoption of capitalism with its free market dogma albeit the preservation of socialism, the acceleration of the formulation and implementation of liberal economic reforms and their social consequences, the rise of the demands for democracy locally and internationally, the increasing influence of external institutions and their agencies, and so forth, have had an impact on the perceptions and the actual Euro-American international with Africa.

European International Cooperation with Africa

> During the past three decades, a debate arose over whether Euro-African relations were a case of decolonization or dependency—whether European presence and influence were gradually declining, leaving Africa increasingly on its own as part of a multilateralized interdependent world, or were merely ebbing to a more subtle plateau of dominance, leaving Africa locked and co-opted in a class-world....Both were plausible scenarios in the 1970s, although the first was dynamic and more optimistic and the second static and pessimistic. (Zartman 1993: 1)

The assumptions behind the above-implied scenarios are still relevant in post–Cold War politics in Africa. The claim in this chapter is that the main values that Africa has been trying to define as vital for her social progress, despite various resistances, include decolonization, sovereignty, development, democracy and human rights, political stability, peace, self-sufficiency, and self-reliance. Thus, partnership has to be examined in relationship to the degree to which these values have been promoted and sustained in Africa. The history of the relationship between Africa and foreign powers is a history of the establishment of capitalism. As George Kieh stated:

> Generally, there is an asymmetrical and unequal relationship between Africa and the industrially developed world, and the change process on the periphery of the world capitalist system is not an endogenous path through stages, but a process subject to powerful exogenous factors. In other words, in terms of the power calculus in the global political economy, Africa is in a subordinate role. This status was assigned to Africa by the core states, from the latter's formal incorporation into the global capitalist system. (2003: 116)

With the exception of Spain in Africa, Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Belgium, and even Italy to a lesser degree, have instrumentalized their history of colonization into the new demands for international cooperation. What kind of partnership they have advanced or projected in Africa within the assumptions of the new win-win theory of international cooperation?

In this section, I examine the general trends of the European economic assistance to Africa in general, but I also use some specific illustrations from France, Germany, Britain, Belgium and Germany—the former colonial powers, which have remained active in the various aspects of their economic relations with Africa. For instance, until the end of 2007, the World Trade Organization (WTO) was trying to phase out preferential aid and trade pacts that Europe had maintained for some 30 years with its former colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) (Africa Renewal 2008: 23). The majority of the ACP countries are in Africa.

France, for instance, has perceived and defined itself as being the home of a particularly rich culture with a vocation to spread it overseas. As Guy Martin stated:

> Stimulated by the universalist ideals of the revolution of 1789—notably, *Liberté*, *Égalité*, *Fraternité*—in the nineteenth century this vocation became a mission *civilisatrice*, intimately linked with French imperialist expansion and rule in Africa. Even after decolonization, France retained its claim to be centre of a transnational culture and pursued a policy of cultural *rayonnement*. (2002: 57)

Historically, in spite of its role in the transatlantic enslavement and brutality that is part of the ethos and the practice of colonial rules, France has had a deep conviction of self-proclaimed leadership toward making humanity better if one accepts the French model of governance and adopts and uses the French language. French cooperation with the Francophone African countries, for instance, has been very closely built on the principle of the French claim of having a universal culture that is essentially good in itself if one assimilates into it. This attitude and belief have shaped France's international cooperation with Africa until recently. Patterns of such relationship are complex and even intriguing.

It should be noted that the project of creating Francophonie, for example, was initiated by Léopold Sédar Senghor and not by the French ruling class. He was the President of Senegal and upon his retirement became a member of the French Academy. Francophonie was created in March 1970. Today, it has become, without doubt, an instrument of the French effort to continue its expansionist ideas, the consolidation in its assumed historical spheres of influence, its cultural arrogance, its military cooperation, and its economic relationship. It is through this community, which supports France leadership and the French language as instruments of partnership, that many dimensions of the French-African international cooperation have been actualized. But it also should be noted that the French economic assistance is based on pragmatism and realism of international cooperation. Interests of the French state are at the center of the universalist claims of its international relations.

From the Referendum of September 1958, in which Charles de Gaulle persuaded the former French colonies in Africa to vote yes and stay under the French protection to the death of President Félix Houphouët-Boigny[1] in December 1993, the 50% devaluation of the CFA Franc (the currency used in all the former French colonies) in 1994 and the death of Jacques Foccart (a special advisor on African affairs of two French administrations[2]) in May 1997, the French cooperation with Africa was generally characterized with consistency, sameness, and continuity (*plus ça change,*

plus c'est la même chose). Only the people of Guinea Conakry under Ahmed Sékou Touré voted no to the 1958 Referendum. As Guy Martin, citing the former French Minister of Cooperation Jean-Pierre Cot, stated: "The relationship between France and its Francophone African partners is based on traditional complicity, on a background of common friendship and references, which facilitate contact and dialogue" (2002: 60).

The devaluation of the CFA currency, however, gave a signal of the demise of the Franco-African preferential monetary and trading area known as *la Zone Franc*, which had a fixed parity with the French Franc.

For several decades, French traditional policy toward the former French colonies in military, diplomatic, cultural, and economic areas was characterized as *domaine réservé*. These African countries were referred to as "*pré-carré*" or "*chasse gardée*" (backyard or protected zone). For many African leaders even those who shifted briefly to the left under civilian or military regimes, France remained the most accessible and most willing external partner (Chazan et al. 1999: 429). However, behind the façade of amicability, the relationship was reflected by excessive dependency, militaristic interventions, labor and economic exploitation, factors that have led some people to conclude that on the global scale, "there is no France without Africa." As Chazan et al. stated:

> Despite speculation in the earlier 1990s about a declining French role in Africa—and despite occasional disagreements among the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Cooperation, and the presidential bureau over specific policies—France retained a broad political consensus that its role as a major power in world affairs is rooted in Africa. (429)

The French economy was essentially built on, and advanced by, cheap African labor in France and in Africa, and cheap raw materials imported from Africa. Most contemporary French presidents developed personal friendship relations with the African political elite, which facilitated the relationship of the states. During Cold War politics, France was the biggest donor of the official development assistance (ODA) in Africa. However, despite the apparent consistency of the French cooperation to support the African elites and their development programs, aid fatigue is an indicator of change of the quality of the relationship between France and Africa. As Gorm Rye Olsen stated:

> The biggest European donor, France, reduced its total ODA/GNP aid commitment from 0.63% in 1992 to 0. 39% in 1999 (DAC 1999, 2001). Within this shrinking budget, the share of French ODA going to Africa was reduced from 51.8% in 1988/89 to 34.2% in 1999 so that Africa received less and less aid from France during the 1990s. Measured in 1998 prices and

> exchange rates, aid fell from US$2,825 million 1988/89 to $1,467 million in 1999. (OECD 2001: 651)

It is necessary to present a summary of the current political situation in France from the government point of view. Since Nicolas Sarkozy of *Union pour un Mouvement Populaire* (UMP) was elected President of France on May 6, 2007, he has made several trips to Africa, for instance, Senegal, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Kenya, Niger, South Africa, Algeria, and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). His views of Africa and a real role of Africa in world system have been not only controversial but also strongly characterized by lack of sufficient knowledge about Africa and very limited understanding of the forces of history. His speech in Dakar, Senegal, on July 27, 2007 in which he said: "The tragedy of Africa is that the African has never really entered into history…" and his celebration of the colonial actions, which he declared "is not the cause of all the African maladies," provides a solid ideological ground upon which one can project his various interpretations of France-Africa international cooperation. A few cabinet members of Sarkozy's administration are originally from Africa.

However, Sarkozy has called his policy toward Africa as "a diplomacy of reconciliation." Whatever that means for him, he has been insisting that he will rid of old postcolonial passions. In theory, he claims to move away from paternalism as the foundation of old partnership between Africa and France as his public discourse has been full of expression "equal partnership." At the same time, he has justified the behaviors and policy, politics of the French colonization in Africa as an instrument of "good or civilized deeds." His so-called chosen immigration policy reflects a serious contradiction between labor, politics, and ethnicity.

The current French foreign policy reflects the lowering of the degree of cultural significance of the well-known France's diplomacy, which has been in the past the cement of the French international cooperation with Africa. He has elevated disproportionally political and economic levels of pragmatism in the pursuit of the French national interest and the dynamics of global market competition. President Sarkozy is not a fervent advocate of giving special preferences or treatment to all Francophone countries in Africa despite some respect to the past history. He declared, often, that: "France has to talk with everyone." At the same time, President Sarkozy does not want to go to war against old friends of France. He still entertains good relations with the presidents of the Francophone countries in Africa, including the dictators and the corrupt ones. He is very selective in his policy goals and he is more visible on the business side of international cooperation.

However, despite the public discourse, which is claimed in an "ideological neutrality" term, his focus has essentially been to pursue an

unequal partnership approach and policy in which France invests in the areas where France has more comparative advantages and control over. For instance, France brings its technology, the managerial skills, and initial capital, and Africa provides both cheap labor in French dominated manufacturing, and cheap raw materials including uranium, petroleum, diamond, and copper to feed France's industries. His main preoccupation is the security of energy supplies and the search for new trade for the French nuclear energy. This is why South Africa and Angola are more central to the Sarkozy's foreign policy than Benin and Togo, for instance.

His visits in March 2009 to Congo-Brazzaville, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Niger in which he brought with him many French heads of corporations were basically business operations. The agendas of the trip clarify, to a large extent, the main intention of the *Françafrique's* relations (Franco-African relations).

In both the Democratic Republic Congo and Niger, for instance, France is interested in coltan, uranium, and other minerals. In Niger, France, under Sarkozy, pursues a concessionary policy toward the uranium company as an investor, a manager and a shareholder with Areva group as the most direct owner and shareholder. Areva is a French public nuclear multinational company. The French state owns 90% of its shares. Niger is the world's second biggest uranium deposit. Sarkozy supports the French nuclear giant Areva, which has invested 1.2 billion euros in the operation, and will extract annually about 5,000 tons of uranium.

On January 14, 2009, Niger and Areva Group signed a contract to start the Major Uranium Mine Project at the Imouraren site in Niger, which is considered to be the "biggest industrial mining project" ever in the country, with almost 5,000 tons of uranium expected to be produced annually. The new agreement also set out terms and conditions for buying uranium produced by Niger's Cominak and Somair mining companies for the next two years, and it provides for a price increase of around 50 percent in order to reflect the recent rise of long-term prices.

The new agreement will allow Areva to double its uranium supplies by 2015 (from 6,000 to 12,000 tons per year), and to become the largest player in the global market for nuclear energy, with a 25 percent market share. It has been exploiting mineral resources for 41 years in Niger since uranium has been discovered in 1958. This is an example of the Franco-African cooperation that is based on neorealism.

Britain, like France, has had a vast colonial experience in Africa, which extended from all the subregions of Africa with the exception of Central Africa. Its so-called indirect rule, a strategy or method used to govern and control, is also a reflection of the British international cooperation approach.

The Anglophone countries have been surrounded by the Commonwealth cultural organization. This organization has also its economic and political influences in linking all its members to the capitalist economy and in playing a role of a mediator within international cooperation schemes. However, it has a less doctrinaire position when compared to Francophonie. For instance, recently through the involvement of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in development projects, and using its free trade approach, the Commonwealth as an agency of consolidation of British cultural and historical relationship with Africa expanded its activities to even the non-former Britain's colonies. The last country in Africa to join the Commonwealth in November 2009 is Rwanda, a former German and Belgian colony. The Britain's approach in international cooperation seems to be ideologically less arrogant with an aspect of bottom-up perspective. As Gorm Rye Olsen stated:

> Non-governmental organisations were among the strongest proponents of British aid to Africa. It is estimated that more than 300 NGOs are involved in development-related activities. They make up an important part of what is often described as the "development lobby," consisting of development consultants, academics, NGOs and a few newspapers. There is some disagreement among observers of British aid policy as to the degree of influence of this lobby and the NGOs. (2001: 655)

This kind of partnership has been perceived by some scholars as the "best aid" in policy and procedural terms (Johnson and Martin 2005: 2), as it appears to be less state-centric and not associated with any ideological characteristics in comparison to the French model which is very much ideological based.

Furthermore, when the labor party came to power in 1997 with Tony Blair as its prime minister, he faced the problem associated with continuous degrading economic conditions (famine, civil wars, violent power struggles, political instability, refugees, etc.) in Africa with high sums of foreign debts. Britain's overseas aid policy was changed into a humanist internationalism, as the Britain Overseas was renamed the Department for International Development (DFID) and the ministry was separated from the Foreign Office with an exclusive new mandate: "the relief of poverty. Aid was no longer an arm of British foreign policy or tied to British goods." As Richard Dowden wrote:

> The foreign assistance budget, cut under the Conservatives, rose 8% in Labor's first year with promises of more. In Labor's second term in office 2001–2005, Africa was put at the top of the international agenda and aid increased accordingly. Running at $3.371 billion in 1997, British aid

> worldwide rose to $14.03 billion in 2007 and is expected to rise to $16.07 billion by 2010. Well over half of this spending is targeted on Africa, the continent that has fallen behind the rest of the world in economic and developmental terms. To raise political support for the campaign for Africa, Blair and Brown promoted the aid agencies' view of the continent; poor, war-torn, hopeless, unable to feed itself or develop. In 2004, Tony Blair launched the Commission for Africa to provide a platform for the agenda at the Gleneagles G8 Summit the following year, devoted primarily to Africa.[3]

In the post–Cold War era, this humanist internationalism, projected as a central missionary dogma, has been linked with a new "ethical foreign policy" which has been preached by the Foreign Secretary. Africa must be saved by the work of an abroad project called the Commission for Africa. Thus, the British approach became different from other European foreign policies, which used aid as an arm of foreign policy. Aid became close to an ethic imperative. Tony Blair became the self-proclaimed prophet of this internationalism, which is located in the dynamics of voluntarism, NGOs, free market, and foreign donations through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the United Nations and the NEPAD. This forum, with Britain as a spokesperson, was intended to mobilize financial resources to cover all needed sectors of the African economy. Is this approach qualitatively different in its mission and its goals from the TCAD in Japan?

The relationship between Belgium and the Democratic Republic of Congo, for instance, since the 1960s has been characterized by the struggles between nationalism, neocolonialism, and globalism. Belgium has wished to maintain its permanency and "immortality" in the Congo even as some nationalist forces also have challenged that expectation. Furthermore, the United States, on the other hand, with a globalist camouflage agenda, in the early period of independence of the Congo, was trying to weaken the Belgian influences in the country.

The casualties of this international struggle led to the brutal elimination of Patrice Lumumba and his nationalist agenda, and the establishment of the most personalized, corrupt and ruthless patron-client regime in the world under Joseph-Désiré Mobutu. However, despite political zigzags and some episodes of rocky roads under the so-called politics of authenticity, Belgium firmly served as a leading investor in many sectors and a guarantor or spokesperson of the Congo in the Paris Club, the European Bureau of the World Bank, the European Economic Community until the rise of Laurent-Désiré Kabila in May 1997. The expression rocky road refers to the frequent disruptions of the relationship between the Congo and Belgium and many public pronouncements Mobutu made against Belgium which was accused of being involved in the domestic affairs of another sovereign

nation-state—the Congo. Despite these showcases, Belgium was firmly playing its intermediary role between the Congo and the forces and agencies of international political economy. For instance, Belgium was among the first donors among the industrial countries to ease the debt of Zaire by forgiving repayment of 1 billion Bf in direct loans and rescheduling payment terms for 15 billion Bf in loans as of 1988 (Lumumba-Kasongo 1999: 100–103). Overall, the relationship has been characterized by patron-client and the arrogance of modern patrimonialism.

Germany lost its colonies as a result of its defeat in World War I. Its former colonies were given, under the protectorate policy of the League of Nations, to Belgium, Britain, France, and South Africa, which de facto transformed themselves into the colonial powers. However, the post–World War II Germany was still, until recently, either the second or the third donor in Africa, after France, depending on the world economic situation. It developed and kept solid private businesses in some sectors such as beverage industries, timber, general retailing, construction, etc. Germany too has exhibited signs of aid fatigue, which is a general trend within the industrial countries' development cooperation with Africa. As Gorm Rye Olsen indicated:

> The second biggest European aid donor, Germany, reduced its ODA/GNP from 0.38% in 1992 to 0.26% in 1999 (OECD 2001), while at the same time the share of German aid going to Africa was reduced slightly from 31.3% in 1988/89 to 27.7% in 1999 (OECD 2001: Table 29). This resulted in a reduction of net disbursements from Germany to Africa from US$1, 306 million in 1988/89 to $939 million in 1999, measured in 1998 prices and exchange. (2001: 657)

Since the end of World War II, despite the creation of General Agreements on Tariffs and Trades (GATTS) and then the World Trade Organization (since 1993) to regulate trade rules, the level of protectionism has made the practicability of the Adam Smith invisible hand principle absurd and fallacious, as all industrial countries have been engaged in competition guided by the neomercantilism. As Thomas Lairson and David Skidmore stated:

> As mercantilists can lay claim to the longest intellectual traditional because this perspective emphasizes the importance of nations and power in thinking about economic issues. The mercantilist perspective is an aspect of nationalism, and mercantilists often call on governments to manipulate markets so as to capture special benefits for the nations. The criterion used to judging policies and actions is the need to preserve and enhance the power and prosperity of the nation. (2003: 12)

All liberal (Western Europe), social (Nordic states), and ad hoc (United States) welfare states were built on some aspects of protectionism defined

as another form of nationalism. On the other hand, Africa has been less nationalistic and less protectionist which are the signs of its vulnerability. Opoku Agyeman, for instance, has emphasized "Africa's Vulnerable Link" in the global capitalist system as he has stated:

> By contrast, the concept of linkage vulnerability implies not only that the actors caught in it tend to be severely handicapped in their interactions with the world system, but that they tend to have little or no say in configuring underlying linkages.... By any yardstick, Black Africa's relationship to the global system provides the quintessential depiction of linkage vulnerability. This dubious distinction derives from the deadly combination of external (extra-Africa) and internal (intra-African) factors. (2001: ix–x)

Furthermore, as emphasized in the official document of NEPAD (2001: 39): "African countries are vulnerable because of their dependence on primary production and resources sectors, their narrow export bases."

Most postcolonial regimes in Africa, despite people's demands for social progress, accepted for various political reasons the "paternalistic type of international cooperation" between Africa and her former colonial powers. This type of relationship came under the discourse of the modernization school of thought, with its claimed universal assumptions about human conditions and human capital theory. With technical assistance and other types of foreign aid, Africa was expected to take off (to use the Rostowian expression) in respect to the fixed prerequisites of unilinear Euro-Anglo-American model of development. Within this way of thinking, the direction of the development paradigm and its core values should be determined by the free market theory.

Yet, partnership did not provide assurance for stability and consistency: As Gorm Rye Olsen wrote:

> In 1996, the European Commission described its special aid relationship with Africa, the Lomé Convention, as "one of the most important facets of the European Union's external activities" (Green 1996). This particular EU aid programme nonetheless underwent considerable changes during the 1990s. First and most manifest, the real value of the financial envelope of the Convention was cut successively both in 1994/95 during the so-called mid-term review, and again in 1999 and early 2000, during the negotiations on the continuation of Lomé after the year 2000. Thus, there was a fall in the real value of EU aid to [S]ub-Saharan Africa from US$2,044 million in 1988/89 to $1,593 million in I999, measured in 1998 prices and exchange rates (OECD 2001: Table 29). The reduction in Lomé aid becomes even more striking when it is recalled that on 1 January 1995 the three affluent countries, Sweden, Austria and Finland, joined the European Union. (2001: 663)

This decline has to be contextualized within the contradictions and broader history of imperialism, militarism, and multinational corporations, which consolidated "traditional partnership."

It is clear that none of the European experiences or any model briefly discussed in this chapter has operated absolutely as self-contained or has stood valid by itself. For instance, the notion of total integration of Africa into the world economy is also the most fictive argument in relation to the free market principle. Furthermore, partnership within the free market economy also implies abilities of its actors to negotiate, agree, and compete. As Thomas Lairson and David Skidmore stated: "Thus, cooperation among nations, even when there are important gains from such arrangements, may not be easy. This is also true because nations that are partners in cooperation are also engaged in competition. The politics of cooperation and of competition in the world economy are never far apart." (2003: 9)

As already mentioned, another important characteristic in the studies of the European cooperation is the ability of the actors to compete in the international market of technologies, goods, services, and ideas. How has Africa been doing collectively in the competition area?

We are in a global era of international cooperation of alliances, as no country is fully self-sufficient in terms of the availability of human and material resources and in terms of having capacity to create, innovate, manage and share the world resources. Thus, it is necessary to assume that African states would also be able to benefit collectively or individually from their relationship with their former European colonial masters.

International Cooperation between the United States and Africa: A General Perspective[4]

It is through the United States foreign and economic policies that one can identify elements of the U.S. cooperation with Africa. The nature of the relationship between the United States and Africa had been shaped by several centuries of transatlantic slavery (which started officially in 1607 and ended in 1886), the development of capitalism, and the rise of the United States as the superpower. Despite cosmetic changes, the essence of the relationship more or less reflects consistency with a conservative historic profile. This section is a reflection on the patterns of the relationship in a generalized descriptive perspective. It is a summary of ideas and thoughts, and policies, which have historically guided the United States official development assistance or aid to Africa.

Behind any relations, there is a worldview, ideology, or imagination of a human society. This assumption is also relevant in international relations between less industrialized countries and industrialized ones.

Before the two World Wars, the American attitude toward Africa was generally marked by relative disinterest. No substantial interests or investments similar to those in Asia and South America were made in Africa. The latter was considered mainly as an "appendage of Europe," and African problems were associated with European colonial concerns trying, somehow, to dissociate the transatlantic enslavement from the colonial experiences.

However, the U.S. policy has never been constantly and permanently static. As Michael Clough stated:

> One of the major reasons that shifting geopolitical currents so affect American policy toward Africa is the fact that United States has few tangible interests there. The existence of significant widely recognized economic and strategic interests—such as those the United States has in Western Europe, Japan, and the Persian Gulf states—directs and to a certain extent stabilizes policy.... Where interests are limited or ambiguous, as in the case of Africa, policy is much more sensitive to the changing moods of U.S. domestic constituencies and the reaction of midlevel officials in Washington. (1992: 14)

The pluralistic American ruling elite in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century was facing many internal socioeconomic problems due to the structures of colonialism, slavery and the North-South racial and cultural divide, and various industrial conflicts. Its political economy was still relatively weak in technology and management. This was the age of isolationism. Later neo-isolationism was based on the delusion that America could best provide for its economic and security interest by "resisting entangling alliances and collective action" (Shepherd 1996: 3). This delusion was also entertained by the fear of other cultures and ethnocentrism of the Anglo-Saxons, which contradicts what America is about it—a multicultural society.

Before 1945, Africa was known in the United States mainly by the presence of black people in America and Europeans in Africa with no dynamic historical interpretation of the work of the American colonization society (ACS) in the creation of Liberia. This work was perceived by the American elite as part of the liberation mission of the United States in Africa. Furthermore, the United States participated in the transatlantic slave trade and in the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference, where the European ruling elites (monarchs and dictators) divided up Africa for their own economic interests.

In the early twentieth century, American pronouncements on freedom and anticolonialism were somewhat "romantic" and rhetorical. The United States did not support any nationalist movements in Africa. For instance,

the creation of the reactionary Jonas Savimbi of the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—who was fully supported by the United States—was given a mission to stop the establishment of a socialist government in Angola and Southern Africa, as was the case in the Democratic Republic of Congo. União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) was created in 1975 to fight the recognized official government in Luanda because it was led by the leftist nationalist forces. Savimbi was hailed as a "freedom fighter" by President Ronald Reagan. Cold War politics played a determining role in this support.

The contemporary economic history between Africa and the United States was characterized not by strong and continuous positive linkages between them. The expansion of the world economy and development of its productive forces, decolonization movements, and the expansion of communist ideology brought the United States into action in Africa.

In fact, beginning in 1945, the United States gradually and aggressively started to become one of the solid investors in African and world economies:

> In 1900, American private foreign investments were small by comparison with Europe's—$500 m. to Britain's $12,000 m. and France's $600 m. By 1930, the growth rate of America's foreign investments had already overleaped those of Britain, standing at $17,000 m. against the latter's $19,000 m. and way ahead of France's $7,000 m. America's foreign investment position was supreme by 1949—$19,000 m. against Britain's $12,000 m., the level at which it had opened the century. France's level had sunk to $2,000 m. The First World War eliminated Germany's foreign investments and reduced those of France; the Second World War eliminated Germany, Italy and Japan. The American government, moreover, had added $14,000 m. to its monopolists' $19,000 m. of private foreign investments. (Nkrumah 1963: 57)

After 1945, a new international economic and political order was promoted. Goods, services, and capital were intended to circulate with relative speed and freedom through this new order. Yet direct American investments, trade, and economic assistance were still minimal, despite the world system already reaching or altering all essential African social and power relations. Political elites in the United States began to project American power to almost all the areas outside of the communist block. This was mainly due to two reasons: economics and strategy. After the emergence of Communist Soviet Union and China, the world became divided into blocks, which made the search for alliances a necessity.

From John F. Kennedy to Barack H. Obama, American presidents have recognized that Africa has become a reality in the world political scene. However, the level of knowledge about Africa, her cultures and peoples in

the United States is still meager. Africa is still perceived very much as "the dark continent," while she is part of the essence of the American social fabric. However, this continent is not isolated from the dynamics of the world politics. It has been playing a role in the international division of labor and in modern market systems. American relations with Africa started to take a visibly different shape when John F. Kennedy became the chairperson of the Subcommittee on Africa of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. As Arthur Schlesinger stated:

> In this capacity, he [Kennedy] warned his colleagues about the new energy bursting forth in the Dark Continent, call it nationalism call it anti-colonialism, call it what you will he said in 1959, Africa is going through revolution. The word is out and spreading like wildfire in nearly a thousand languages and dialects—that it is no longer necessary to remain forever in bondage. He advocated sympathy with independence movements, programs of economic and education assistance, and as a goal of American policy, a strong Africa. (1974: 511)

The U.S. Senate in 1959 concluded that the dynamic character of the African people's drive toward self-government indicated that the colonial system in Africa, as elsewhere, was fast running its course and that the United States policy should be guided by the expectation of the primacy of Africans in all of Sub-Saharan Africa.

It should be emphasized that movement of the United States toward Africa was not based on any form of support vis-à-vis real decolonization efforts, but rather on goals and plan of disintegrating the legacy of the colonial empires and replacing it with a new legacy of "modern capitalism."

For example, the early 1960s, for example, the United States was involved in joint actions in politico-military blocks to support its new client regimes. It supported actions of local political parties in the 1980s through transnational financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. As Donald Snow and Eugene Brown stated: "In Africa, for example, a disproportionate share of U.S. assistance has gone to five states which at various times figured prominently in Washington's strategic objectives. Those five countries—DRC, Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Somalia—actually posted lower economic growth rates than the rest of Africa from the 1960s to the 1980s" (1997: 170).

Most African countries, after earning their political independence, had tremendous economic problems. This situation permitted some significant American economic inroads. Classical relations between the United States and Africa ensured the supply of certain minerals and raw materials and their profitability to the United States. The patterns of relations are those of buyer and seller (patron-client).

American private capital in Africa was not as large as that of the ex-colonial powers. However, direct private investment from United States has been increasing yearly. For instance, in 1957, it constituted only 2% of total U.S. investment abroad. The cumulative value of investments in 1957 was about $664 million; in 1964, it was about $1,769 million; in 1967, it was about $2, 227 million; and in 1970, it rose to $3,476 million.

In 1960, total British, French, and American direct investments in Africa soared, to $6,500, $7,000, and $1,100 million respectively (Nkrumah 1963: 52). Direct private American investments increased between 1945 and 1958 from $110 million to $789 million. African countries produce materials critical to the functioning of the U.S. economy. Minerals were imported yearly to feed U.S. industries. For instance, in 1968, the United States imported from Africa a significant proportion of its iron and ferro-alloy ores, 56% of its manganese, 27% of its cobalt, 39% of its chromate, and 79% of its iron ore; 29% of its non-ferrous metals such as antimony, and 9% of its copper were all imported from Africa. In the same year, it imported many other commodities: 15% of its rubber, about 10% of its fiber, and 9% of its oil (Smith 1974: 51). In short, however, during the Cold War era, U.S. imports from, and exports, to Africa were generally minimal as Michael Clough stated:

> Exports to Africa have never accounted for a substantial proportion of total U.S. exports. U.S. imports from Africa did rise substantially in the 1970s, but this was almost entirely the result of a rise in oil prices and an increase in the volume of oil exported from Africa. By the late 1980s, U.S. imports from Africa had returned to their previously low levels. The impact of economic considerations on American policy toward the continent as whole is further limited because U.S. economic interests there are concentrated in a very few countries. (1992: 15–16)

During the Cold War era, American policy on Africa had three main components: (1) a priority for global political alliances; (2) opposition to any progressive political radicalism, especially communism or socialism; (3) expansion of capitalist commodities and the market ideology.

Until recently, the general American relationship with Africa was concentrated on seven main areas: liberalization of trade; encouragement of increased use of private capital and multinational corporations; stimulation of American private investment to meet the needs of client states; increasing support for the American nonprofit sector in international fields; increased security of the world's food system; improvement of the effectiveness of development assistance from the United States; and opposition to revolutions of any kind, especially communist revolutions.

Two of the crucial questions here are as follows: What have been the assumptions behind American policy toward Africa? And what kind of

cooperation has it produced? The premises of U.S. foreign policy and aid are summarized in the work of Robert A. Packenham, who suggested four premises: change and development are easy; all good things go together; radicalism and revolution are bad; and distributing power is more important than accumulating power (1973: 160).

American relations, including economic ones, have been guided by the above premises and supported by an economic approach that is reflected in these terms:

> There is a positive correlation between the level of economic development and the chances of democracy. More precisely, the higher the per capita G.N.P the more frequent the competitive political systems and polyarchies. Often, in the approach, economic development was seen as the main requisite or cause of political democracy. (Packenham 1973: 210)

The United States believed that economic assistance should lead to "political stability." Stability meant the capacity of the state apparatuses to function without any major disruption. It does not include the quality of performance and distributive mechanisms. Within such a premise, for instance, Ronald Reagan believed in a policy of "constructive engagement," reasoning that pulling foreign investments out of South Africa could hurt more black workers. It was assumed that if blacks became well off, they would either be assimilated into the dominant system or they would search for more peaceful means of solving their political conflicts.

In practical terms, since 1994, the average overall cuts to the foreign operations budget have been 10%–11%. Africa has been the most vulnerable among the foreign recipients. In 1992, there were 39 USAID offices in Africa. The number dropped to 26 in mid-1997 and was expected to fall to 15 by 1999/2000. Aid from the USAID's perspective was defined as highly concessional, less flexible and less predictable (Johnson and Martin 2005: 2).

President Bill Clinton, for example, focused on his program entitled: "Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa," which was aimed at providing a new attention to the continent. It was articulated on "trade and not aid motto." In 1997, he introduced to Congress the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) which, despite criticisms, was eventually passed into law in May 2000 (Lewis 2001: 113). However, Lewis confirmed that this was the outcome of the continuation of the agreements that existed between the United States and Africa, but developed into a new political tune.

The U.S. investment in Africa was around US$8 billion in 1996, while European investment reached about US$400 billion (Marshal 1998: 365). As Michael Clough also stated: "The fact is that the United States was

never the predominant economic force in Africa. Throughout the early postwar era, for example, the United States seldom accounted for more than 10 percent of total trade with Africa. In contrast, Europe accounted for well over half of Africa's trade with the world" (1992: 64).

In contrast to other regions of the world, for instance the Middle East, where the United States has a solidly permanent relationship with the state of Israel, African countries, with possible exception of Egypt and South Africa (Smith 1974), do not have any solid and predictable relationship with the United States. On the contrary, the United States only has some strategic and economic interests to pursue and protect.

After the end of Cold War era, the United States continued to develop and protect its strategic interest in rare metals. The United States encouraged its transnational corporations to have access to the natural resources in Africa, especially petroleum and minerals.

Post–September 11, 2001, based on self-defense and national security premises, produced a claim considered legitimate for the United States to consolidate its unilateral militaristic approach, as a country that was massively attacked, with the agenda of continuing to police the world in the name of searching for American enemies. The United States emphasized its new assumed responsibility to contain "terror," defend "the civilized world," and stop any "wrongdoing" wherever it is being perpetrated by employing excessive military force. The building and the maintenance of the homeland security apparatuses became the central agenda to advocate the disaster capitalism of Milton Friedman. This interpretation of imperialism implies that the United States would not put any serious efforts toward political dialogue as a tool for establishing any genuine international cooperation.

Thus, the U.S. military actions have two main purposes: first, to protect its geostrategic interests and to menace or threaten any forces that may challenge the actualization of these interests, and second, to fight extreme Islamism. The United States sees its major interest in Africa as fighting transnational threats including Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism, narcotrafficking, and humanitarian disasters (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2004: 120).

The United States has maintained military alliances in many countries such as those which are part of pan Sahel Initiative, namely Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Chad. It has bilateral defense accords with countries such as Liberia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Rwanda, Egypt, Morocco, several countries in Southern Africa, and very recently in the Democratic Republic of Congo, to cite only a few. The United States has military presence/accords in more than 130 countries around the world. Every subregion of the continent is represented among these countries.

The basis of the perceptions of, and approaches for, the United States' building partnership with Africa should be assessed from the U.S. foreign policy dictum that it does not have any permanent friends, but only permanent interests to protect and also from its world status as superpower. However, during the Cold War era, U.S. foreign policy was weighted disporportionally on the notion of national security and its power struggle dimensions. Thus, despite changes of administrations, one of the factors that remain constant within the U.S. foreign policy has been the focus on national interests. These interests, though diverse in terms of their origins (pluralistic interest concept: the market, the state, and various economic groups, etc.) are singularly conceptualized as those pursued by the state. The state interests are conceived as national security and strategic interests. Discourses on the concept of international cooperation in the United States are shaped from the perspective of the centrality of what United States can or would gain, control, and sell strategically to position itself as a superpower.

In terms of the core issues that are generally addressed in international cooperation, the United States' relations toward Africa under the Barack Hussein Obama administration are not philosophically different from those of the past administrations, despite a different approach and a different perception of Africa as Obama favors dialogue/diplomacy over militarism. Furthermore, the relationships are framed with a full symbolism and personal pride from both sides: Obama's pride of his heritage and the African people's pride of his African roots in Kenya. However, based on the facts and speeches he has delivered, including his well-publicized recent trips to Cairo in Egypt and Accra in Ghana, his foreign policy toward Africa is eclectic at best. It tends to cover almost everything, though Africa is not part of Obama's priorities like Russia and the Middle East.

In Cairo on June 4, 2009, he put an emphasis on religion, peace, respect for the cultural differences, women's equality, and the reconciliation between Muslims and Christians, Islamic extremism and international terrorism. And in Ghana on July 11, 2009, his speech includes a personal story of his journey, the need for democracy, accountability, responsibility, the end of conflicts, interconnectedness among nations and people, and the need for new partnership. As he stated, in an excerpt of his speech in Accra, Ghana on July 2009: "We provide this support, I have directed my Administration to give greater attention to corruption in our Human Rights report. People everywhere should have the right to start a business or get an education without paying a bribe. We have a responsibility to support those who act responsibly and to isolate those who don't, and that is exactly what America will do."

He did not provide any blueprint that reflects some kind of doctrines that show the differences between his administration and the Bill Clinton's, for instance. But international cooperation will also evolve in the next few years on the issues of progress of liberal democracy, good governance, and the major African problem: poverty with social implications in engendering conflicts.

Despite the current financial and economic crises and President Obama's emphasis on international cooperation and collective dialogue, the United States is yet not ready militarily, economically, and politically to share this power status with anyone else. Furthermore, another permanent dimension of the U.S.foreign policy is its universalist concept of human rights and democracy even when the United States did not strategically support them, as it was the case in Africa during Cold War politics where the United States systematically supported the most brutal regimes such as the Mobutu's regime in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nimeiri of Sudan, etc. Thus, the national security interest, the superpower status, the strategic interests and the pursuit of the human rights, and democracy shape the United States' international cooperation approaches regardless of prevailing contradictions. The United States uses carrot and stick to advance its international cooperation with any country, rewarding friends and punishing recalcitrant associates or nationalists and those who are perceived and classified as villains.

The United States' international cooperation philosophy with Africa is conditioned by the agenda of militarism, the deterministic policy to have access to strategic resources, and the acceleration of neoliberal integration of Africa into the world economy. With US$5 billion of the United States' foreign aid to Africa each year starting from 2009, which President Obama promised to raise to US$10 billions in 2012, will the United States move away from paternalistic trends of its partnership with Africa? Thus, national security interest, the market and mild interest on democracy are the important factors which tend to shape the nature of the United States' relations with Africa at large.

Within the existing economic crisis, it is doubtful that, besides a slight increase in foreign aid as indicated above, any other substantive change in budget allocations is to be made, especially in development aid to Africa, unless the Obama administration succeeds in balancing the U.S. budget first; and second, the U.S. economy starts to grow. According to President Obama, the advancement of the new U.S.-Africa cooperation will depend on how democracy would be advanced and consolidated, and how corruption will be eradicated from the governmental practices in Africa. He has not yet, in a systematic way and with specific terms, spelled out clearly the United States national and strategic interests in Africa. Africa is a very

rich continent in raw materials, including new oil discovery in the Golf of Guinea in West Africa. It has also a large population of Muslims. As I referred to eclecticism of his foreign policy earlier, President Obama seems to combine elements of the neorealism and classical idealism in articulating the United States' international cooperation in Africa. The foreign policy elements include national security needs, the fight against international terrorism, the promotion of democracy as instrumental means for articulating the U.S. interests, and the encouragement of Africa's integration into global free market through the channel of Made-in-the United States.

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Chapter Seven
Concept of Peace and the Japanese Economic Development Model

The Place and Role of Peace within the Foundation of the Contemporary Japanese Politics

Contemporary Japan has not produced an important number of the Nobel Prize winners in peace who could internationally contribute to publicize the place and the values of peace in and beyond Japan. Nor has it produced a major political figure, peace or intellectual activist such as Mahatma Gandhi, Mother Teresa, or Nelson Mandela who would be perceived as an incarnation of peace, as such he/she would elevate the debate on peace in the public arena. For instance, the United States received 23 Nobel Peace Prize winners between 1901 and 2004 (American President Barack Obama also won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2009), the United Kingdom 12, France 9, Switzerland 10, while Japan only had 1.

Yet, the Japanese state has been more concerned with the peace issue in practical terms than the countries that have won the Nobel Peace Prizes. Many Japanese believe in peace as an important social behavior and a policy guide to advance national and international development agendas in a non-pacific and turbulent world. It is also true that in the field of economics Japan did not receive any Nobel Prize either in the same period indicated above while the United States received 55, the United Kingdom 35, France 1, and Switzerland none. But the Japanese economic development model has also been intensely debated in the world system more so than any single model in each country mentioned, except that of the United States because of its size and its centrality in the international political economy.

In this chapter, I examine the concept of peace in relation to the nature and status of the Japanese economic development model in order to understand its philosophical, economic, and political significance in Japan-Africa relations. How much has the concept of peace been embodied in the Japanese foreign cooperation or economic relationships with Africa, if at

all? How has it been translated into Japanese relations with Africa? Is peace a policy principle that has been guiding these relations? Has the concept of peace been pragmatically a central variable in determining the Japanese foreign relations with African states in the context of global neorealism?

In an attempt to answer some of the above questions, it is necessary to recall some dimensions of the process of the Japanese state formation, which have previously been examined in other chapters, especially the chapter four. For instance, some key Articles of the Japanese Constitution are cited again and though in a limited manner.

This section, which is based on an interpretation of specific Articles of the Japanese Constitution, is written as an essay to critically define what peace is in the Japanese society either as a motivating factor, a political guideline, or an instrument of its foreign relations.

I discuss the nature of the relationship between the concept of peace and the Japanese economic development model as supported by the Japanese constitutional foundation and political propositions and arguments. I am not analyzing in depth the historic etymology of the expression peace. Its general contemporary usage within international relations is well understood by philosophers and the practitioners. However, it is necessary to clarify how it is used in the context of this book. Thus, I want to identify and discuss the question of whether or not the concept of peace has been the foundation of the Japanese politics since World War II.

No contemporary nation-state has been able to develop or progress nationally in any sustainable manner in a war situation or warlike conditions. Western European nations-states, for instance, have progressed more rapidly and sustainably starting at the end of War World II, when they partially decided not to continue to wage wars against one another. Liberal democracy, colonialism, and capitalism were instrumental ideologies used for the material advancement, increase of living standards and scientific progress of those countries. Furthermore, despite the continuing exploitation of other people and countries, their democracies facilitated the process of peaceful negotiations and understanding among them, allowing more people's participation in the affairs of their states. It is not clear, however, whether the same phenomenon that has contributed to development or enormous progress in Western Europe, which is the absence of any major war, can be characterized philosophically as the foundation upon which the nation-states ought to be built worldwide. While European democracies have not been fighting among themselves since World War II, they have continuously engaged in internal and regional fights in less industrial countries in order to advance or maintain their interests.

Contemporary Japanese nation-states can be described as being among the very few countries, such as Costa Rica, that are built in pacific

institutions. Its political culture (political beliefs) claims to be essentially peaceful.

In general, there are at least four major functional sources of peace in contemporary Japanese society: (1) Constitution of 1947; (2) Treaty of San Francisco of 1952; (3) ODA Charter of 1992; (4) the United Nations' agreements, conventions, covenants, and treaties. The interpretation and actualization of these sources, their specific definitions and meanings, and their philosophical foundations reflect a high level of "consensus of interdependency" within the country among the Japanese people. However, their actual translations into policies depend very much on how the national political culture of peace has been accepted, produced, and maintained in a complicated relationship between the political elite and citizens, and the concerted vision of their society. In short, each actualization has to be part of the equation of social progress and social cohesion. Though I pay attention to how the concept of peace has been used and promoted in other sources, the focus here is on how it has been articulated by, and in, the ODA Charter and what foreign policy implications of such an articulation have been conceived for Africa?

Peace is among the most used and ideally valued expression in the world during and in the post–World War era by the states, international institutions and academics. Its definitions depend on the school of thought in which the definer or the user is intellectually and ideologically located, and development and recently democracy being perhaps the next most popularly used expressions.

Despite the fact that its meanings and content may vary from one culture to another or one political situation to another or one social class to another, it can be agreed upon that peace has some universal meanings and that the concept also has universal applications, which have been used in world constitutions and international conventions. It is not an abstract concept. In the Western world and its literatures, the most popular view that has been adopted in international and multinational organizations has been that peace implies the absence of dissension, violence, or war. Peace, however, is also seen as concord, or harmony and tranquility. In the East, it is viewed and used as peace of mind or serenity. In some African languages, it connotes happiness.

Peace is more than psychological disposition or physical capacities of an individual or society to reject violence or like conditions. It is not only a state of human mind, but also more importantly, a state of equilibrium of social and physical being. Furthermore, it does not only connote the absence of war, torture, and abuse of various forms, but it is also a dynamic concept that involves a legal, political, and cultural process that implies stability and progress at the individual and societal levels. It does not only

technically describe the physical absence of violence. It is defined as a state of law or civil government, a state of justice or goodness, a balance or equilibrium of powers. It is used in this framework as an international convention term, a philosophical norm, and the state of mind.

By a simple definition, the nation-state formation is generally a complex process through which a state is created or born through either some forms of revolution, national liberation movements, civil wars, people's revolts, political negotiation among the elites, or military occupations. The process of setting up institutions, creating agencies and making sure that the rules of the new games are partially or fully accepted upon which policies can be formulated and implemented may be gradual, violent, peaceful, or rapid, depending on the combination of factors that may determine the nature of such a process. Certain dominant cultural, legal, political, and economic conditions must be met for a contemporary nation-state to be born and become functionally legitimate and internationally accepted.

However, though the sources of peace vary in the world of the states, most of them share common bases and common ideals of peace related to the interdependency of the world and universality of humanity. What is unique about the situation of peace in Japan's model of economic development, and what are its implications for Africa? Nester William explains, in the following citation, a perspective that will be critically examined and expanded in this section:

> The trauma of Japan's devastating defeat during World War II convinced its leaders that militarism was a completely bankrupt means of achieving the nation's foreign policy goals. Instead, Tokyo has single-mindedly used neomercantilism—a combination of industrial targeting at home, the export of those products into a rapidly expanding world economy, and import barriers against competitive foreign products, all under the shelter of America's nuclear umbrella, its vast, largely open market and the sale of its advanced technology at bargain-basement prices. (Nester 1992: 8–9)

Contemporary Japan in the "caricature" and reality of bipolarity since the 1950s has been shaped by the theory of peace that developed out of the ashes of the atomic bombs, and Japan's political and economic pragmatism in a new world political and economic order in which Japan had to play an important and constructive role. In mid-1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally following the dropping of the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is therefore necessary to define the concept of peace as perceived and defined in contemporary Japan in order to understand its implications in international relations and world political economy. What is the content of peace? How has peace been incorporated into its international relations?

One of the important issues to be raised is that the world of the states is not a world endowed by or with peace. Realism advances that the Hobbesian state of nature reveals more the behaviors and the characters of the nation-states than idealism that was articulated in liberal thought of the eighteenth century in Western Europe, especially in France and Great Britain. Since the Peace Accords of Westphalia in 1648, Western European kingdoms, empires, mini-states and independent territories have produced more wars than any other parts of the world. In most cases, until the twentieth century many multilaterally and bilaterally attempts at peace through various treaties did not lead to the establishment of intended solid peace and security in the world. The above-generalized historical propositions are mentioned as a context to locate the arguments about the meaning and success of peace in Japan.

The Postwar Japanese Constitution is defined as being essentially a pacifist Constitution. As such, in principle, Japanese development model and its international relations should be guided by this pacifism. The word peace and/or its related expressions shape most dimensions of this Constitution both in terms of its conceptualization of domestic policy and politics and its pragmatism in its international relations. In the preamble of the Japanese Constitution as well as in Article 9, and in other Articles such as Articles 11, 14, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 89, etc., the references to peace, people's sovereignty, freedom, human rights, equality and justice, are more noted than any other expressions.

The Constitution of Japan was passed by the Diet on October 7, 1946. It was promulgated on November 3, 1946 and went into effect on May 3, 1947. As indicated elsewhere in the preamble of the Japanese Constitution, the centrality of the concept of peace is clearly articulated as it states:

> We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationships, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace loving of the world. We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and tolerance for all time from earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have rights to live in peace, free from fear and want…

Peace is a human and social desire, an aspiration as defined in Article 9 of the Constitution which states: "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace [we] renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of peace a means of settling international disputes." It follows: "In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air

forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerence of the state will not be recognized."

The notion of peace in the Japanese Constitution is not a relative term. Rather, it was conceived and fabricated as an absolute expression of the state. It is a non-negotiable right and duty. It touches on most of the rights and obligations of both the state and citizens. As a central vital concept, all the Japan's economic and political activities should be geared toward the actualization of multidimensional aspects of the peace effort at the national, regional, and global levels.

The source of peace in the Japanese state formation and its international development scheme is articulated from political reality of the global world as it is stated in the preamble of the Japanese Constitution:

> We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal, and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other nations.

With confidence toward political stability and economic achievement, the Japanese state started in the 1960s to develop a sense of responsibility and duty for contributing to the global peace. As a new economic force, Japan felt that it had to attract the people to discover new Japan through its development achievements, which are based on peace, industrialization, and political stability. In 1964, travel restrictions were greatly eased, and Japanese started traveling overseas in numbers. In 1970, the World Exposition was held in Osaka, and again Japan was able to proudly display its prosperity and major nation status.

The concept of the Japanese peace is not a peripheral behavior. It is part of the definition of the state ontology. Japan cannot use military force to invade any other country. However, there have been new pressures and rising demands for Japan within the dynamics of economic globalization to "become a conventional superpower in order to ensure the security and privilege of its capital especially in Asia" (Yoneyama 2002: 200). Japan has a right to use its military force for self-defense. It has recently elevated the defense from an agency to a full ministry. Shoko Yoneyama, citing Watanabe Osamu, argued that:

> At the time the new "Defense-Guideline" Law was passed in 1999, Japan had reached a new stage as a superpower, possessing independent military force. According to Watanabe, this had added to pressures to revise the Constitution, which in turn stirred the calls for nationalism to be nurtured through education. (Ibid.)

Peace as the Foundation of Official Development Assistance (ODA)

It is strongly suggested in the 1947 Japanese Constitution that teleologically the concept of peace ought to be the foundation of the Japanese development and the Japanese foreign relations. The development of post–World War II Japan has been articulated on the premise of peace as the basis for economic and social development. As compared to the patterns of industrialization and development of other countries in the Global North (especially those which are located in Western Europe and the United States), contemporary Japan did not industrialize based on the development that was directly supported by military sciences and the expansion of military industrial complexes. Japanese development and the nature of its bureaucracy have been historically influenced by past military values and disciplines, as well as development, which are part of the Japanese traditions, and Japan has been indirectly benefiting from the technological progress in the military sciences through the United States' security agreement. However, its ontological development was conceived as essentially pacific.

In the ODA Charter that was approved by the Cabinet in February 1992, peace is articulated in its interrelated way as follows:

> It is an important mission for Japan, as a peace-loving nation, to play a role commensurate with its position in the world to maintain world peace and ensure global prosperity. Bearing these points in mind, Japan attaches central importance to the support for self-help efforts of developing countries towards economic take-off. It will therefore implement its ODA to help ensure the efficient and fair distribution of resources and "good governance" in developing countries through developing a wide range of human resources and social economic infrastructure, including domestic systems and through the basic human needs (BHN), thereby promoting the sound development of the recipient countries.

In another Extract from the Charter was referred to on August 29, 2003, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Economic Cooperation Bureau and cited by Toshio Watanabe, it is stipulated:

> The most important philosophy of Japan's ODA is to support self-help efforts of developing countries based on good government, by extending cooperation for human resource development, institutional building, including development of legal systems, and economic and social infrastructure building, which constitute the basis for these countries' development. Accordingly, Japan respects the ownership by developing, and places priorities on their own development strategies. In carrying out the above policy, Japan will give priority to assisting developing countries that make

> active efforts to pursue, democratization, and the protection of human rights, as well as structural reform in the economic and social spheres. (2006: 15)

The recommendations of the members of the Policy Council of the Japan Forum on International Relations in October 1992 on "the Strengthening of the UN Peace Function and Japan's Role" inform us how deeply the concept of peace is ingrained in the Japan's international policy discourse. It is necessary to cite a few excerpts among the nine Policy Recommendations made by the Policy Council in order to identify the place of peace in the Japanese international affairs. For instance, the recommendation number 1 states:

> Japan, which aspires "sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order." (Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution) must play a positive role in all aspects of peace function of the United Nations. To do so is not only a contribution to world peace but also in Japan's own best interest. Japan's contribution to the U.N. peace function begins with a creative formulation of the concept of peace, and includes financial cooperation as well as dispatch of personnel. The U.N. peace activities are not, with the exception of some segments of peace enforcing operations, accompanied by the use of military force. But even in peace-enforcing operations, there are quite a few areas where non-military means are quite effective, and non-military personnel can commensurate with its resourcefulness and permissible within the limits of its internal conditions. Japan today, peacekeeping is the most pressing issue of all the areas of the U.N. peace function, and therefore, our present recommendations necessarily focus on peacekeeping operations. (1992: 6)

In the recommendation number 8, for example, it is stated that:

> . . . Japan's economic capability will contribute toward positively enhancing its role in promoting peaceful persuasion. Even when there is an imminent danger of armed clash, or actual aggression has been committed, the first measures to be taken are such non-military acts as economic sanctions and the termination of diplomatic relations. (Ibid.: 12)

It is clear that the concept of peace in Japan has a deeper political significance in the Japanese psyche and its political culture, and that it has broader domestic and international policy implications than in any other industrialized countries, which did not have the Japanese experience with atomic bombs. It is so because first of all, peace is defined as the wellbeing criterion of the Japanese state and its citizens. Second of all, within the values of political culture as discussed in other parts of this book, the

majority of Japanese came to believe after World War II that peace is the most ultimate objective toward the achievement of political stability and economic development. It was conceived as a philosophical foundation of being a state. Third of all, peace has been perceived as an embodiment of goodness for Japanese. A "consensus" has emerged among the Japanese and their society at large that can be called "the political culture of peace." The concept of political culture is about the dominant social values, philosophical, and political norms and principles, and the established traditions that shape the Japanese democracy, and Japanese perceptions and images of themselves in the world system. It is the source of confidence and trust.

It is necessary to mention about the Japanese pursuit of peace that Japan is not only the second largest contributor to the general UN budget but also the second largest contributor to peacekeeping. Japan's contribution to the UN budget has risen recently from 16.75% in 1997 and 1998 to 19.98% in 1999, and then to 20.573% in the year 2,000. Japan and the United States have been separated only with a 4.5% difference. Moreover, considering the fact that the United States has been withholding its payments to the UN since 1980, Japan has become de facto the number one contributor to the UN budget. As of 2009, the United States owes no less than 1.6 billion dollars in arrears. President Barack Obama has pledged to restore funding to the United Nations. Japan needs its credibility in the United Nations system in order to sell its notion of peace with confidence and in pragmatic terms.

ODA, as defined by the Japanese Diet, has also been guided by a certain level of humanism, universalism, and interdependence, which should, in principle, be important factors for articulating peace in the international development arena. ODA was intended to promote peace and political stability.

The themes related to peace and political stability set up in the new Charter continued to be the object of further discussions among the members of the political elite. In Cabinet meetings in the 1990s, members of the government reiterated their commitment to the philosophical mission of ODA in linking it to the fate of the world. They thought that ODA should be used to solve peoples' social and economic problems related to famine and poverty in the developing countries.

By and large, from a humanitarian viewpoint, the international community cannot afford to ignore the fact the great majority of people in the world are poor. This new mission should be articulated on the basis of interdependence among nation-states of the international community. The motivation behind ODA is that stability and further development in

developing world is indispensable to the peace and prosperity of the entire world.

Despite criticisms of aspects of the feasibility of ODA, the Japanese government used it effectively as a new strategy in world affairs.

It should be mentioned that the recent shift in Japanese foreign policy after the end of Cold War politics, in using democracy, basic human rights, and good government as criteria or conditionalities in international cooperation, reflects an important strategic interpretation in the Japanese international relations. Historically, Japan has had particular skills and cultural confidence for adopting new strategies of survival and/or social and technological progress in a world of competition as reflected, for instance, in most parts of the Meiji restoration. Its strength of adaptability and adoptability is probably due to the fact that Japanese seem to practically have some "obsession" with their various interpretations of their own history and culture. As Andrew Gordon indicated:

> At the same time, the campaigns of the late Meiji years did put in place organizations that promoted nationalistic and patriotic ideals with new energies. They reinforced an orthodox view of Japanese-ness. This centered on a set of nested loyalties—of youths to adults, women to men, tenants to landlords, workers to bosses, soldiers and subjects to the emperor and the state. People had room to maneuver and even to challenge this system at times, but the political order of imperial Japan had a power constraining force as well. (2003: 137)

Appropriation and the practice of peace became part of the political culture of the contemporary Japan-ness or its national ethos. From different perspectives, socialists, labor unionists, and other leftist groups were active during and after the Japanese Occupation. They all generally contributed to the perceptions of the concept of peace that became part of the existing Japanese political culture.

The vague and general view about the image of strength of the Japanese adaptability and adoptability I painted above could also be challenged by those who may argue that contemporary Japanese state has borrowed a lot (or perhaps too much) from the rest of the world, especially Europe and the United States, and that the magnitude of borrowing in itself may embody something that reflects the weakness, vulnerability and fragility in the meanings of Japanese own being. This is not the position this author has supported.

Nevertheless, it should be indicated that philosophical or ideological foundation of ODA has not been fixed or explained fully on a single social sciences' school of thought or paradigm. ODA strategies have

been changing the responses to both the local political demands and the dynamics of liberal globalization. This explanation is fully developed in the chapter on ODA.

It should also be mentioned that in some government documents, it is indicated that it is Japan's duty ("*Nihon no gimu*") to help the poorer countries. In other documents, the meaning of this expression is reinforced by referring to aid as the cost that Japan must pay to help maintain peace. These costs require efforts ("*doryoku*"), but only when it is economically feasible ("*keizairyo-ku ni miatta*") (Nishigaki, and Shimomura 1997: 57).

Within the framework of new reforms in MOFA's mission in the early 1990s, a new moral strategy was injected in the Japanese foreign policy practices, namely "people-centered" elements in the ODA practices. The new emphasis of the ODA was on the areas of basic human needs. As a result, with the ODA designed programs, the Japanese government began to collaborate with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and the grassroot movements. Furthermore, through and with the ODA, the government started to put an emphasis on the quality of aid rather than on the quantity of aid. The issue of quality is more of a moral issue than an economistic one.

Japanese Economic Development Model

As already discussed in other sections, the field of economic development deals with the complex policies and mechanisms of how individuals, societies, and states and their agencies produce and consume goods and services through the complex processes of industrialization, marketization, and import-exports. It is also about how these policies positively and concretely can change or transform human conditions and how they are sustained. Furthermore, in a non-econometrics approach, economic development concerns how the systems of production and consumption are managed, how goods and services are distributed, and how they are owned.

Thus given the complexity of these mechanisms and processes in the contemporary world of the states, in the past 30 years, the discussion on the development index or indicators has exploded. No longer is the gross national product (GNP) or gross domestic product (GDP) per capita considered a sufficient tool for measuring any degree or the quality of development. The quality of development, its origins, and the number of people involved in its processes have become the determining factors for defining economic development. However, expenditures in the targeted priority areas of national development are still important in locating the

distribution of resources. These processes did not start in Japan with its Occupation by the United States and its allies. The establishment of the MITI (Ministry of Trade and Industry) in 1949 was instrumental in the coordination and initiative taking toward the development of Japan.

As Fukunari Kimura stated: "Barely escaping colonization by western powers, it (Japan) went through the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and started building a modern nation state under the strategy of *fukoku kyohei* ('enrich the country,' 'strengthen the military') and *shokusan kogyo* ('promote industries')" (2009: 1). What became different in these strategies after War World II is that the military was no longer in the equation of the ontology of industrialization and development as it was the case in some European countries. Rather, the concept of peace has become an important philosophical ground for thinking about development in a pragmatic manner.

Much has been written and published about the Japanese economic development model, especially after 1945. This section is not about an economistic interpretation of the Japanese model of development. It is not intended either on intensifying an explanation on the historicity of the model, its origins, and its structures between 1945 and the present. Although the dimensions of the historicity are projected into the analysis, the main purpose is to identify the main characteristics of the Japanese economic model in post World War II period and examine how it is reflected in the nature of the Japanese economic and political relations with Africa.

The discussion on major features of the Japanese economic development model helps understand some particularities of such a model within the framework of global capitalism and how these particularities have been influencing Japanese economic relations with other nation-states. As Fukunari Kimura stated:

> Japan was the first non-western country to accomplish successful industrialization, and the dominant perception of its "industrial policy" had emphasized specific characteristics of the people or the economy of Japan. This generated a lot of unwarranted "myths." However, from the perspective of today's development thinking, Japan's economic history is qualitatively no different from the usual economic development of other countries. A number of factors had an impact on Japan's development and these are still common today in the less developed countries (LDCs): the importance of macroeconomic stability, human capital development, and economic infrastructure. However, we must also be aware of the external economic conditions that differ from the LDCs today. The period of the 1950s–60s was not affected by the current globalization phenomenon: foreign borrowing was much more difficult to obtain, and the perception of hosting foreign direct investment (FDI) was largely negative as well. At that time,

> the emphasis of development strategies was to seek indigenous development with minimal dependency on foreign economic forces. (2009: 1)

This long quotation refers to what Japanese economic history has in common with other industrialized countries (the foundation of its myths), but also what it has for itself. The evolution of this model projects a dynamism that has historically been expanding throughout several decades and has been shaped by external and internal various sources and factors. "The war caused total devastation, and Japan had to restart from ruins. It took almost ten years to bring production back to the prewar level. But Japan did achieve a notable economic growth in 1955–73, which pushed the economy to full-scaled industrialization, to become the second largest economy in the western world" (Kimura 2009: 2).

The urgency of the initial situation called for the setting up of a special emergency fund that contributed to the acceleration of the process of reindustrialization of Japan. But it had to count first on itself, though it had a full support from the allies, especially the United States, and the newly established transnational financial institutions. It had to develop its own sources of goods, especially in the agricultural sector.

Foreign investment strategies, for instance, which are regarded today as the engines of industrialization, were not considered priorities for Japan in the 1940s and 1950s, but the concept of peace as a new state's guideline to establish and promote the interests of the state played an important role directly or indirectly in the Japanese postwar economic development policy.

Thus, obviously, Japanese pre-war economic policy was not equal or the same as policies rooted in post war economic and political demands and exigencies. As Lairson and Skidmore stated:

> In the 1950s and 1960s Japan faced a situation not unlike that of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: catch-up. Almost from the beginning of the postwar era, Japan's political and economic leaders were determined to move into the rank of the major industrial nations. They were unwilling to rely on the obvious comparative advantage of low wages and instead aimed to make Japan a nation of capital-intensive and high-technology production . . . The government acted to move the economy in these directions by mobilizing capital, establishing economic priorities, organizing large and economically powerful cartels, protecting certain industries, managing the foreign trade process, and providing guidance for investment. This industrial policy was designed to direct economic development and compensate for Japanese backwardness and economic weakness. (2003: 198–199)

This citation provides elements of the political direction undertaken by the Japanese leaders, and the nature of the economic objectives pursued in the competitive world economy.

The importance of the discussion in this section is partially due to the fact that Japan has been declaring and claiming, especially after the end of Cold War era, that its economic assistance or its economic cooperation with Africa is pivoted on the principle of the self-help and not the imperialist oriented kind of relationship that feeds dependency. Thus, it is assumed that, to benefit from the Japan-Africa relations, African states should have developed their own priorities based on their own needs within the framework of the self-help doctrine. In this reasoning, it is suggested that African states and people should be in charge of their economic and political destinies, and Japan could also assist Africa if Africans would be first willing to help themselves. In the section on education, the concept of self-help was fully defined.

It is important to emphasize that Japan did not develop or industrialize either through the standards of green revolution which was developed in many Western European countries, and which was adopted and tried also in India, industrial revolution of Great Britain, or the Russian model of revolution (the proletarian revolution), American Bourgeois revolution, or the Chinese People's revolution. Although contemporary Japan borrowed elements from previous local history and Western reforms, and the ideals of the bourgeois revolutions, it was the initial political decision of the Emperor to industrialize Japan that led to economic change or economic development in Japan. This unilateral decision has embodied, without any doubt, the top-down approach, an elitist model with a societal objective. The processes and phases of economic development can be considered as planned, gradual, focused, and selective. Furthermore, the large-scale economic development or industrialization was first promoted as part of a broad political agenda by the Japanese leaders in order to protect their country from becoming a European colony.

The motivation for challenging the Western colonial power has to be appreciated within a broader political perspective. Japanese imperial power had a vision for its subjects and an agenda for itself and the world. It intended to take the Japanese to modernization without necessarily following the determined Rostowian stages and their linear logic that the Western European countries, including the United States, respected and followed. The Japanese "moved consciously, nonetheless, shifting from a land intensive growth patterns, before moving onto more sophisticated capital and technological intensive output and export mixes" (Ohkawa et al. 1989: 16).

As fully expanded in the section on education, it should be reiterated that in the Japanese economic model, the place and role of human resources are important factors within the initial conditions that pushed for and supported development of the whole society. For instance, the diffusion of the

mass culture and practical education was part of the discourse of human capital theory. In addition, the spread and the breath of the adoption and adaptation of technology during the Meiji Restoration are reflection of the ability of the imperial power and political elite to reach the whole society in order to end feudalism.

Japan's development model expanded through a coalition and convergence of various interests but with strong sense of a nationalist agenda and purposes. As Lairson and Skidmore stated:

> By the mid-1950s, a dominant political coalition had been formed composed of the bureaucracy, big business and finance, and a conservative political organization, the Liberal Democratic Party. Business interests provided the money, and the bureaucracy supplied much of the political leadership. Genuinely liberal or radical political interests were systematically excluded from political power. This coalition was able to establish a very strong state based on its institutional resources and a national consensus on the need for economic growth. (2003: 198)

Although the influence of other political forces such as the leftists in qualitatively contributing to a different rereading of the Japanese political and social history is limited, it should be re-called that historically the leftists have relatively been vocal in the formation of the contemporary Japanese Welfare State, as they were part of the anti-imperial power movement and anti-feudalism. They were associated with the new democratic agenda and political forces before, during, and in the post–World War II Japan. As Gordon explained:

> This small group of socialists staked out increasingly militant positions after the war. In 1906, they led protests against increased streetcar fares that ended with minor riots. In 1908, sixteen of them were arrested at a rally featuring flags emblazoned with words "Anarchism and Communism." Three years later, a handful of activities in the socialist camp plotted to assassinate the Meiji emperor. The police uncovered the plan and used it as a pretext to arrest a far large number of socialists. Twelve of these people were executed in what came to be called the Great Treason Incident of 1911. This harsh and widely publicized action silenced left-wing activists for several years. (2003: 134)

Although the leftists have been more timid in Japan than in other industrial countries, they did not disappear from the Japanese political mapping. For instance, after 1945, the socialists were involved in various activities including discussions, protests, and formation of coalition government, which led to the process of conceptualization of Japanese peace and the writing of the new constitution. Whether on the issue calling for

possibility of making Japan the "Switzerland of the Pacific" with "semi-neutralist dependency" or that of advocating for Japan's independence, or on envisioning the remilitarization of Japan, the Japanese Communists and Socialists were active participants in the post–World War II state formation in Japan (Kataoka 1991: 78–80). They had a coalition government in various periods in the 1940s, the 1970s and the 1980s. However, in general, the leftist radical culture is relatively weaker and less expressive in Japan than in many other industrialized countries.

A few other factors that should be emphasized in examining the Japan economic model include: the politics of the United States as an occupying force and that of the transnational financial organizations. The discussion on these factors has been expanded elsewhere in this book. Thus, only a brief discussion is necessary to clarify the nature of the features of the Japanese model.

Japan became a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in 1952. It joined the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in the early 1960s. The success of the Japanese economic model was also due to the nature of the management of the Japanese Occupation. Nishigaki and Shimomura (1997) indicated that American Programs such as Government and Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA) and Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Areas (EROA) provided essential emergency assistance and played an important role in helping Japan recover from the confusion and devastation of the immediate postwar period. For instance, the total amount of GARIOA and EROA aid over the six-year period between 1946 and 1951 was $2 billion.

Furthermore, loans from the World Bank, which began in 1953 and lasted for 14 years reaching about $860 million with the interest rates ranging from 4.625% to 6.625 % and periods of maturity of 14 and 26 years, played a central role in the industrialization of the country. More than 60 percent of these loans were lent directly to the government institutions such as public corporation for the construction of the infrastructure. Some of these infrastructures include Railways [the Tokaido Shinkasen (bullet train)], the Tomei Expressway (from Tokyo to Nagoya and from Nagoya to Kobe), and the project to develop electric power resources [the Aichi Irrigation] (Gordon 2003: 143).

Japanese government was unwilling to accept the "natural" position indicated by Japan's comparative advantage: concentrating on low-wage and low technology industries. Instead, a series of capital-intensive and relatively high-technology industries was given special support by the government" (Lairson and Skidmore 2003: 199). Furthermore, Japan with the confidence of having the blessing of the United States (the new world order was essentially the United States led order) rejected the notion of

mutual gains from free trade. Although it joined General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1955, it was slow in removing restrictions on imports due to fears of its own backwardness and dependence on external resources (Ibid.: 200–201), and it put more emphasis on direct foreign investment (FDI). Japanese also has three-fourths of its exports in manufactured goods. Lairson and Skidmore indicated that: "it is in imports that Japan looks unusual. At best, about 50 percent of Japan's imports are manufactured goods, whereas one-half of Japan's imports are raw materials, foodstuffs, and various mineral fuels" (Ibid.: 202).

In short, the Japanese economic development model is characterized by a high level of the state's interventionism and an important dose of consultation at level of the decision making with, and the finances, from private corporations. As Javed Maswood in supporting the dictum from other sources, stated: "Japan's postwar economic success is often attributed to successful state intervention in industrial development and this was a model that was emulated by many East Asian countries in replicating the Japanese growth experience. The developmental state model was a contrast to the largely market dominant Anglo-American model" (Maswood et al. 2002a: 1).

There are two major types of the developmental state model: (1) the Keynesian model, which has heavily influenced the ethos of the New Deal in the United States under President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s and the reconstruction of Western Europe after World War II and (2) the one associated with the works of the economist Raul Prebisch, who, in the 1950s and 1960s, advanced developmentalist theory in South America, and later this model evolved to dependency theory of Andre Gunder Frank, Enzo Faletto, Theotonio dos Santos, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and Third Worldism of Samir Amin. The epicenter of developmentalism was the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), based in Santiago, Chile. These social scientists were strongly influenced by the Marxist thoughts as defined and promoted by Paul Sweezy and also Paul E. Baran's Frankfurt school of thought. Baran is considered as the founder of the dependency theory. However, he was also influenced by John Maynard Keynes.

The Keynesian model, which made a critique of laissez-faire and the doctrine of "let-the-market regulate itself," advocated the state's intervention in the public sector and the importance of mixed economy in development paradigms. It is under the intellectual and philosophical umbrella of the ideas of the economist John Maynard Keynes that social security in the United States, health care in Canada, welfare in Britain, workers' protection in France and Germany were created (Klein 2009: 54). These programs were part of what Naomi Klein has called "decent capitalism."

The developmental state model as defined and advanced by Presbisch and the dependency theorists, in a world that is characterized by a dual economy and extreme inequality, has three major characteristics, namely economic nationalism, protectionism and mercantilism, as the foundation of developmental state. They challenge the nature of unequal power relations between the industrial countries where the major decisions of the world economy are made and also where the major manufacturing takes place and the less industrialized ones which are the producers of the raw materials, cheap labor and consumers of the Western European manufactured goods. Developmental state puts an emphasis on the public sector and its role in eradicating poverty in South America. As Naomi Klein stated:

> Developmentalist economists argued that their countries would finally escape the cycle of poverty only if they pursued an inward-oriented industrialization strategy instead of relying on the export of natural resources, whose prices had been on a declining path, to Europe and North America. They advocated regulating or even nationalizing oil, minerals and other key industries so that a healthy share of the proceeds fed a government-led development process. (2009: 55)

Within the above arguments, Samir Amin added another dimension to dependency theory, which is delinking but not autarky, in the search for an alternative of another model of development. In my view, no formal colonial nation-state has developed without a sharp break off or a clear stop from the history of colonization. Delinking can be considered as a period of rethinking (or reconceptualization of) the state and society and the nature of relationship between them. It can take various forms such as a revolution or a reform. However, its core feature is nationalism. It is a process through which one social or a nation-state defines its own priorities and establishes, based on its needs and capacities, the strategies to realize them. Its ultimate end is to advance a polycentric world.

The Japanese economic model, as developmental state, was established within the capitalist orbit, but with strong nationalist perspectives, imperial responsibilities and duties of the citizens. It shares elements with liberal and social welfare states in Western and Northern Europe in term of making the state the vanguard of development.

Ethan Scheiner summarizes the nature the Japan's political economy that produced growth and economic development as follows:

> Throughout the first few decades of the postwar period, Japan's economy was founded on carefully crafted policies of insulation. The Japanese government especially sought to protect and incubate manufacturing firms that, with sufficient time, money, guidance, could become internationally competitive. Most noteworthy, the Foreign Exchange and Control Law

> (FECL) and Japanese Foreign Investment Law (FIL) imposed very strict quotas on the use of foreign money for imports. With the exception of explicitly delineated cases allowed by the government, the FECL prohibited all foreign exchange. Capital restrictions constrained foreign takeovers and the capital market remained under Japanese government control (Pempel 1998:49–52). Japanese domestic markets were almost wholly protected from competitive imports in areas such as agriculture and basic materials, with small businesses also well taken care of. (2006: 158)

In short, the model reflected in the above political economy was built in a period of rapid economic growth between 1955 and 1961, which paved the way for the "Golden Sixties." It was set up on a heavy industrialization trajectory. This was the second decade that is generally associated with the Japanese economic miracle. In 1965, Japan's nominal GDP was estimated at just over $91 billion and by 1980 the nominal GDP had soared to a record $1.065 trillion. During his three terms in the office (1960–1967), Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda and his government undertook the famous "income-doubling plan." He lowered interest rates and taxes to private players in order to motivate spending. In addition, due to the financial flexibility, Ikeda's government rapidly expanded government investment in Japan's infrastructure: building highways, high-speed railways, subways, airports, port facilities, and dams. His administration also expanded government investment in the communications sector of the Japanese economy. Each of these acts contributed to establish the Japanese trend toward managed economy that epitomizes the mixed economic model. The foundation of the Japanese economic development model is the strong presence of the government in the public sector with a good cooperation with the private sector. As Javed Maswood said:

> Japan's postwar economic success is often attributed to successful state intervention in industrial development and this was a model that was emulated by many East Asian countries in replicating the Japanese growth experience. The developmental state model was a contrast to the largely market dominant Anglo-American model. (Maswood et al. 2002a: 1)

The Japan's model of economic development shares a wide range of common features in the usual economic development domain with the Western European development models, including that of the United States, in their management and values of macroeconomic stability, human resource development, economic infrastructures, and also in the place that research and development occupy in the national economies.

For instance, a single illustration in R & D expenditures in 2003 supports some of the claims I have made above. These expenditures in total trillion yen were 32.9 for United States, 16.8 for Japan, 6.3 for Germany,

4.5 for France, and 3.9 for United Kingdom respectively. In term of the government funds in percentage of total of R&D expenditures, it represented 20.2% for Japan, 31.0% for the United States, 31.5% for Germany, 42.1% for France, and 31.3% for the United Kingdom respectively. And for R&D in ratio to GDP (%), the United States had 2.61%, Japan 3.35%, Germany 2.53%, France 2.19%, and United Kingdom 1.89% (Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs 2006: 56).

However, the history of the Japanese social institutions and their role in responding to the Japanese development policies, as well as the Japanese state's neomercantilism and its policymakers' lack of trust in laissez-faire *à l'Americaine* constitute some factors that make this model functionally different from the European and the American models. Renhard Drifte defines the differences between the Japanese model and others in these terms:

> These differences as a whole give Japan considerable economic advantages in comparison with other Western countries which the later perceive as unfair and which therefore lead to frictions. Japan benefited in the past from a very protectionist regime to develop its economy while keeping foreigners out. Its economic political system even kept out Japanese smaller companies or newcomers. The *keiretsu* system and the close cooperation between the business, bureaucrats and politicians, to mention just a few features, has allowed Japanese industry to maximize its gains while being protected from the outside competition. (1998: 168)

In terms of its objectives and its functioning, the Japanese model is essentially located between social welfare states of Nordic European countries and liberal welfare states of Western European countries. Interestingly, it is not the Japan Socialist Party or Social Democratic Party and other leftist organizations and groups that consistently constructed this model, despite their undeniable contribution.

Notwithstanding pragmatic changes that have taken place in the Japanese economy and politics since the 1990s (especially after the Asian economic crisis, which led to most countries in East Asia to question the continuous feasibility of this model within global liberalism), how much has this model informed or influenced the Japanese international cooperation practices with Africa?

Chapter Eight

Japanese Foreign Policy toward Africa during and after the Cold War Era: "Pax Nipponica" versus "Pax Africana"

General Issues

The main objective in this chapter is not to discuss and expand much on the origins of Japanese foreign policy as the topic has been immensely written on. I examine an overview of the Japanese foreign policy toward Africa with the intention of analyzing the question of whether or not Japan, in its foreign policy, has been taking into account the ideological expressions of Africa's struggles toward her political independence and economic development. How much did Japan appreciate pan-African perspectives in its relationship with Africa? Did (or could) Japanese foreign policy satisfy the exigencies of the defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU) and now the African Union (AU)?

In international relations, history plays a vital role in which the actors are expected to learn about the past, which should inform them where they would go next. Using a combination of critique of paradigms of neorealism, that is to say, the politics of state-centrism in a context of multiplicity of actors, the complexity of interdependence, and the dynamics of a structuralist world system, I examine the features of the Japanese foreign policy and also explain the nature of Japan's African power relations.

The concept of Pax Nipponica refers to the Japanese Constitution as pacific, and Japanese international relations by implication as being essentially cooperative and Japanese security as collective. It is about the centrality of Japan as a major actor which interacts with others without having or using an offensive state army. It also implies the efforts of achieving peace without military engagement, and promoting economic development as the basis for elevating the value of collective security.

The compact concept of Pax Africana as defined in this book includes the efforts of Africans and the African states in search for the establishment of a needed collective security umbrella with multiple dimensions such as a political unity of some sorts, building of strong cooperation, pursuit of cultural identity and respect of diversity, self-determination, and nationalism. The concept also implies conscious efforts of African political forces, leaders, masses, and civil societies to redefine Africa as an independent political identity with objectives of achieving peace and stability at national level and on a collective basis.

Foreign aid policy, as part of the Japanese foreign relations, is a relatively new area. For instance, it did not appear in any major newspaper accounts in Japan until after World War II. That is to say that popular or national opinion on foreign aid before the 1940s was either very limited or nonexistent in many corridors of the Japanese politics. The foreign aid domain was not well elaborated yet with clearly defined rules and guidelines until the 1960s. However, by the 1970s and 1980s, it gradually became a major instrument of the Japanese foreign policy.

Obviously, the values and importance of the state as the major actor are recognizable in international relations. Thus, I examine the state as being essentially a dynamic or an interactive political entity phenomenon. This is the basis of one of my criticisms of realism, which focuses mainly on the centrality of the state regardless of its origin and its location. Power relations are the products of political struggles, agreements, or compromises by various actors, which are capable of influencing any given foreign policy or the governmental decision-making process. Japan's foreign relations have been growing with the Japanese industrialization and its internationalization. It means that the Japanese foreign relations toward Africa have not been as predetermined as those of the former European colonies in Africa. As Glenn Hook et al. stated:

> At first, Japan has not assumed a position of international importance commensurate with the sheer mass of its power resources; second, it does not conform to the typical pattern of international behaviour seen among the other major industrialized powers. Indeed, Japan's international relations seem to display instead a number of apparent paradoxes which jar uncomfortably with the orthodox paradigms of these disciplines. They emerge in the following terms: the type of role played by Japan in international system; the way in which it uses the power resources available to fulfill these roles; the degree to which the state and other international actors formulate and possess a coherent international strategy. (2001: 19)

The atypical characteristic of the Japanese international behavior dictated by a combination of some claims and theories of humanism and realism

was sufficiently discussed earlier, especially in chapters 2 and 4. However, it is necessary to recapture a few of these claims in order to continue to contextualize the arguments. Seizaburo Sato (1977: 375) has argued that there are five basic attitudes that have characterized historically the way Japan has viewed foreign policy over the last one hundred years:

1. A strong sense of belonging to Japan and Japanese race [*sic*] coupled with deep-rooted feelings of inferiority;
2. An intense concern with improving the country's international status;
3. A deep anxiety over being isolated internationally;
4. A desire to conform to world trends; and
5. An emotional commitment to Asia, which resulted in a policy that emphasized the region.

It is not clear how these attitudes manifest themselves individually or collectively in influencing the preferences or choices of the Japanese foreign policy formulation. Some dimensions may appear to be either weaker or stronger in some specific relationships depending on the nature of the international context.

Yet, despite many real and perhaps imagined contradictions as reflected in the above cited attitudes and lack of apparent systemic and consistent principles used historically by the Japanese state, especially its Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and supported by other ministries and states' agencies, Japanese foreign policy toward Africa within the period of this study has not been static; and it has not been simply articulated on an ad hoc basis either. It has been slowly and gradually changing positively or negatively depending on the dynamics of the global economy and continental conditions in Africa. Some times its foreign policy has been moving too slowly without necessarily following the expected dominant logic of linear political history based on the concept of the national interest. However, in the past, Japanese foreign policy toward Africa did present predictable patterns in following those of the United States and Anglo-Saxons' block of powers without using militarism to advance its strategic interests. As Katsuhiko Kitagawa argued:

> Under the Cold War system, Japanese behavior was defined by the Japanese alliance with the United States. Post-War Japanese diplomacy is discussed centering on the relations with the United States. Negotiation between occupied Japan and the United States concerning peace and security constructed the political, economic and international framework of post-war Japan. Thereafter discussion on the Japanese foreign policy, either cooperation with or autonomy to the United States was developed primarily centering on relations with the United States. (2003: 3)

The above view was consistent to a certain level and in a certain period. As briefly discussed in the section on the state, the issues of regional and national security, anti-communism, and the nature of Japan's alliances with the United States significantly shaped Japan's relations with the other countries, especially those of the Global South. Robert Scalapino (1977) and Robert M. Orr (1990) characterized the relationship to be special and resemblance to the human relationship of big brother and young brother, which is captured by the term *amae* (in Japanese)—which implies dependent relationship in which there exist mutual responsibilities. In this analogy, it can be depicted that even if the little brother has reached a level of maturity of self-affirmation, in an African context, for instance, he is still a younger brother who has to listen to the advices of the older brother. Although this analogy does not fit well with the paradigm of state's state relations, the message is that Japan has to listen and learn from the United States' international behavior and politics. The big brother must be understandable and protective of the little brother (Scalapino 1977).

During World War II, in the Japanese folklore, the United States was projected as *oni* (a demon). However, the Japanese foreign policy has not been static. Japan and the United States' relations have also been conditioned by the changes in the international conditions and reconfiguration of domestic and regional powers. They made several bilateral treaties and several declarations that have been reinforcing their relations in advancing their respective interests.

Within the evolution of the Japanese politics later, since its foreign policy became relatively mature, this policy has been also articulated from a collective security approach. It was also pursued on the objective of making a contribution to international community (*kokusai koken*). This approach was criticized as being essentially a "Cheque-book Diplomacy" (Ochiai 2001: 40). The last dimension of the Japanese foreign policy toward Africa, which is related to the Japanese motion of making contribution to international community, is the establishment of Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD).

TICAD has become an important tool of the Japanese foreign policy through which Japan has made itself as an international leader that advocates the needs for African development, political stability, peace, and good governance at the end of Cold War politics. It has become the foundation of the Japanese diplomacy toward Africa (Ibid.: 38).

What is the quality of power that these relations depict, as well as the major principles articulated behind them? Reinhard Drifte defines Japan in the following:

> Japan's power derives from its economic, financial and technological power. Its structural power in the world economy is, for example,

> illustrated by its status as one of the world's major importer of raw materials and energy resources, which gives Japan considerable influence on the options and bargaining powers of other countries which are vulnerable to Japan either because they are competing with Japan for the same resources or because they are dependent on the export of these resources. Increasingly, Japan is translating this structural power into influence on the shape of the international regimes, which are important for free trade, and the availability of these resources. So far, Japan has relied on the US and other Western powers to secure appropriate regimes, and in the first instance relied on economic measures of such aid and investment to achieve and secure supply. (1998: 91)

In his review of two books, one by Tsuneo Akaha and Frank Langdom, *Japan in the Posthegemonic World* (Boulder: Lynn Rienner 1993) and the second by Nazli Choucri, Robert North, and Susumu Yamakage, *The Challenge of Japan: Before World War II and After* (New York: Routledge, 1992), Takashi Inogushi stated that:

> The demand for outward expansion has to derive from the configuration of population, resources, and technology. In other words, Japan's large expanded population, relatively poor resource endowments combined with a rising demand for resources due to the steady industrialization, and the advances in technological level are the major determinants of lateral pressure for Japan. Whether it takes military or economic outward movement is determined by international environment. (1993: 508)

As discussed elsewhere in this book, Japan-Africa relations since the 1970s have been partially conditioned and shaped by the mutation of internal social factors and demands, the imperatives of their national economies, their political calculations related to Cold War politics, the ideological foundation of the states, the interests of the ruling parties and ruling classes, and also by the motion of regional and international capitalism. Although in both Japan and in Africa these relations are the products of complex interactions and interest articulations among various intergovernmental agencies, the public administration, and private corporations, foreign policy is the classical arena where these interests and these relations are legally expressed, localized, enveloped, and delivered within political guidelines.

It is agreed upon that from the 1970s to the present, Japan has moved away from being a small visible and discipline actor to a major actor in international relations—an "economic superpower (an icon of power)." This status was acquired through a complex process of an extensive import of raw materials, strong selective protectionism, unequal liberal trade relations, and export of its manufactured goods to other markets, especially to the countries in the Global North (or OECD) countries.

How can a country that practiced protectionism as part of its central rule of international political economy in the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s—a country which also has been known mostly as the importer of its raw materials, oil, and initially of food as well—become an economic superpower? Is the concept of superpower appropriate toward the understanding of the nature of the Japanese relations with Africa?

The notion of superpower contains the following concepts: elements of domination, monopoly, control, leadership, and predictable behaviors associated with the arrogance of power. Does the Japanese political economy embody or reflect some or most of these expressions?

Japan did not become an "economic superpower" overnight. Its economic and political elites had to listen to the complaints of its partners about its abnormality within the context of liberal trade principle. Economic reform of the 1980s led Japan to gradually move away from its postwar trade and foreign exchange control regime approach based on the principle of prohibition of external transactions (Schmiegelow 1986: 2) to becoming a "champion" of a relative trade liberalism strongly advocated and practiced by the Anglo-Saxon group of nations, dominated by the United States and the United Kingdom. However, there is no consensus intellectually and politically in terms of what that "economic superpower" entails in the world—a good reason for writing this book.

In the world of the states, which has become highly militarized, as the notion of preemptive war under George W. Bush administration and more specifically war against international terrorism after September 11, 2001, has become the basis for conducting foreign policies of many states, how much power does an "economic superpower" have? How much can it influence world affairs? How does Japan influence the ideas, knowledge, and rules that govern the world? It should be added that the world also is becoming poorer with extreme gaps and cleavages between the haves and the have-nots, especially on the African continent. The unequal distribution of world resources has led to increase poverty and not the actual output. The relationship between militarism, economics, and politics generally dominate the discourse on the mainstream foreign policy studies. In the case of Japan, however, the imperatives of political economy are probably the best approach to take in discussing its foreign policy paradigms. In this perspective, Reinhard Drifte states:

> Japan is today undisputedly a major technological power, as is proved by a great variety of aggregate indicators. Although it is second after the US in R&D expenditures and as a percentage of GNP, it is probably first if American R&D expenditures for military purposes are taken out. Japan takes the top position in other indicators of input such as R&D expenditures per capita, R&D personnel as a percentage of the domestic industrial

> product…Japan had since 1991 an annual trade surplus of around $100 billion with the rest of the world (1993: $106 billion), over half of it with the US. This compared with a trade surplus for Germany in 1993 of $43 billion and a deficit for the UK of $20 billion. (1998: 31–32)

Even within the current economic crises, based on the above trends, Japan still ranks high in the expenditures in Research and Development areas. As a result of its "economic superpower," has Japan been able to qualitatively influence the perceptions of other states' about the Japanese state and its politics; perceptions that generally are thought of as being either "conservative," "reserved," or "too nationalistic" but at the same time too much "pro Americophonie? These perceptions are also part of international relations.

Thus, to grasp better the nature of these relations as examined here, it is necessary that we discuss some key or dominant elements that constitute Japanese foreign policy starting from the 1970s to 2009. The beginning of the twenty-first century is characterized by unilateralism of the United States, especially under Bush administration, struggles toward multipolarity in many parts of world, the explosion of electoral democratic processes, strong regionalism, the rise of ultra nationalisms, and massive corruption in the structures and policies related to global capitalism.

In the 1970s, the dual system that has been ruling the world under the dicta of militarism, authoritarianism, and dictatorships has become ideologically more mature and more aggressive which made the world of the states more dangerous and unstable. Since the 1970s, Japan has been acting as a solid major player in international relations. What has been missing in Japan is its place in the United Nations system with a veto power and the right to exercise its military might to invade again any country in Asia or elsewhere in the world. However, with the collapse of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republic (USSR) in 1991, the threat of international communism has significantly diminished in East Asia as China continues to articulate its ideology of "socialism with the market economy" with confidence, as a new member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) sponsored by the United States and now a member of G20.

The possibility of North Korea acquiring nuclear capability, (as it has been shown in its testing of missiles in the past several years) that could be used to make nuclear weapons is considered a nightmare for Japan (or an anathema), a serious security issue in the East Asian region. By the same token, Japan and the United States have not accepted to explore or to cultivate any idea or thought that could lead to the possibility for unification of North and South Korea in the future at least in part because this would mean creating a strong state and country that could compete economically, technologically, and politically with Japan. Thus, for pragmatic

and policy purposes, Japan would like to continue to consider the North Korea's nuclear controversy as a serious international security issue and not only as a regional one. As such, Japan has convinced the United States and China to use a framework of multilateralism (a six-party talk approach) as the major actors, to make a deal or take an action to solve the regional security problem peacefully.

During the time period of this study, Japan's foreign policy makers have been working to find a foreign policy formula that would work first in its back yard collectively (East Asian countries)—the countries which are in the process of rapidly industrializing. And this formula should also have a component concerning China, the major economic competitor and North Korea. Second, this formula should also work within the OECD countries, the Japanese Western industrial partners. Furthermore, the formula had also to be operationalized within the imperatives and international power struggles. From Japan's perspective, Cold War politics meant first, anti-international socialism à la Soviet Union. Second, it also implied the continuation of strong alliances with the United States on broad security issues.

There is a challenging working assumption about foreign policy within the liberal political thought, and which also has been promoted within the dogmas of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund Programs, that "all good things go together" and that there is no logical reason why "whatever has worked well in any country would not work well elsewhere" (Packenham 1973). The notion of "one size fits all," which is articulated on the assumption of the old domino theory of Henry Kissinger, has been used and approached as ideologically "a risk free" formula. To what extent, would this formula satisfy Japan's interests in Asia and its position in Cold War politics? How would it allow Japan to expand and diversify its relations in Africa with a relatively low risk?

This author argues that although the Japanese foreign policy is framed within the perspective of liberalism (free trade and less protectionism) and minimization of the level of risks, in Africa it was not formulated and implemented on the basis of "one size fits all." In this regard, it is not very similar to the U.S. foreign policy. Does it imply that Japan's foreign policy is rooted on mainly pragmatism, new possibility, and feasibility alone? As discussed in chapters 4 and 6, one must pay attention to the place of history, culture, political and economic conditions, and the nature of the state in examining the thinking of foreign policy.

The concept of low risk is used in this context to advance the proposition that Japan prefers to have a substantive control over most factors that should make its relations with Africa most effective, less ambiguous, less stressful, and mutually beneficial with relatively low cost humanly and

materially. It means that the outcomes of the relations would be easily predictable and probably testable in advance. In this regard, Reinhard Drifte writes in quoting Inogushi Takashi that: "Japan has the image of being a free rider, ad hoc, opportunistic, a short-term pragmatism but on the other hand projecting the image of an actor determinedly and tenaciously steadfast to its nation interests" (1998: 5).

In addition to risk factor, another important consideration in the Japanese foreign policy toward Africa is the Bandung question. Japan made an open commitment to foster and maintain good relations with Africa based on the Afro-Asian coalition of 1955. Japan redefined itself as an Asian country. While the Bandung Declaration was formally less ideological as it was claimed to advance a non-alignment perspective of the world, de facto, it produced a "Third Worldism," as another new ideology of development. Thus, by the 1970s, it can be argued that Japan's foreign policy was relocalized between the directives of Bandung, Cold War politics, the United States superpower's influence, and Japanese national interests as an emerging important new actor. However, the extent to which the Bandung consensus was or was not forcefully adopted as one of the elements of the guidelines of the Japan's foreign policy toward Africa cannot empirically be verified, as Japan then continued to entertain fruitful economic ties with the apartheid South African system in this period.

Thus, after the end of the Cold War era, Japan started to give the impression to affirm more its sovereignty in international affairs in a world that has been dominated by unilateralism of the United States, Japan military protector and its most trusted ally, unpredictable political behaviors of most states, claims of strong regional political alliances, and generalized uncertainty in world politics. Japanese hesitancy continued as to affect its foreign policy because it did not want to adventure to a new and unfamiliar political landscape in Africa.

Foreign policy is a central domain in the studies of the state and international relations. It is an extension of any state outside of its own political and geographic boundaries. Philosophically, it is indeed a reflection of the quality of a nation-state's power. Politically, is about how such a power is managed, exercised, and distributed in relationship to others. It implies a behavior and action used to influence other states to do things that they might not do by themselves. It also means power of acting independently to articulate its own nation interests. Foreign policy is an authoritative arena that reflects and projects the strength (potential or actual) of the economy and military might of a given state.

It should be reiterated that in light of the above discussion that Japan's foreign policy cannot be fully appreciated only through the classical approaches used to analyze other industrialized countries as those

of Western Europe and the United States. Thus, some would claim, the Japanese state formation contains important elements of aberration or abnormality that make it a unique case study.

This nation-state was born or was fundamentally reorganized out of the ashes of atomic bombs. After World War II, Japan was defeated militarily. But the Japanese culture and history are still the energetic sources that have shaped the new state differently. We should also remember that before World War II Japan was an imperialist power with a relatively strong state and balanced modernized economy. Although the structures of the state were destroyed, the war and the occupation did not destroy the Japanese culture, history, and Japanese-philosophico-religious basis of society (Buddhist culture and Shintoism). As Michèle Schmiegelow said:

> Japan has, by most standards, caught up with the West. Still, its economy keeps changing too fast, its national policies are too active and independent, and its domestic structures seemingly deviate too much from the western patterns to conform to established theories that rely on the model of general equilibrium in mature economies. Static economics and most of neoliberal current in international relations theory are seriously challenged by the Japanese case. (1986: IX)

Major Characteristics of Japanese Foreign Policy toward Africa

Japan emerged as a new industrialized country and a major donor when African states were ideologically struggling to define themselves through various forms of nationalism, socialism, liberalism, and militarism.

It entertained solid good relations with South Africa when most African countries were still colonized by the European powers. Despite specificities of South Africa, a settler's colony, and its extreme racist system, the relations between Japan and South Africa can be used as the barometers to test the principles behind the Japanese relations with Africa at large. All the colonial systems in Africa were based on racism (known also as ethnicity).

Japan established the Consulate-General in Pretoria in 1952. According to the Japanese Government's "Diplomatic Blue Book," Tokyo and Pretoria announced on March 1, 1961 that "they had agreed to establish Diplomatic Relations and would implement them as soon as the necessary procedures on both sides could be concluded" (Morikawa 1997: 133). However, the internal struggle against the Apartheid and later the mobilization of the international opinions and the positions of the Africans and African states against it did not permit a quick and full realization of diplomatic relations. As Jun Morikawa stated: "In April 1964, soon after the tactical decision had been taken to drop formal diplomatic representation

in favor of strong Consular relations, the Japanese Government opened a strong Consul in Cape Town. By the 1980s, it was clear in terms of personnel and activities that two consular offices in South Africa were much more important and influential than the Japanese embassies in either Nigeria or Kenya" (1997: 133–134).

Japan started to become a powerful economic force when most African countries had just gained their political independence. Despite internal contradictions and ambiguous national agendas, most of these states set up their policies within some nationalistic languages and politics. The needs for their economic and social development were obviously massive. Japan as a new emerging industrialized power has challenged, without much fanfares, the dogmas of the international division of power and the basis of the existing global power relations as Morikawa stated:

> During this period (1960–75), Japan actualized its dual diplomacy toward White and Black Africa in the context of the intensification of the East-West confrontation in Africa and the rapid economic growth of Japan. The increase in Japan's economic power was confirmed on 28 April 1964, when Japan achieved membership in the "advanced nations club" when it was admitted as a full member to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Only four years later, Japan's gross national product had reached a level surpassed only the United States and the Soviet Union. (1997: 55)

Economic needs and political decolonization were the major preoccupations of the African political leaders.

According to Takehiko Ochiai (2001: 37), historical development of Japan's foreign policy toward Africa can be roughly divided into three periods: the first period (1960–1973); the second period (1973–1989); and the third period (1989 to present). In the area of trade relations, for instance, before the Ochiai's first phase, Japanese relations with Africa were located mostly in the British colonial countries as Kitagawa noted "Looking through each volume of the White Papers from the mid 1950s to 1960, significant proportions of Japan's trade with the Sub-Saharan Africa was accounted for by British West Africa, British East Africa, and the Union of South Africa" (2003: 7).

This categorization can be questioned as its importance may depend on the intellectual perspectives or the school of thought one is using to examine Japanese politics. However, it may help recall broadly some of the major features of the Japanese foreign policy toward Africa. Each of these periods represents some changes in the Japanese politics, its political economy, and the struggles of Japan to obtain an accepted degree of "normality" in its being as a state.

The question of what makes a nation-state normal was discussed in the section of Japan as a nation-state. Among others, the degree of sovereignty is one of the most important factors that urges a nation-state to claim its normalcy. As elaborated earlier, the changes also are influenced or even directly caused by the imperatives of the international political economy, and international ideological and power struggles. Japan also, as an active actor, has contributed to the changes in international relations. During the Cold War era, Africa was the embodiment of these international conflicts and experiments of failed policy and politics. It was difficult to engage Africa without touching on some aspects of these conflicts. As Takehiko Ochiai stated:

> African conflicts were an area in which Japan had never been actively involved. While, by 1989, Japan had become the third largest donor to sub-Saharan Africa among the member states of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC), until the mid 1990's, Japan's involvement in African conflict issues was limited to a few areas of providing humanitarian assistance to such war-affected people as refugees through the UN organisations and sharing the financial burden of the UN peace activities in Africa. Partly because Japan does not have any vital national interests in Africa, and partly because Japan cannot use military means in inter national relations, Tokyo did not take up any active diplomatic measures toward conflict prevention and resolution in Africa. (2001: 38–39)

Between 1960s and 1973, when Japan emerged as a major economic power, most of its economic and political relations were directed toward Asia and the Organization of Economic Development (OECD) countries. Japan perceived African nation-states as backyards or the domains of the European-American powers and battles. Japanese foreign policy toward Africa during this period did follow some patterns of the United States' foreign policy. The majority of African countries gained their political independence during this period. Japan's diplomatic relations with new African states was not clearly based on well-articulated principles or any solid dogma. It can be only characterized as pragmatic, strategic, non-ideological, and noncommittal. Non-ideological, deterministic, and historical factors shaped consistently Japanese foreign policy during this period.

Nevertheless, it is agreeable that as a new emergent economic power, it used economic wealth as an instrument of advancing national strategies in international relations. As the military factor has been used to enforce peace or negotiate political agreements in many countries, Japan quietly used its economic might as a tool of international bargaining. From this perspective, implications of economic policy might can also produce similar effects than those produce by military actions.

Another characteristic of Japanese foreign policy toward Africa is its apparent lack of interests in African politics, that is to say, in people's and citizens' political rights, issues related to governance, the machines of the states, and the processes of the decision making. Its relations with South Africa and later with other African countries were essentially influenced by the fact that those countries were resource-rich needed by the Japanese state and Foreign corporations as reflected in the pragmatism of the Japanese politics. As Takehiko Ochiai documented:

> During the first period, however, Japan's trade with Africa steadily increased, Japanese exports to Africa almost fourfold, from $603 million in 1965 to $2.3 billion in 1973. Japanese imports from Africa also rose more than fivefold in the same period, from $192 million in 1965 to $1 billion in 1973 (Aoki, 1991:312–313, Oda and Aoki, 1985:153). The most important trading partner for Japan in Africa of this period was apartheid South Africa. Although Japan was criticized for expanding trade with South Africa, until mid-1970s, Japan followed her traditional approach of *seikei bunrui* ("separating politics from the economy"), and never formulated a clear government policy to curb trade with the country. (2001: 39)

Moreover, the external factors which both Africa and Japan did not control created an opportunity for Japan to rethink partially the nature of its relations with Africa. The eloquent illustration was the oil crisis of 1973.

Oil crisis was part of the global political crisis and part of the struggle between freedom and occupation. The Organization of the Petroleum Producing Countries (OPEC) wanted to challenge the balance of power in influencing and determining the production and the marketization of their product, oil. They wanted to be involved in the allocation of this commodity. Another unspoken reason was political, as in establishing an oil embargo against the United States and the Netherlands, the organization made the decision to punish them, especially the United States for its unconditional policy of supporting the State of Israel in the Israel-Palestine saga. This crisis created a catalytic situation that forced Japan to reexamine the nature of its relations with Africa at large as Takehiko Ochiai argued:

> The oil crisis, precipitated by the Arab-Israel War of 1973, marked a turning point in Japan's policy towards Africa. The threat of oil embargo by the Arab countries panicked Japan, an island country with little indigenous supply of natural resources. At the time, Japan imported 99.8% of her oil, mainly from the Middle East. In the succeeding depression, Japan's economic growth rate fell sharply from around 11% to minus 2% and inflation rate in Japan was higher for a while than any other major countries. The oil crisis made foreign policymakers in Tokyo feel that no country was more

> vulnerable to the expansion of Third World resource nationalism than Japan. Until the early 1970s, Tokyo has a tacit understanding that Africa was the "backyard" of Europe. The oil crisis forced Japan to build better relations with Africa to secure a stable supply of natural resources. (Ibid.)

Pragmatism rather than ideology prevailed in the behavior, attitudes, and actions of Japan vis-à-vis the oil crisis and search for alternative solutions.

Between 1973 and 1989, a new consciousness started to emerge in Japan's relationship with Africa. In many African countries, the aura of political independence had ended in economic distress and political failures. Objective African conditions started to suffer from the combination of factors such as weak political institutions, extreme political instability, the negative effects of totalitarianism and authoritarianism, increasing foreign debts, weakening states, and the policy implications of these foreign debts.

Japan started to consolidate its diplomatic and economic relations with selected African countries. The visit of Japanese Foreign Minister Toshio Kimura in 1974 to Ghana, Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo), Tanzania, and Egypt, which is the first trip by a high-level Japanese dignitary, and is a reflection of a new motivation. The fact that Zaire, a Francophone country colonized by Belgium with American influence and Egypt, an Arab country whose leadership during Nasser era promoted pan-Africanism and pan-Arabism, albeit with increasing American military influence, were among the countries visited, is a step toward some diversification of Japanese relationship, bearing in mind that Egypt and Zaire were geopolitically vital for the interests of the European powers during the Cold War era. The visit should not be seen as sharp step toward a *volte-face* of the Japanese foreign policy.

Furthermore, the Democratic Republic of Congo is considered, in terms of raw materials it possesses, as one of the richest countries on the face of the earth. The notion of considering Africa as "the backyard" (*or chasse gardée*) of European powers as perceived by the African state, was no longer a determining factor in the Japanese relations. The Minister also pledged to impose sanctions on racist Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) of Ian Smith who earlier declared unilaterally the independence of Rhodesia in 1965. It should be noted that on apartheid South Africa, the Minister also pledged to lessen the trades but not to eliminate all trades with South Africa.

It is also in this period that Japan became the number one donor in its ODA to Africa within the agenda of the policy of "comprehensive security" ("*sogo anzen hosho*"). As Takehiko Ochiai indicated: "*Sogo anzen hosho* is the strategy of using diplomatic, economic and cultural initiatives for securing international as well as Japanese peace and security. A main pillar

of *sogo anzen hosho* policy was to extend ODA for strategic purposes, and the policy resulted in promoting the expansion of Japan's aid to resource-rich Africa" (2001: 40).

In the last period, from 1989 to present, Japanese relationship with Africa has become relatively more open and more competitive too. The collapse of the Berlin Wall and that of Soviet Union had some kind of "liberated effects" on Japan. The fear of socialism made Japan too predictable. The post–Cold War period has made Japan more international than ever before. Since Diet approved the International Peace Cooperation Bill in June 1992, Japan has been participating in peacekeeping missions, in the civilian election monitoring missions, and in "Cheque-book diplomacy" which all gave Japan confidence, legitimacy, and a political leverage in international affairs in acting in international political scene. For instance, Japan sent 50 Self-Defense Forces Personnel to the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). As Ochai stated: "MOFA regarded the dispatch of SDF to Mozambique, one of the poorest African countries with little ties to Japan, as an opportunity to show the international community Japan's initiative in its *kokusai koken* policy, and moreover, to prove itself worthy of a permanent membership of the UN Security Council" (Ibid.: 41).

The response of Japan to the mission and activities of the Organization of the African Unity (OAU)'s mission and activities as developed in the next section may reveal a new departure or approach in the Japanese foreign policy toward Africa from the 1980s to the end of this organization.

Japan's Foreign Policy Perspective on the OAU and the African Union

The fundamental idea behind the OAU is the concept of pan-Africanism. Philosophically, this concept is larger than the world of the states and it was intended to structurally challenge the notion of the "dark continent" as invented by European powers. It is the embodiment of Pax Africana.

How did the pragmatism of Pax Nipponica meet the idealism of Pax Africana as defined through the Organization of the African Unity (OAU) and the African Union (AU)? In this section, I discuss the approaches and the actions of Japan to deal with a continental political organization which represented the interests of the whole. However, it is necessary to present very briefly some of the issues associated with the OAU.

On May 25, 1963, with the participation of all independent African countries, the OAU was finally formed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Since its creation, the OAU has been an ideological and institutional compromise among various ideological and political tendencies that developed among

African nationalists in the 1950s and early 1960s. The African states were polarized on ideological, personality politics, nation-state and historical differences, and the Cold War struggle. They were "trivialized" in international affairs and domestic and national power struggles, and they were not looking at what an independent Africa should be in the twenty-first century and beyond or what its public policy basis should be.

From the time of its formation, up to the early 1990s, the OAU functioned as a symbolic institution of unity, and its function was shaped mainly by this political symbolism. It should be emphasized that all the ideological conflicts which reflected international power alliances during the Cold War were also influential in the OAU summits and political discourse. Indeed, the Western powers did influence the OAU Charter, debates and policies through the channels of the client regimes of their former colonies or neocolonial power puppet regimes. In this sense, it functioned and reflected a microcosm of the international power struggle. For instance, the Monrovia Group versus the Casablanca Group (gradualism versus federalism) captured the essence of global external influence on fundamental issues such as the redefinition of the African inherited borders or economic independence of the continent.

However, concerning its behavior in international fora, it attempted, sometimes successfully and other times not so, to formulate common positions or resolutions. On the positive side, the position of the OAU against apartheid was firm and consistent. It supported the freedom fighters in Southern Africa militarily, financially, politically, and morally through a special committee of frontline states. Though some individual states were secretly or openly doing business with the apartheid state, especially in the areas of transportation, trade, and military equipment, the apartheid system did not have, in terms of open diplomacy and politics, supporters in the OAU. The decision of many African states expressed through the OAU to halt their relations with the State of Israel in the 1970s, after the 1977 six-day Israelo-Egyptian war, was commonly implemented, even if many states continued to enjoy special relations with the state of Israel in several fields such as agriculture and military and national intelligence arrangements. Generally speaking, they partially transcended their ideological particularities and the inflexibility of invented colonial borders.

Despite all ideological and pragmatic contradictions within the Organization of the African Unity, and the African states' economic pressures due to their underdevelopment, and the malfunctioning of the world economy, OAU was uncompromising when it came to the struggles for the political independence of the African countries.

Japan was very reluctant, as expected, to interact directly with the OAU between the early 1960s and 1970s. It opted for the development

of bilateral relations as defined by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its Diplomatic Blue Book, when the first issue was published in 1957. Japan's interests started to grow as Takehiko Ochiai indicated: "Japan quickly expanded Official Development Assistance (ODA) to African countries after the oil crisis. Japan's ODA to Africa increased 53.6-fold from $5 million in 1972 to $268.2 million in 1982, and further expanded 3.3-fold to $909.7 million in 1991. Japan's bilateral ODA also sharply increased from 1.1% in 1972 to 18.9% in 1980 when it reached its height" (2001: 40).

However, as the movement against apartheid intensified in the continent and as this struggle was appropriated by almost all the African states, youth organizations and organic intellectuals, and the struggle against apartheid became more internationalized, Japan was obliged to respond to this new vigor which expanded all over the continent. It also should be noted that the constructive engagement of the American President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, despite its short-sighted nature, was followed with massive sanctions against the apartheid and disinvestments by corporations and other institutions such as universities. Japan had very little political space to maneuver its old policy of status quo in South Africa.

Thus, Japan promoted a clearly accommodationist foreign policy toward Africa. Areas where Japan's intervention in the OAU became urgency included security, peace, and development or what is known as the so-called software aid areas.

The OAU established the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (MCPMR) in 1993 to create a system to deal with the African conflicts comprehensively. Japan started to contribute to the OAU Peace Fund since the fiscal year 1996, which was set up with this Mechanism to serve as its financial resource. Japan's contribution was used to support OAU initiatives (e.g., building of early warning systems, holding of peace conferences to resolve conflicts, etc.). The amounts of the Japanese contribution were FY1996: US$500,000; FY1997: US$450,000; FY1998: US$254,000; FY1999: US$250,000; and FY2000: US$150,000. The reasons for the fluctuation of the amounts are not clearly explained by MOFA. However, it is clear that while the financial needs increased in Africa because of civil wars and high political instability, Japanese financial contribution decreased in this area leading to the question of sustainability, consistency, and long-term achievable objectives. The implications of Pax Nipponica are also defined in relationship to the fact that Japan supported the Organization of African Unity's mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution.

In addition to the Japanese direct financial contributions to the OAU, Japan was also involved in other multilateral financial institutions among which was the African Development Bank (ADB). Tokyo joined the

African Development Fund (ADF) in 1973 and the ADB in 1983. Japan has been since the largest donor to the Bank. Its current share in African Development Fund (ADF) subscriptions stands at 13.6% (or 1.7 billion units). Japan's stake in the Bank's capital makes it the second nonregional shareholder. Japanese financial market is also playing a crucial role in financing ADB operations. As of 2002, one-third of ADB's entire borrowing portfolio was denominated in Japanese yen.

The African Union, which is structured after the European Union, was established on July 9, 2002 with 53 African member states. It is based on the principles of strong cooperation among the African states, the advancement of the so-called a common vision of development, self-help, and collective security. On the Third African Union (AU) Summit held on July 6–8, 2004 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the statement by the Press Secretary/Director-General for Press and Public Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, clearly indicated that Japan is working closely with the African Union Peace and Security Council, the TICAD process, and implementation of the NEPAD.

The perspective of Japan on African Union can be summarized in the Press Briefing document published on October 13, 2004, by MOFA (www.mofa.go.japan/announce) as follows:

> Japan on the one part and the African Union on the other part,
>
> Affirming their common interest in security, peace and stability of Africa;
>
> Affirming their common attachment to the promotion of NEPAD;
>
> Affirming the importance of enhancing Asia-Africa partnership;
>
> Aware of the fact that the TICAD (Tokyo International Conference on African Development) process has been assuming a leading role for African development;
>
> Mindful of the trend the African Union is accelerating to acquire its own identity by promoting integration of Africa as one continent; Have decided to intensify their dialogue and to strengthen their cooperation and partnership based upon deepening mutual understanding between Japan and the AU.

In terms of the objectives of dialogue and cooperation, it is stated in the same document that:

> The Two Parties will set out to explore together possible areas of cooperation. They will endeavor to strengthen their cooperation in particular with respect to the following areas:
>
> Tackling various challenges for Africa including conflicts and poverty;
>
> Strengthening mutual cooperation in the international arena including the activities of the United Nations;
>
> Promoting the Asia-Africa partnership with substantial benefits.

It is through the programs of NEPAD and TICAD that Japan is dealing with African Union. The speech of the Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi on the occasion of the Third Summit of the African Union on July 6, 2004, in Addis Ababa emphasized three important points, which became the guiding principles for foreign policy basis under Koizumi: first, "Consolidation of Peace," a prerequisite for development; second, "Japan has learned the importance of Poverty Reduction through Economic Growth"; and third, "Human-centered Development," is a vital agenda for Africa.

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Chapter Nine

Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Africa: Old and New Trends

Japan as a New Major Actor and Its Conceptualization of ODA

As explained earlier, ODA is a major policy activity intended by the governments of industrialized states to promote economic cooperation between the countries in the Global North and those in the Global South in order to improve socioeconomic conditions of people in developing world. Its standard has been defined by the DAC (Development Assistance Committee), which is one of the three committees of the OECD. Even with the existence of different types of foreign assistance and competition among them, ODA still constitutes over 50% of Japanese aid.

The significance of ODA [since the success of the Marshall Plan when the United States poured 2.5% of its GNP into the reconstruction and the recovery of Western Europe between 1947 and 1951 (Lairson and Skidmore 2003: 313)], has generally been examined from two important principles: idealism and humanism on the one hand, and self-interest on the other hand. Thus, on these principles, it can be deduced that the motivation of the United States to intervene was based on principles and grand ideal values of the centrality of humans and humanity within the perception of the world, as it ought to be, and the principles of national interests and security within the perception of the world of nation-states.

The mixture views between the need for saving Western Europe as part of the humanity of the world, and saving Western Europe as part of the dominant powers and capitalist world or Western culture and values, have shaped the discourse on foreign aid. Any foreign aid has costs and benefits. Most actors in the world of the states would choose the least costly means to actualize or to maximize their benefits. From the above principles and values, the "superiority" of the concept of foreign aid is based on the claim that foreign assistance ought to promote some kinds of efficiency and

equity, which would change the social conditions of the majority of people as compared to private financial flows, which mainly deal with interest of private capital (Lairson and Skidmore 2003: 316).

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned quickly that in the 1980s the faith in aid started to diminish. Optimism was changed to skepticism as the contradictions around aid programs the world over started to be debated and even denounced as Lairson and Skidmore stated:

> Critics increasingly questioned the purposes, philosophy, and methods of those who dispensed and received development assistance. Some charge that aid is a tool for serving the political and economic interests of donor countries. Moreover, aid may prop up repressive Third World governments, worsen inequality, and destroy the environment. Others attack aid as a needless and costly subsidy that sustains bloated Third World bureaucracies and discourage recipient governments from carrying out needed policy reforms or supporting private sector growth. Both the left and right condemn and corruption that too often plague foreign aid. (Ibid.: 314)

The strongly agreed upon working proposition, regardless of the schools of thought, has been that contradictions, benefits, and costs related to aid programs are outcomes of multilayered and complex processes, which are located in both in recipient and donors' nations and their conditions within the world system. The analytical errors have been to locate and examine those phenomena in the Global South only from a single narrow perspective. Thus, this author privileges relational or dialectics based kind of analysis.

ODA is one of the areas of Japanese politics that has promoted Japan on the international scene, especially in Africa, in a very speculator way. It is an activity or groups of activities mainly organized and promoted by MOFA within the Japanese structures of the government. Though the objectives and trends of ODA's activities are mostly interconnected within the Japanese foreign policy, they have to be investigated as part of the Japanese political economy at large. That is to say, the discussion on ODA is linked to both the Japanese economic development model and the Japanese foreign policy. However, there is a need to examine ODA in a chapter separate from both the model and foreign policy in order to focus better on its objective of pragmatism versus idealism of foreign policy in general. The Japanese foreign policy is more on the side of thoughts and ideas and guidelines. But the arguments in this chapter complement and support the claims advanced in other chapters. Here I describe ODA's purposes and its evolution. As Hook and Zhang stated:

> Ever since Japan's arrival as a major donor of foreign aid, the motivations underlying the Japanese aid program have been the subject of debate among

> policy makers and aid scholars. This debate has been particularly contentious since 1989, the year Japan achieved the status of world's leading donor of official development assistance (ODA). Japanese leaders subsequently pledged to become better "aid citizens" by supporting not only economic development but also political reforms in developing countries. In June 1992, the Japanese government adopted its first formal policy on development aid, the ODA Charter, which identified such factors as democratization, human rights, and restraint in military spending as preconditions for developing countries to receive Japanese aid. (Hook and Zhang 1998: 1051)

The above citation clearly indicates that ODA has a dual purpose: to advance economic development, and to support and encourage political reform in less industrialized countries. Did Japan pursue systematically this policy to Africa? If so, what were the policy outcomes? The ideas from this citation have been expanded and further clarified both in this section as well as in other chapters.

As discussed in the literature review in the chapters one and two, there have been several approaches used since the 1950s to deal with foreign assistance. The assessment of the outcome of the policies of foreign assistance combined with the international and national factors led to the creating of new approaches by the donors. As Lairson and Skidmore stated:

> The basic strategies and philosophies of development underlying foreign aid have shifted markedly over time. We can distinguish among five major approaches. A top-down model, pursued most vigorously during the 1950s and the 1960s, sought to stimulate Third World development through the provision of infrastructure and technical advice. The 1970s brought a more egalitarian "bottom up" strategy, designed to combine "growth" with "equity" through investment in the poor. During the 1980s, attention shifted to the strengthening of market mechanisms. New conditions placed on aid encourage governments to remove barriers to trade and foreign investment, encourage private sector growth, and adopt more orthodox economic policies. The 1990s witnessed an emphasis on sustainable development and preservation of the environment. Finally, aid agencies have begun to incorporate democracy-promotion programs alongside their traditional missions. (Ibid.: 317)

What have been the dominant approaches advanced by the Japanese state? First, it should be noted that Japanese approaches have not been dogmatically fixed and unchanged. They have not been written on stone despite the rigidity, and perhaps the efficiency also, of the Japanese bureaucracy. Second, it is necessary to ask whether the changes within the Japanese approaches or strategies were locally/domestically motivated or they were internationally induced. And third, has Japan been consistent and predictable in its foreign aid policies to Africa?

Two official approaches tend to have dominated in the interpretations of Japanese official assistance especially between 1989 and post-1992. The first deals with the motives, goals, and mechanisms associated with, and articulated by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), which "defended the use of aid as a vehicle for Japan's own economic growth" (Hook and Zhang 1998: 1052) and collective interests. MITI is one of the four governmental entities, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), the Ministry of Finance (MOF), and the Economic Planning Agency (EPA), which have been historically more involved in the definitions and the packaging of the ODA than any other units.

MITI has been concerned more with how to stimulate economic growth based on the multiplicity of the activities of ODA. Its agendas and activities have focused on the formulation of policies on industries, international trade, and the private sector. The dynamics of the "free" market and imperatives of the industry determined the guidelines of how ODA was approached. Official aid was conceived as a legitimate arm of the Japanese national policy.

The second approach, which has been projected through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), associates "Japanese aid with social and political factors of interest to most aid donors and international development" (Ibid). Economic interest, security issues, and nationalism are some of the motivating factors that have an impact on the way states and the market forces interact with one another. This perspective has dealt more with the classical software aid, especially the issues of development, improvement of human conditions, and protection of rights as it is discussed later. As Purnendra Jain and Takashi Inogushi stated:

> With the so-called end of geography, national security has become more a part of a regional or international co-operative security system; national economies have become parts of the global economy; national governance can best be conceived of as a part of global governance. Autonomous management of security and economic policies has become increasingly unsustainable. Japan has found that it cannot continue to be passive beneficiary of security arrangements underpinned by the United States; it cannot continue to sustain its position as a global economic power while maintaining a *keiretsu*-organised domestic economy; and above all, Japan's political economy cannot sustain the politics of complex clientelism in a self-contained policy environment. (1997: 3–4)

There is no law of gravity that shows that the countries in Western Europe and the United States should be the only countries to define the rules of the international political economy. With Japan onboard, Western nation-states and the United States ceased to claim to have a monopoly over the technical, scientific, and economic mechanisms and arguments/

propositions and political secrecy that can be instrumentalized to advance industrialization and economic growth.

Until the 1990s, Japan was perceived in the world as the "democratic bulwark in Asia against communism with a U.S. military presence being essential to help combat any possible communist insurgency in Asia (Hamilton 2000: 58). For instance, in Africa, which is the objective of this study, it entertained solid good relations with South Africa when most African countries were still colonized by the European powers as already stated in a different chapter.

It should also be mentioned that the visibility and the reputation of Japan on ODA were also influenced by Japan gradually becoming a major player in its own right. The United States could not keep the Japanese nation-state as a "genie-in-the-bottle" (ibid.) any more. By the 1970s, Japan also started to take some credits of the economic growth in Southeast Asia, especially in South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, and Singapore.

As a world economic leader, in order to implement its "comprehensive security" agenda, Japan operated firmly within the Euro-American orbit but without necessarily adopting the American model of development. This issue was expanded on in the chapter on the features of the model of economic development. The Japanese model has been defined by some as being articulated on the basis of the "guided capitalism" as expressed by Howard Stein:

> In contrast, in the main bank or Japanese system of companies are lent money by many banks and own equity in a number of financial institutions. However, one bank takes responsibility as a main bank. As a main bank, it takes the lead in arranging financing and owns a significant number of shares. The banks have widely dispersed ownership providing considerable autonomy… The government has a close relationship with banks. It plays an extensive role in setting sectoral priorities and in providing subsidized credit through the central bank. Public and quasi-public long-term banks participate with private sector banks in financing investment and extending the time horizons of loans. (1998: 30)

In April 1974, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) was founded. With it, Japan contributed to relocate the international capitalism in its regional dimensions, and redefine the nature of the international relations. This new role, among other factors, contributed to weaken the status of the United States as a hegemonic power as JICA started to focus on the balance of the regional economic and technical inputs into the industrialization. This is the beginning of the recognition of the regional contributions in the international capitalism. However, the Treaty of Rome of March 1957 that led to the creation of the European Economic

Community is considered the major commercial step in the redefinition of the functioning of the capitalist system.

With its new status came also higher expectations, and defined responsibilities and advantages, which contributed to encourage Japan to become more involved in international cooperation. The countries in the Global North became no longer the geopolitical arena defining the centrality of Western Europe and the United States in the world.

In redefining her role, Japan started to seek her own directions. In 1978, "Japanese government, for the first time, set up a medium-term ODA plan with quantitative goals. Since then, there have been five such plans and the growth of the ODA budget achieved most of its goals" (Fujisaki et al.: 521). Japan expanded her aid to Sub-Saharan Africa dramatically since the latter half of the 1970s (Morikawa 1997: 3).

Japanese financial market deregulation also started in the 1970s as Hideaki Miyajima and Hidetaka Aoki stated:

> Until the 1970s, firms had limited financial options due to strict regulation of bond markets. Collateral requirements made it prohibitively difficult for firms to issue bonds and the Bond Insurance Committee (the Kisaikai) decided which firms could issue unsecured straight bonds. In 1979, firms were allowed to issue unsecured straight bonds for the first time by introduction of the accounting index and profitability index as the bond issue criteria… This relaxation of the bond issue criteria was one of the conditions, besides other favourable macroeconomic factors, that made it possible for Japanese firms to raise money through equity-related bonds in either domestic or foreign markets. (2002: 73)

The "merger-mania," another dimension of deregulation, is characterized by monopoly, reduced the chance of the Japanese banks to diversify the lending and borrowing practices and policies. The law of the market forced Japan to compete in the market place with other world economic actors. Furthermore, with the drastic changes in the external environment, after the 1990s, Japan had to take some cautions in its economic assistance to Africa. Thus, within the context of hyper-competition in product market and uncertainty (Ibid.: 78), Japan was unwilling to take too many risks in Africa as explained in the foreign policy chapter.

Howard Stein also defined the pattern of Japanese assistance then as "sparse." He stated: "Assistance in the 1960s was to only a handful of African countries including Kenya, Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Tanzania, the pattern was still sparse through much of the 1970s with aid only becoming ubiquitous after 1980" (1998: 5).

Though the intensity and the priorities changed toward the end of 1980s and also after the creation of ODA's Charter in 1992, the assistance

was still characterized with a high level of selectivity. Nonetheless, the general interests of industrialized countries including those of Japan in Africa shifted significantly after the end of the Cold War era to Eastern and Central Europe.

In Japan, the percentages of the imports from Africa also diminished as Seifudein Adem indicated:

> The asymmetric nature of interdependence between the two is not only there for all to see but the gap is also widening considerably. For instance, the values of its imports from Africa shrank from US$4017.8 in 1994 to US$3878.8 million in 1998. Similarly, Japan's reliance on imports from Africa fell from 2% of the total values of its imports in 1989 to 1.4% in 1998. In 1999, Japanese exports to Sub-Saharan Africa fell 8.3% from the year earlier. In the same year, non-African country was listed in the category of the 20 countries from which Japan imports or to which it exports. (2001: 2)

General Issues and Trends about ODA

The quality and the quantity of the Japanese Official Development Assistance has been a constant source of debates from other donors among the OECD countries and researchers who are dealing with development issues. In spite of criticisms toward the Japanese strategies, intentions, and mechanisms of advancing its development programs, especially to the developing world, ODA is considered as an important contributing sector to the development of the world. It still constitutes over 50% of the Japanese aid. As Fujisaki et al. stated:

> The development of Japan's ODA can be characterized in four stages since the end of World War II. First, Japan began its postwar period as a major recipient of foreign aid. A total of $5 billion was provided from the United States between 1946 and 1951. Japan received thirty-four loan projects worth about $860 million) from the World Bank…The Second stage of Japan's ODA history began in 1954, when it joined the Colombo Plan to extend technical cooperation to Asian countries.…Japan entered the third period of ODA history upon the completion of reparations in 1976, when it began a period of systematic expansion…In 1989, Japan entered the fourth stage in the development of ODA history, as it became the largest donor of bilateral foreign aid with its net disbursement of $9 billion. (1997–1999: 520–521)

It is interesting to note that Japan became the top ODA donor for the first time among the Development Assistance countries (DAC) in December 1989 before Japan completed its repayment of its World Bank loans, which was due in July 1990. Thus, based on its own experience, Japan should be

in the position to assess more effectively the role and the impact of foreign assistance in the national development of the African countries despite different circumstances and histories.

Between 1991 and 2000, Japan's financial contribution to all aid given by the countries' members of the DAC was about 20%. Indeed, it should be emphasized that Japan came off the debtors list only at the end of the Cold War era. In fact, one year before the Tokyo Olympics (1964), which coincided with Japan's celebration of its new status based on its economic miracle, Japan was the second largest recipient of the World Bank loan projects after India (Orr 1990). The construction of Shinkansen was completed as a World Bank project and also many of the highways and other infrastructures were originally constructed through the World Bank Development assistance.

And it is only in June 1992 that the Japanese government announced the establishment of its Official Development Assistance Charter, after its approval at the Cabinet meeting. This raises the question of what is the relationship between loans, economic growth and development. Fujisaki, Briscoe, Maxwell, Kishi, and Suzuki wrote:

> Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) is undergoing a major transformation in the post–cold war era. Foreign aid is no longer an instrument of bipolar international competition. However, despite expectations of a peace dividend, total aid flows have not increased. On the contrary, the total supply of foreign aid spent by the twenty-one member states of Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) stagnated at about $60 billion per year from 1992 and 1994. Recession and increasing United Nations obligations for peacekeeping partly account for this, presenting further growth in ODA expenditures. Amidst these trends, Japan has become the top ODA donor. (1996–1997: 519)

At large, Japanese official assistance has been divided into two main categories: (a) "hardware aid" and (b) "software aid." Hardware aid, which includes assistance related to the building of infrastructures, physical construction such as schools, hospitals, bridges, dams, and provision of the equipment, has been dominating the Japanese foreign assistance since the 1950s. The software on, the contrary, is defined as for "human" resource development and institutional building in economic and social development sectors.

Furthermore, Fujisaki et al. citing JICA's report on Sectorial Development Group on Women in Development in 1991, indicated:

> These new elements of ODA policy have been adopted in response to discussions held in a series of major international conferences. Japan has

> reacted to these new trends by allocating more resources to new issues and reorganizing some ODA administrative structures. Based on the reports of the study groups, for example, guidelines were established by both JICA and OECD to make sure each project had components addressing poverty alleviation, WID, and other relevant areas. (Ibid.: 526)

The "new types of aid" and "small-scale projects" include: the promotion of democracy, good governance, WID, and participatory development; and global issues, which also include, the environment and sustainable development and population, and social development. It should be mentioned that within the ODA Charter, "Japan's commitment to environmental protection is outlined as part of the nation's 'aid philosophy,' and as one of the 'basic principles' and 'priority' issues of the aid programme" (Graham 2002: 141). The "software aid" is not totally new in Japan as it has been also dealing with training and education. However, the new issues have created a space for Japan to be involved in national policy at the capacity of advisor. The software type of aid creates new opportunities as well as challenges, as there are high expectations globally in terms of what Japan is capable of offering and for what specific purposes.

Before the end of the Cold War era, especially in 1989 and throughout the 1990s, Japan surpassed the United States as the world's largest contributor of overseas development assistance (ODA). Japan increased its international visibility in world affairs even in the areas of wars in countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, and the Great Lake Region of Africa. And toward the end of the 1990s, Japan was firmly in developing countries regardless of the past ideological dispositions in the countries as it is indicated in the table 9.1.

As the figures in table 9.1 indicate, despite the fact that Japan has became the number 2 donor to Africa after the United States, in 1986, 1990 (with the exception of Egypt which was numbered 10), the trends were consistent with those 1996, 1997, and 1998, no African country was listed among the top ten recipients of Japanese official development assistance (Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development, and Development Cooperation, Paris: OECD, 1987, 1991, and 1996). All the recipients on the top were located in Asia.

David Sedona also argued that with this top position, Japan faced some challenges. It emerged in the first half of the decade as the major source of official development assistance (ODA), as Western lending agencies cut back on their "aid"—with the increase exceeding the growth in its own national budget. The budget for fiscal year 1998, however, indicates a reduction of 10% 1998: 132). As Sedona continues to explain:

> Government sources explain this swinging cut in official development assistance (ODA) in terms of the need to restructure Japan's high deficit budget

Table 9.1 Major developing countries' recipients of Japan's bilateral ODA, 1996–1998 (Net Disbursement Basis; $ million)

	1996		*1997*		*1998*	
Rank	*Country*	*Amount*	*Country*	*Amount*	*Country*	*Amount*
1	Indonesia	965.53	China	576.86	China	1,158.16
2	China	861.73	Indonesia	496.86	Indonesia	828.47
3	Thailand	664.00	India	491.80	Thailand	558.42
4	India	579.26	Thailand	468.26	India	504.95
5	Philippines	414.45	Philippines	318.98	Pakistan	491.54
6	Pakistan	282.20	Viet Nam	232.48	Viet Nam	388.61
7	Mexico	212.84	Jordan	139.63	Philippines	297.55
8	Egypt	201.32	Sri Lanka	134.56	Sri Lanka	197.85
9	Bangladesh	174.03	Bangladesh	129.98	Bangladesh	189.05
10	Sri Lanka	173.94	Egypt	125.40	Malaysia	179.10
	Total above 10	4,529.30	Total above 10	3,114.82	Total above 10	4,793.70
	Bilateral Aid Total	8,356.26	Bilateral Aid Total	6,612.59	Bilateral Aid Total	8,605.90

Note: As the figures in the table are rounded off, they do not necessarily add up to the totals.

Source: Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, and Development Cooperation, Paris: OECD, 1996, 1997, 1998, and 1996. The figures were put together by the author.

> and reduce its very sizeable public debt. But there is more to it than that. The economic and financial crisis, which has followed the bursting of the Japanese "bubble," has been associated with increasing concern expressed regarding the high levels of overseas aid spending. (Ibid.)

Even with the reduction stated above, Japan firmly became the major donor in Africa as indicated in many parts of this study. Motoki Takahashi restates:

> Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for around 10 percent of her bilateral ODA (11.8 percent in 1993). This is a result of her efforts to diversify ODA recipient countries once heavily concentrated in Asia. Japan is now the largest donor country in the world. In 1993, her ODA amounted to about US$11 billion, far exceeds the USA. This is due partially to preferential budgetary allocation to ODA, which is now one of the most important vehicles to providing Japan's will to contribute to the international community… Japan's ODA now accounts for as much as one fifth of the total amount of ODA by OECD-DAC (Development Assistance Committee) members' countries. Consequently, receiving even only 10 percent of Japan's ODA means a great deal to Sub-Saharan recipients. Japan was the fourth largest donors

> to Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole in 1991 and 1992 in terms of net ODA, and was the top to Ghana, Kenya, and Nigeria. (1996: 10)

Since the early 1990s, the Japanese government has been consistently readjusting its economic assistance to respond to both recipient's demands and conditions, and some national and international imperatives and criticisms. The criticisms have been about Japan putting more emphasis on "hardware aid," which is not human centered, but rather materially oriented factors such as international trade and industrialization. Fujisaki, et al. stated:

> In recent years, the Japanese government has begun to suggest new directions for ODA. In 1992, an ODA Charter was adopted in an attempt to improve ODA quality. It defined four principles for the provision of aid: (1) compatibility with environmental preservation; (2) avoidance of military use of ODA; (3) monitoring of recipient country military expenditures; and (4) promotion of democratization, a market-oriented economy, basic human rights and freedom. In 1995, this vision was sharpened in a proposal submitted to the United Nations Working Group on an agenda for development in August 1995. This is one of the most comprehensive document policy papers on international development that Japanese government to international community. It highlights three themes: Japan's strong confidence in the applicability of "East Asian development model" to other developing countries; Japan's unique approach to foreign aid, including emphasis on recipient countries' self-help efforts and an importance of democracy, good governance, and role of women as guiding principles for development. (524)

For instance, as discussed in the section on TICAD, the 2003's meeting of Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) emphasized Asia-Africa's cooperation. It called for further consolidation of Africa-Asia as articulated earlier in the Bandung Conference with the differences that the current call puts more emphasis on free liberal market than on political and ideological expressions of non-alignment. However, bringing Asia into TICAD is a new trend that attempts to link the Global South and North but under the guidance and supervision of Japan.

Selected Illustrations of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Africa

According to MOFA:

> ODA is a premise of activities for economic cooperation led by the governments of industrialized countries aiming at the economic and social development, the improvement of welfare and the stabilization of human life.

> The DAC (Development Assistance Committee) indicates the ODA standards as follows: (1) The fund is supplied by a governmental agency; (2) the objective of the funding is to contribute to the development of economy and the improvement of welfare in developing countries; (3) in order to eliminate the hardship of developing countries, the grant element (indicator of assistance when an untied grant is counted as 100%) should be over 25%. (2001: 9)

The mission of ODA is clearly stipulated on three main points cited above. In this section, the main objective is to broadly elaborate on ODA's official objectives as defined by the Japanese government, to identify its dominant patterns to Africa since the 1970s paying attention to its policy implications. I also discuss old and new trends in general terms relying mainly on the general available data. I am not undertaking any analysis based on econometrics or on quantitative correlative equations between variables related to financial assistance, the market growth, expenditures, etc. Rather, I am comparatively and critically interpreting the significance of the figures of the ODA that the Japanese government has provided to Africa over the years. This does not diminish the quality of the interdisciplinary and structuralist approaches we use in examining the policy implications of the Japanese ODA in Africa at large, and the real intention or the hidden agenda behind the Japanese ODA in particular.

The main questions are as follows: Is there any consistency or inconsistency within these patterns? Have they been any conditionality imposed on or negotiated about or behind the ODA, if any?

As explained in several parts of this book, development assistance is one of the most important agenda items in the international development debates and policies of the G-8 and OECD countries toward Africa. ODA is also part of the Millennium Development Goals, which should be achieved by 2015.

In its 2002 meeting in Monterrey (Mexico), the G8 agreed to increase its ODA to Africa by US$25 billion a year by 2010, more than doubling aid to Africa compared to 2004. Japan agreed to increase its ODA by US$10 billion in aggregate number over five years from 2004. It committed to double its ODA to Africa over three years from 2004. It should be noted that in terms of the total actual ODA between 2001 and 2004, Japan's ODA was only higher than that of Canada and Italy. It was behind other members of the G8 and OECD countries. In terms of the ambition of the G8 promises between 2005 and 2010, Japan's ODA is only higher than that of Canada with US$3,412 million and US$1,274 million respectively. However, in terms of the proposed increase between 2005 and 2010 in ODA to Africa as a share of GNI (ODA as % of GNI), Japan's ODA is the lowest 0.06%. The United States is the next highest 0.07% and France

is the highest 0.33%. In short, although Tokyo's ODA is in a declining trend since 1995, Japan is still ranked number two in the world, after the United States.

The figures in table 9.2 indicate the ranking of Japanese bilateral official assistance to African countries in grant assistance, technical assistance, and ODA loans. This illustration gives us only some ideas about the distribution of ODA in a single year. Although the table does not provide enough data upon which we can discuss about trends, it may reveal an important distribution as compared to the pre-apartheid and the Cold War.

Based on the Japan's Cooperation for Africa by figure in its document entitled: "Together, Toward the Future," published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which used data from the UNDP Human Development Report (2003), in 2001, Japan's expenditure on assistance to Africa in the past nine years amounted to US$11,249,200,000. This made Japan ranked the fourth after France, the United States, and Germany of the leading DAC (Development Assistance Committee is one of three major committees of the Organization for Economic Cooperation Development/ OECD) countries, indicating obviously Japan's standing among the international community (see also table 9.3).

Japan's Bilateral ODA, according to categories and regions of the expenditure based on net amount in 2001, reveals the following distribution: out of ODA total US$7,452,040,000, Africa received $US1,090,940,000 (or 14.6%), Asia received $US4,220,480,000 (or 56.6%), Central and South America with US$738,210.000 (or 9.9%), Middle East with US$47,580,000 (or 0.6%) and other with $US1,137,220,000 (or 15.3%). When it comes to technical cooperation in the same year, out of the total amount of US$2,942,730,000, Africa received US$276,310,000 (or 9.4 %), Asia US$1,088.260,000 (or 37.0%), Latin and South America US$302,990,000 (or 10.3%), Middle East US$82,500,000 (or 2.8%), Europe US$42,520,000 (or 1.4%), Pacific Region US$44.670,000 (or 1.5%). In the Grant Aid sector, out of the total of US$1,906,670,000, Africa received US$675,350,000 (or 35.4%), Asia US$721,510,000 (or 38.2%), Central and South America US$269,620,000 (or 2.5%), Middle East US$82,5000,000 (or 6.1%), Pacific Region US$48,410,000 (or 2.5%), Europe US$41,960,000 (or 2.2%), and other US$25,680,000 (or 1,4%).

It should be noted that out of the total Japan's World Bilateral ODA of US$7,452,040,000 in 2001, US$1,906,670,000 (or 25.6%) were allocated for the Grand aid, US$2,942,730,000 (or 39,5%) for Technical Cooperation, and other had US$2,602,640,000 (or 34.9%). Out of the total assistance of US$1,090,940,000 for Africa, US$675,350,000 (or 61.0%) was for grant aid, US$276,310,000 (25.3%) for Technical cooperation, and other received US$13,570,000 (or 1.6%).

Table 9.2 Major African recipients of Japan's bilateral assistance by aid type, 1998

	Grant Aid			*Technical Cooperation*				*ODA Loans*			
Rank	*Country/Territory*	*Amount*	*Share*	*Rank*	*Country/Territory*	*Amount*	*Share*	*Rank*	*Country/Territory*	*Amount*	*Share*
1	Tanzania	81.05	3.74	1	Kenya	31.94	1.15	1	Ghana	94.33	2.58
2	Madagascar	43.29	2.00	2	Egypt	23.20	0.83	2	Botswana	29.21	0.80
3	Guinea	42.35	1.95	3	Tanzania	21.81	0.78	3	Egypt	20.22	0.55
4	Egypt	41.84	1.93	4	Ghana	15.42	0.55	4	Morocco	16.71	0.46
5	Malawi	41.37	1.91	5	Zambia	13.12	0.47	5	Tunisia	15.49	0.42
6	Ghana	39.25	1.81	6	Malawi	12.30	0.44	6	Benin	14.37	0.39
7	Mozambique	37.63	1.74								
8	Senegal	25.67	1.18								
9	Mali	24.31	1.12								
10	Zambia	22.97	1.06								
11	Mauritania	22.01	1.02								
	Bilateral Aid Total	421.74	19.46		Bilateral Aid Total	117.79	4.22		Bilateral Aid Total	190.33	5.2

Note: As the figures in the table are rounded off, they do not necessarily add up to the totals.

Source: Development Assistance Committee (DAC) 1998 Geographical Distribution.

Table 9.3 List of African countries to which Japan was the top donor, 1993–1996

1993	*Amount*	*Share*	*1994*	*Amount*	*Share*	*1995*	*Amount*	*Share*	*1996*	*Amount*	*Share*
Gambia	12.73	25.5	Gambia	11.5	30.1	Ghana	122.1	34.1	Benin	44.7	27.1
Ghana	83.06	26.9	Ghana	134.75	40.6	Kenya	198.4	43.3	Botswana	18.0	26.5
Kenya	141.66	33.1	Kenya	128.93	32.2	Tanzania	124.3	21.2	Ghana	110.0	31.5
			Sierra Leone	10.68	19.1	Zambia	78.5	17.9	Kenya	92.8	26.8
			Tanzania	104.76	18.4	Zimbabwe	65.6	18.9	Tanzania	105.7	17.5
			Zambia	106.31	24.5				Zimbabwe	46.7	16.6
3 countries			6 countries			5 countries			6 countries		

Note: Excludes assistance to Part II.

Source: Development Assistance Committee (DAC) 1998 Geographical Distribution. Japan was the second largest donor to the following countries (1997): Tunisia, Central African Republic, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Mauritius, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Togo (8 countries).

It would be necessary to distinguish between grant aid and technical assistance. According to MOFA:

> Grant aid is the form of monetary assistance involving the provision of funds to the governments of developing countries without the obligation of repayment. The Japanese government provides funds, instead of equipments and facilities. Target fields eligible for grant aids are basically limited to the BHN (Basic Human Needs), with low profit, such as medical care and other health-and sanitation-related matters, water supply, primary and secondary education, agriculture and agricultural development, environment and human development, all of which are difficult to assist through loans aid. (2001: 9)

The Japanese government also defines technical cooperation as follows:

> It refers to the economic cooperation aiming at technical diffusion and improvement of its standard toward the people living in various areas in developing countries. According to the classification by the DAC, technical cooperation on government bases is regarded as a bilateral loan. . . . Technical assistance of the JICA includes dispatching experts, invitation of trainees to Japan," Technical cooperation project" combined with loans of equipments essential for technical assistance, "development-relate search" to help formulate public development projects which contribute to developing countries social and economic development. (Ibid.)

In addition to Grant Aid and Technical Assistance, there are also Yen Loans. These loans are extended on the premise that the principal will be repaid with interests. And interest rates are fixed below commercial rates according to development level of the recipients (Yasutomo 1986). The process of obtaining these loans requires intensive bureaucratic bargaining within the ministries involved.

For instance, in 2001 Asia received the highest economic assistance in all the categories, followed by Africa (except in the area of technical cooperation), then comes the distant second Central and South America, then the Middle East, then the Pacific Region and Europe which are close to one another. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that the Middle East has oil (Saudi Arabia being the number one in terms of world oil reserve), Japan had relatively offered lowest economic assistance to the region. Is it because the region does not need any significant economic assistance? Or is it so because of the low policy projection in relationship to the Japanese national and strategic interests within the collective security thinking in a long-run? Explanation in this case cannot be generalized because it is short duration.

Although it contributes to a tiny fraction of the gross domestic product (GDP), in some African countries, the contribution of agriculture to GDP,

Table 9.4 Import from Africa to Japan in the agricultural sector in 2001 (million yen)

Import	*Amount (Million Yen)*
Agricultural Products	66.245
Fishery Products	58.158
Forestry Products	35.950
Ores	172.627
Mineral Fuels	84.844
Industrial Products	131.137
Other Goods	2.484
Total Japan's Imports from Africa (Approximately 4. 5 Billion US dollars).	551.445

Source: Official OECD Web site 2002.

export earnings, and employment is, on average, 35%, 40%, and 70% respectively. Furthermore, on every perspective, despite some efforts, the small holder is still the source of the livelihood. However, its productivity is the lowest in the world due to a result of many complex problems and combined factors such as lack of technology, fertilizers, low market incentives, weak institutional supports, poor human labor, poor land, etc. Agriculture is still the important sector in the African economy. For instance, in the agricultural sector, it is indicated that in 2001 Japan imported from Africa more mineral related products as well as industrial products than those of traditional agricultural sector such as food and fishery. But this is far from being part of an established trend. An illustration from the table 9.4 reveals that ores, mineral fuels, and industrial products constituted the most important sectors than the sectors where the majority of people live in Africa—none industrial sectors.

The figures discussed in this section indicate some consistency and progress in economic relations between Japan and Africa at large. No African country was considered as Japan's big trading partner in services and industries. Its big trading partners, for instance, in 2003 and 2004, in services were the United States as the number 1, followed by the United Kingdom, Korea, China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Germany Australia, France, Netherlands, and Russia, (Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs 2006: 93). ODA total contribution in Asia was still the dominant Japanese domain with about 45.4 % in 2002. In Africa, it is the United States that was leading with about 19.6%, then France 18.7%, next the United Kingdom 8.9%, Germany at 8.0%, and Japan, which is listed among others at 44.8%.

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Chapter Ten

Japan's Relationship with Africa in Post-Bipolarity: A Reflection on the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD)

Issues and Expectations about TICAD, and Its Overall Objectives

Has Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) produced a real new perspective or strategy in the Japanese-African political economic relationship since the end of bipolarity? Does it embody plans with realistic programs of actions that would positively shift the paradigms of international cooperation between Japan and Africa in a sustainable manner? Or is it just a compilation of isolated political statements that lacks a coherent political framework? In short, does TICAD represent a new approach substantively different from the neoliberal market and selective strategies that have hitherto dominated Africa's relations with industrialized countries, including Japan?

TICAD was initiated and created by the Japanese government after the collapse of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies that ended the bipolar system that was founded on ideological and military struggles between the Soviet Union and the West led by the United States. Thus, it was assumed that this new initiative's objectives would reflect the prescribed agenda of post–Cold War politics to pursue peaceful development and promote better interactions between the industrialized countries and less industrialized ones. The arguments were made that this would lead to creating a peaceful and different global development. It was expected that the actors would have an opportunity to look critically at the past history and embrace the new world with new thoughts and purposes. The prospect of a new world also presents some uncertainty as the new transitional world embodies elements of unknown. In principle, expectations have been that the new world should have less political and military tensions as compared to those associated with bipolarity and balkanization of Cold War politics.

Since the first TICAD in 1993, TICADs have constituted not only the unavoidable approach (or mechanism) of the Japanese foreign policy toward Africa, but have also produced programs for rapprochement between Africa and Asia, especially East Asia. These conferences have become the center of the Japanese foreign policy toward Africa in post–Cold War politics.

TICADs have set goals with internal mechanisms or platforms for articulating the Japanese government's intended objectives. They also have produced layers of expectations both in Africa and in Japan about how to achieve positive outcomes. All ODA policies toward Africa are directly or indirectly defined, formulated, and implemented through TICAD's guidelines though not all ODA programs fit into the TICADs' pragmatism. ODA is the oldest Japanese foreign policy instrument. TICADs have not replaced totally ODA yet. They have created, not only a complex motion/movement, nonlinear methods, but also a directive diplomatic framework, which are examined in terms of collective potentiality of gains that the conferences have been promising to provide in relationship to the issues of development, governance, security, peace, and stability in Africa and Asia.

As new and innovative ideas in Japanese foreign policy, TICADs have potentially been facing (consciously or unconsciously) some forms of resistances from within some segments of members of the Japanese bureaucracy and ministries as well as from within African and international communities. The attitude of resistance is a normal process of dealing with any new innovations no matter their social and historical goals, origins, and contexts. The newness of TICADs may be considered as a threat to one state or empowering to another one, depending on the dialectical nature of the relationship between the initiators/donors and the clients, their social and political location, and how they pursue their objectives for the benefit of their respective communities. The first step is to try to understand what this relatively new phenomenon is and what it entails.

As demonstrated earlier, the African conditions and the consequences of the past SAPs constitute the pull factors the Japanese state responded to. The early 1990s also came with a nationally and internationally based optimism associated with the end of Cold War and the beginning of the rise of global liberal democracy in many parts of the world. However, the international aid fatigue that is directly related to the characterization of the 1980s as "the Africa's lost decade" also engendered skepticism about what could be done to assist the African people and the states to deal effectively with their underdevelopment and the need for democracy. It is within the context of the new optimism associated with the so-called the victory of international capitalism over the so-called evil empire as defined

by President Ronald Reagan, and the defeatist spirit associated with foreign aid syndrome that TICAD was born and promoted.

In addition, Africa and its enormous problems were no longer perceived as priorities by the donors. There was an essential shift in the political economy of the West by its donor agencies toward the former communist states in Eastern and Central Europe.

TICADs have become well-known policy guidelines intended to be used by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) as the basis for its international relations with Africa. However, other Ministries such as those of Finance, Education, Culture Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), Health, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, not to forget the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (MLIT), the Ministry of Posts and Tele-communications, and the Economic Planning Agency have all been actively involved in the decision-making procedures regarding TICADs. As a relatively new area through which one should examine the implications of the Japanese political economic assistance to Africa, it is necessary to shed some light, though briefly, on the context in which the TICAD was born.

The changes in the global political context in the 1990s, the failures of most policy aspects of the economic reforms in Africa and the needs for political reforms in Japan and Africa required rethinking Japan-Africa relations. Japan itself was changing its perception of Africa. Despite the hardship associated with Africa, Japan started to perceive Africa as an opportunity as articulated by various officials (Ampiah 2005: 99). The context can be characterized as one of global reformism.

The first TICAD was held in 1993 in Tokyo, the second in Tokyo in 1998, the third in 2003 also in Tokyo, and the fourth in Yokohama in 2008. We examine their objectives, their policy significance, and some of their achievements.

The initiative about TICAD was proposed first of all by Japan within the United Nations' system in 1991. It implies that Japan wanted the United Nations to be involved in its initiatives and thought that it was possible to mobilize the support for Africa through international arena in which Japan should play a central role.

Kweku Ampiah authoritatively states about the initial motivation behind the TICAD as follows:

> According to Japanese policy-makers, the TICAD is Japan's way of highlighting Africa's developmental problems, and of reminding the international community that the continent's problems did not melt away with the end of the Cold War. It is said to emanate from the conception that the

> developmental problems of Africa are genuinely global issues that should be addressed collectively by the international community. There are also grounds for supposing that TICAD might serve certain other Japanese policy aims, as we shall describe in due course. It is worth emphasizing that the first TICAD was proposed by Japan at a UN General Assembly meeting in 1991 and was effectively organized by Takaya Suto, the then Director-General of the Middle Eastern and African Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) of Japan. Hence, despite the international inflection of the TICAD process, there is no doubt that it is the invention of Japan, and it is the Japanese government which orchestrates it. . . . Essentially, the TICAD suggests a grand shift in Japan's attitude towards Africa and the region's developmental problems, broadening the tools of analysis and the methods for the possible resolution of these problems. It brings into perspective the relevance of the East Asian economic development model to the African situation. In conjunction with this, the importance of formal education at every stage of the development process is also emphasized as a means of engaging with the issue of human resources development. (Ibid.)

The above long and comprehensive statement embodies important points that are considered central within the framework of the search for new paradigms in both Japan and Africa. First, the initiative took place at the end of bipolarity and international ideological and military struggles between the United States and the former Soviet Union. The general impression is that Tokyo felt freer to act and to establish its own foreign policy base toward Africa instead of continuously acting as a clientelist state to the United States and to a lesser extent, European powers. Second, TICAD is an attempt at reflecting a shift in the policy discourse from Asia to Africa. And third, Japan also wanted Africa to learn from the Asian economic success story in relationship to Japan. Thus, Africa and Asia are called to cooperate and advance new international cooperation with less ideological motivation. In addition to this shift, it should be emphasized that TICAD is a forum and not a fundraising event as Jun Morikawa stated:

> First of all, the position of the Japanese government, which is the sponsor of TICAD, has been clear from the outset. It has been repeatedly driven home that the Conference is not for the making of aid pledges. It is no more than a high-level forum for discussing principles and strategies for African development . . . The second matter the Japanese government has emphasized to participants from Africa is that both individual and collective self-help are required before they can expect aid . . . Thirdly, whilst Tokyo refers to self-help efforts, the fact is that the actual economic reconstruction and new development strategies concerned were not independently formulated by African nations. (2006: 46)

Is this shift real, symbolic, or a reflection of mixture of both? Practically, these conferences must have policy implications and impact in both Japan

and Africa. The conferences produce debates, analyses, and recommendations even as we note that these are not academic conferences. They are essentially political with policy purposes.

Since the end of the Cold War era, all the international conferences recently have defined economic development, gender equality, liberal democratization, especially good governance, accountability, respects of the rule of law, and conflict resolutions as conditionalities toward the establishment of productive relationships. What is the uniqueness of the TICAD I?

During the TICAD I, the Tokyo Declaration identified the following key issues of development in Sub-Saharan Africa (Takahashi 1996: 11):

- Political and Economic reforms initiated by the countries themselves;
- Sustainable economic development propelled by private-sector activity;
- Regional cooperation and integration conducive to open multilateral trade;
- Prevention of an emergency relief for the natural and human-made disasters which act as bottlenecks for development;
- Transfer of successful experiences of Asian economic development and promotion of South-South cooperation; and
- International cooperation for the resolution of broader development issues including gender relations, environment, and HIV.

Four important features of TICAD I are self-reliance, cooperation, partnership, and learning from East and South East Asian countries. The Japanese through TICAD I encouraged African countries to take initiatives about their development processes. These initiatives should be defined and actualized within the framework of economic and political reforms, which include the following items: diversification of economic activities, privatization, poverty alleviation, improvement of the general welfare, and democratization. Shinsuke Horiuchi summarized his views on TICAD I as follows:

> In short, continuation of structural adjustment policies is the main strategy. The priorities are the private sector, foreign direct investment and infrastructure. ODA is given a secondary role to private investment in Africa.... Developed countries are requested to formulate a comprehensive strategy incorporating ODA, trade and debt reduction. So far as the development strategy was concerned, it did not go beyond the Washington Consensus. (2005: 28)

In addition to adopting the Tokyo Declaration on Africa Development, the conference also clearly stated the fundamental philosophy of TICAD

process: interrelationship between African self-help efforts (ownership) and international support (partnership), as well as Asia-African cooperation.

TICAD I did not intend to qualitatively challenge the dependency of African political economy on the industrialized countries' economies and finances, as the structures of the world politics remain unchanged. However, TICAD I seemed to project that Africa could become the major consumer of made-in-Asia, especially made-in-Japan but Africa is still stationed as the primary producer of the raw materials. How can Africa own her development initiatives and transform her raw materials within the existing structures of trade liberalizations?

During TICAD II in October 1998 in Tokyo, the Tokyo Agenda for Action (TAA) was adopted. The conference was becoming more visible, as it was growing in the number of participants and also in the actions that participants expressed their willingness to move from theory to more pragmatic programs. This TICAD was held under the joint auspices of Japan, especially MOFA, the United Nations and Global Coalition for Africa (GCA). The Conference was attended by a large number of delegates from 80 countries (51 African, 11 Asian, 18 North American and European), 22 NGOs, and 40 international organizations (Ochiai 2001: 37). As Takehiko Ochiai stated:

> At the end of the proceedings, delegates adopted the "Tokyo Agenda for Action," which included guidelines for action to be taken by African countries and their development partners in order for Africa to achieve social development, economic development, good governance and conflict prevention. One of the most significant features of the Agenda is that it expressed a great concern in conflicts that undermine Africa's efforts to pursue stability and sustainable development, thus upholding the strong commitment among the countries to necessary actions in strengthening African structures and capacities for conflict response. The necessary actions declared in the Agenda included continued financial and technical assistance to strengthen the capacity of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and subregional organisations for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. (Ibid.)

In addition, other important items articulated in TICAD II include: a more central role of the state in resource mobilization, the improvement in income distribution, the creation of employment opportunities, revitalization of rural communities, improvement of public expenditures, and the expansion of social services (Horiuchi 2005: 472). The centrality of the issues of stability, sustainability and conflict resolution in the agenda constitutes a new area in which Japan is accumulating some capacity, that

it would like to share with African governments. Concerning democracy, for instance, Shinsuke Horiuchi stated:

> TAA requested strongly that governments reaffirm their commitment to improvements in democratic elections, strengthen the capacity of the legislature and judiciary, prevent corruption, devolve power, and restructure the civil service. It also recommended that development partners support the efforts by African governments to enhance capacity building in the administration, legislature and judiciary . . . It is regrettable that the support in the area of good governance and democratization is not the main thrust of Japanese ODA as a co-organizer of TICAD. (Ibid.: 473)

The TAA was intended to guide concrete policy implementation by African countries and their partners for African development toward the twenty-first century. It has a resource mobilization message and a pragmatic urgency. As Shinsuke Horiuchi states:

> TAA proposes rules and strategies or African development under the African ownership. This is the point of departure of TICAD II from other initiatives. Although TAA proposes that the private sector should be allowed to do what it does better, this is not defined and the emphasis is placed on the role of the state in economic growth. The state is asked to take more positive actions in every area of activities. TAA recommends, among other measures, mobilization of resources that can be obtained by rationalization of public investments, the creation of employment opportunities, improvement of income distribution, the revitalization of rural communities, the improvement of public expenditures, and the expansion of social services, especially the nets. This is significant departure from the rules of advocated by the liberal economics. These proposals are the remuneration of Asian experiences and represent shifts from the standardized structural adjustments policies. (Ibid.)

The areas that are part of this agenda include social, economic, and infrastructure development framed upon the fundamental philosophy of ownership and partnership. At TICAD II, Japan announced its willingness to extend more debt-relief grant aid. In line with this announcement, Japan increased the amount of debt-relief grants for yen loans up to the end of fiscal 1997 (previously the end of fiscal 1987) to five African countries, which are Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi, Mauritania, and Kenya. Japan also decided to extend debt-relief grants for yen loans that were agreed from fiscal 1988 to the end of fiscal 1997 to two new other countries (Mali and Zambia). Now, Japan has extended debt-relief grants to a total of 28 countries, among which 22 were LLDCs (Least among the Less Developed Countries) and 6 MSACs (Most Seriously Affected Countries)

(*Source*: www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/summary/1999, accessed on June 25, 2009).

Before TICAD III, there was an important TICAD Ministerial-Level Meeting in which 52 African countries, 28 Asian and Western countries, a total of 89 countries, and 32 international and regional organizations participated. The major agenda item was the discussion of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)[1] by the international community. NEPAD as already mentioned is a controversial program that has not produced yet any tangible positive outcome in changing positively the conditions of the majority of poor Africans. There is an ongoing debate among African scholars about the origins of the NEPAD, its objectives, and how it intends to actualize them. As Dani Nabudere wrote:

> NEPAD is premised upon the hope that the G-8 "development partners" will provide the financial backing required for its implementation. Indeed, at the very inception of MAP and Plan Omega, the thinking behind the two "initiatives" was that if Africa is to get out of the development trap, it must do so by becoming fully integrated into the global economy. Indeed, the whole conception of Mbeki's concept of the "African Renaissance" is deeply premised on this understanding. (2003: 27)

Although the creation of the Peer Review committee of NEPAD within the African Union can be viewed as an effort of the African states to monitor the behavior of the system of governance in order to promote the rule of law and eradicate corruption, this agency does not have any continental power for the implementation of the new policies associated with TICADs.

At the TICAD III meeting in September 2003, Japan played the role of mobilizing and integrating international support for NEPAD. The major organizers of TICAD III were Japan, the United Nations, the World Bank, and the Global Coalition for Africa. As a mobilizing force, Japan positioned itself as the most "compassionate" and "visionary" about the African socioeconomic maladies. This position has its strengths and weaknesses in the study of international political economy. Japan has to match its discourse with its "Cheque Book" diplomacy identified earlier.

Members of the G-8, including Japan, became the advocates of this initiative and they agreed to raise financial capital for NEPAD. Most of studies on NEPAD have shown, in a consistent manner, that it has not had any significant positive impact in the *Afrique profonde* (profound Africa). Its programs are not owned by Africans for the simple reason that financially it depends on the G-8's political will to raise the financial capital for Africa. Furthermore, its programs have not yet democratically reached the

poor people in their villages and in the agricultural economy. Peasants and farmers have not been able to bring their input into the way NEPAD is organized and how it has been functioning. It is still essentially a business of a few unconnected bureaucrats, politicians and consultants.

Nevertheless, in 2003, Tokyo committed to provide JPY 90 billion (approximately US$750 million) to Africa for over five years as part of its economic assistance package in education, health care, and water supply sectors. Approximately JPY 63 billion were disbursed in 2002.

It is necessary to add that the number of political participants in TICADs significantly increased, for instance, that of African heads of states from 5 at TICAD I, to 15 at TICAD II, and to 23 at TICAD III (Horiuchi 2005). TICAD III was held in Tokyo with high-level participation of African leaders, including 20 heads of international organizations. It was heralded as one of the largest international conferences on African development.

Kweku Ampiah observed that "In his keynote speech at TICAT III, the Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, enumerated what he referred to as three pillars that comprise Japan's initiative for assistance to Africa within the TICAD framework. These are "human-centered development, "poverty reduction" through economic growth and the "consolidation of peace" (2005: 550).

In the 3 pillars, the emphasis on human centered development seems to be relatively new in TICADs. What does the concept of human centered development mean? What does it imply based on Japan's own experience and the African objective conditions and needs? Shinsuke Horiuchi clarifies this concept of human-centered phenomenon in making this observation:

> Mrs Ogata, the Co-Chair of the Commission on Human Security stated in her remarks that human security concept proposes a two-pronged strategy focusing on the protection and empowerment of people. Protection refers to norms, processes and institutions that shield people from critical and pervasive. It implies a "top-down" approach such as building accountable and transparent institutions and democratic governance processes. Empowerment emphasizes people as actors and participants in defining their security and rights. It implies "bottom-up" approach… Furthermore Mrs. Ogata raised a very important and fundamental issue on implementation of assistance. Point out that it is impossible to separate the issues of development, poverty eradication, social equality, conflict, conflict resolution, and peace building, she casts doubt on the adequacy of the existing international cooperation machinery: "I seriously question whether the assumptions underlying the existing international machinery, such as the primacy of states and national sovereignty are still adequate today. (Horiuchi 2005: 473)

A political statement "TICAD 10th Anniversary Declaration" that renewed the commitment of leaders for African development was announced at the conference. The TICAD process continues to promote its agenda in collaboration with the African Union and NEPAD. During TICAD III, a mini-conference on Asia-Africa Trade and Investment Cooperation Conference (AATIC) was agreed upon. Thus, it was held in November 2004 in Tokyo to promote the idea of "Poverty Reduction through Economic Growth" as well as "Asia-Africa Cooperation." The Japanese Government proposed four key concepts at AATIC:

1. "Formulation of an appropriate policy" for establishing an industrial foundation;
2. "Product development" with a focus on improving quality to increase competitiveness;
3. "Empowerment of small-and medium-size local enterprises (SMEs)" generating income and employment in local communities; and the
4. "Promotion of a social contribution by private enterprises" prompting equitable growth (*Source*: http://www.ticad.net/aatic-2.html, accessed June 25, 2009).

As already indicated, in 2003, the third conference (TICAD III) made an explicit commitment for TICAD to support the African Union's (AU) NEPAD—known as a blueprint for Africa's socioeconomic growth and development.

TICAD IV was well publicized by collaborating institutions such as the United Nations' Agencies, the Japanese government as well as the African governments. It sets the agenda for further progress in helping mobilize global and international support for meeting the challenges in Africa.

It took place at the beginning of the major economic crisis of 2008 that started with a serious recession in the United States in which real estates, major insurance companies, and the banking system were showing signs of distress. After 15 years of the experiment with the Japanese sponsored conferences, the fourth TICAD was held between May 28 and 30, 2008 in Yokohama, Japan, a relatively provincial city of business as compared to Tokyo, which is a city of politics and international affairs. There was a high level of enthusiasm about potential outcome of this conference. But what were its main policy message and strategies to actualize its objectives? According to Ban Ki-Moon, United Nations Secretary-General:

> TICAD IV is a vital forum for promoting African development within the framework of African–Asian cooperation and achievement of the

> Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015. The TICAD process promotes economic growth, human security, and environmental sustainability. Through the MDG Africa Steering Group, the United Nations and key partners are spurring progress towards achieving these very goals. I am happy that both the UN and TICAD share this vision of hope and opportunity for Africa. (*Source*: http://www.ticad.net/aatic-2.htm)

Within the framework of the Yokohama Action Plan (YAP), which was presented at the conference, Japan announced that it will double its aid to Africa over the next five year. Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda (he was the ninety-first Prime Minister of Japan who served from 2007 to 2008) announced that Japan pledged to increase its aid to Africa to US$1.9 billion by 2012. Japan will offer US$4 billion in concessional loans to support infrastructure and agriculture and will provide US$2.5 billion to encourage Japanese companies to invest in Africa.

Japan, once again, promised during the TICAD IV to continue with the agenda of mobilizing global support for meeting the challenges in Africa with a concrete plan. For instance, Japan made available measures such as setting up US$100 billion loan to the International Monetary Fund, and a US$3 billion Bank Recapitalization Fund initiated by the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation. These funds would not be automatically and directly provided to Africa, but they would be available to African governments that would qualify. The concerns are about the availability of funds and the accessibility to them. According to Robert Zoellick, President of the World Bank (http://www.ticad.net/ivdocuments/TICADIV-ENGLISH.pdf accessed on June 22, 2009): "TICAD IV provides a key framework for stronger African integration with the global economy, poverty reduction and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. Africa's economic performance has improved significantly, strengthened by peace building, governance reform, and social stability. The TICAD process contributes to these gains, and is helping create a brighter future for the continent."

The main issues that were dealt with during the TICAD IV[2] are summarized as follows: the importance of human resource development, including higher education and vocational training, industrial development, infrastructure, and trade, the social dimensions of human security, which also include community development, education, health, gender, and others. Ecological issues such as climate change, water, and education for sustainable development were also focused on. The prevailing theme is the role of the private sector, especially the important role that foreign and domestic firms can play in adding value to Africa's natural resources. African leaders strongly expressed their demands to have the relocation of the Japanese or Asian companies to African

countries, which would provide jobs and improve the local and regional infrastructures.

Prescribed Outcome and Potential and Real Achievements

It is necessary to finish up this chapter with a reflection on some illustrations about the works and some achievements of TICADs. Though this reflection does not represent what TICADs have actually accomplished since 1993, it gives us some ideas about the range of issues and sectors TICADs have been attempting to deal with.

Between 1993 and 2003, Japan's contribution toward future cooperation for Africa building on 10 years of achievements through the TICAD process has been in three broad major themes: (1) Human-centered development; (2) Poverty reduction through economic growth; and (3) Consolidation of peace. The TICAD's approach has two components: ownership and partnership under which it emphasizes South-South Cooperation based on Africa-Asian initiative.

In this section I summarize the arguments and thoughts already made and insist on the issue of the feasibility of TICADs, and also briefly examine some of their selected achievements. Thus, we also touch on what TICADs' based projects and programs are likely to achieve as they continue to be redefined and evolve. Some illustrations may have some figures but others do not. However, a few illustrations may give us some ideas about the complexity of TICADs. Although, the amount of money that Japan has spent for each sector or area discussed in this section is important, I am also concerned about diversity and multiplicity issues within the TICADs based projects. The range of the areas or themes TICADs have been dealing with bestows a sense of where Japan would like to go in its relationship with Africa.

Intellectually, and for analytical purposes, achievements in this context do embody two complex dimensions. One is the assessment of the actualization of what is intended in a given policy in relationship to the notion of the targeted benefits and the costs (both between donors and recipients) and availability of resources; another is the futuristic or generational aspect of what a given policy or action promises to produce in a given sector, at a given time period, and in a given society in the future. One deals mainly with the planning and politics of the present, and another deals with the planning and the politics of the future. One is about effective mechanisms of production of defined actions to satisfy the targeted groups of today, and another is about sustainability of those defined actions for tomorrow. However, in this book, all the actions of TICADs are dealt with as dialectically related to one another. Their actions are viewed as attempts to solve

selected and defined current African problems and conditions in the short and long term.

TICADs have been the areas in which Japan has been demonstrating internationally its willingness to synthesize old and new ideas about how to assist the African continent in its efforts to address and solve its serious development challenges and set up the motion that could contribute to progress. These conferences also have mobilized ideas and resources to be used for possible development of the African continent. Through TICADs, Japan has been positioning its self as a leader in dealing with African development issues. Furthermore, TICADs have also raised international consciousness about various types of the African crises. As Takehiko Ochiai stated:

> The two meetings of TICAD were significant in the development of Japan's foreign policy towards African during the last decade of the 20th century. To follow up TICAD I and II, Japan convened meeting in Africa to monitor progress subregion-by-subregion, and hosted the Asia-Africa Forum in ASEAN countries to discuss South-South economic cooperation. In a policy speech delivered at University of Pretoria in May 1999, Keizo (State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Japan), who served as co-chairman of TICAD II, said, "Tokyo International Conference on African Development is a process for realising Japan new and positive African policy (Takemi 1999). In November 1999, on the first anniversary of TICAD II, Japanese Foreign Minister Yohei Kono remarked that the Tokyo Agenda had gained international recognition and had become the foundation of Japan's diplomacy towards Africa (MOFA, 1999b). In March 2000, Japanese ambassadors to Africa agreed that TICAD was the mainstay and an important asset of Japan's diplomacy towards Africa, and recommended that Japanese government make strenuous efforts to follow up TICAD II. (MOFA 2000)

TICADs seem to project a holistic perspective to deal with the African crises. Their discourse tends to go beyond the liberal economistic principle known as the invisible hand of Adam Smith or the orthodox free market approach. However, Jun Morikawa has emphasized another dimension behind these conferences, namely the one of image creation. As he said:

> My rationale that I judge TICAD to have been cleverly structured by the Japanese government as a grand diplomatic show for the purpose of creating image. Put another way, the pursuit of a mirage-like international conference devoid of substance does not assist in the elucidation of Japan's diplomacy with Africa, but rather highly likely to mislead those interested in the topic. But TICAD, which has now been convened three times, in 1993, 1998, and 2003, has had a significant effect in improving Japan's image amongst the international community in general. The image constructed over the past decade emphasizes that TICAD is an African conference, for Africa, run by the international community, beginning with Africa and

> Japan and that image suggests that diplomacy undertaken with Africa by Japan, the sponsor of such a major conference like TICAD is nothing other than aid diplomacy based on altruism. (2006: 44)

TICAD is more of a method (or a strategy) than a principle through which Japan has been attempting to realize its broader long-term national interests in Africa. Japan is not able to actualize those interests by itself using its own means and its human capabilities because of level of needs and high expectations from Africa, and high costs of realizing those national interests.

The international dimension of the conferences is an instrument of the Japanese new foreign policy method. However, these conferences embody important multiple items such as governance, human rights, security, cooperation, trade, democracy, conflict resolution, peace, self-help, etc., which can go beyond the items generally cover in a classical diplomacy.

In my view, another important dimension of TICADs that can be used in assessing their successes or lack of it, is that the combination of all items projected and/or examined in their agendas indicates the existence of a multiplicity of items.

Moreover, TICADs have been used to project a new image of Japan, using even the language found in the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 that was an African initiative to deal constructively with the economic and social problems. They have in principle constituted a new bridge, between Asia and Africa to be consolidated through their cooperation. The new image is supposed to produce some concrete objectives, which if actualized could be beneficial to Japan and Africa. To a certain extent, one could argue that the spirit of the Bandung Conference—the seed of the Afro-Asian solidarity, has been revived within these conferences, but in an era of domination of liberal globalization. South-South cooperation has to be promoted but within the guidelines of the global reforms. TICADs have also articulated, in theory, a synergy of ownership (initiative and self-help) and partnership (cooperation as equal partners), which seem to constitute the philosophical foundation of the Japanese aid policy toward Africa. TICADs were intended to consolidate solidarity between Japan and Africa.

Through TICADs Japan has kept a high policy profile and dialogue with African states. In addition to the debt-relief programs in which Japan became in 2005 the number 1 country within the framework of the HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries) Initiative for debt relief, it has also moved from providing debt relief to outright cancellation of yen loans provided by the Japan Bank for International Cooperation.

The total bilateral ODA, for example, between 1993 and 2003 was approximately US$12 billion distributed as follows: agriculture approximately JPY 334 billion; water approximately JPY 204 billion; education, approximately JPY 98 billion; health and medical care approximately JPY 82 billion; infrastructures approximately JPY 522 billion; and debt reduction approximately JPY 36 billion (Official MOFA Web site, 2006). The Japanese government has also been involved in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the implementation of the TICADs programs. Also missing from the above figures are the mechanisms of distribution of grants, loans, and technical assistance. Thus, the ODA is not the whole story. Thus, it is necessary to have some specific ideas in which sectors the Japanese government has spent its financial capital in the past 10 years or so.

In December 1999, for instance, Japan sent a study team on implementation to Côte d'Ivoire aimed at verifying the feasibility of sustainable management of rice cultivation and to improving the system for disseminating rice cultivation in the country (MOFA Official Web site). This project aims at achieving technical transfer that includes appropriate tests and demonstration, and dissemination of such techniques to the countries around the world.

Japan is currently carrying out the projects of improving the productivity and promoting the dissemination of rice cultivation in Western Africa through WARDA (West African Rice Development), where the demand for rice is increasing in many countries. Japan supported WARDA to select rice varieties that appeal to local peoples' taste. Furthermore, Japan has been contributing to research on interspecific hybridization of Asian and African rice varieties.

Japan's intervention in the rice production is expected to have a positive impact in the next 10 or 15 years. Rice is a staple food in most parts of Africa, especially in West Africa. The assistance of Japan in agricultural sector is well recognized and appreciated by the African states. Thus the concept and policy of sustainable agricultural development is a key to ensure food security. With such a consideration, Japan has taken up rice cultivation, which has high nutritional value compared with other traditional African foods, and is easy to store and distribute.

This rice is called NERICA (New Rice for Africa), which is a crossbreed between an African variety of rice that is resistant and adapted to the continent's soils and an Asian variety that is especially high yielding. Moreover, this rice is naturally resistant to virtually all rice diseases. It was developed in West Africa from a joint initiative between Japan, UNDP, ADB, USAID, FAO, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Since the TICAD II, which emphasized capacity building for debt management, Japan has been organizing seminars and workshops in Africa about the need to decrease foreign debt and building institutions.

Some of the TICAD II followed up measures defined by MOFA on its Web site include: (1) the Japanese support for UNDP's Human Resources Development Fund to deal with Africa Governance Forums on the issue of good governance. These projects were formulated through the studies and reviews carried out at the annual Africa Governance Forum (AGF) held by the UNDP. Japan provided US$300,000 and US$330,000 respectively through the UNDP Human Resources Development Fund to cover the expenses to organize the "Third Africa Governance Forum" held in Mali in June 1999 and the "Fourth Africa Governance Forum" held in Uganda in September 2000.

Japan also provided the support for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) projects (promotion of self-reliance of returnees). Japan has supported microfinance projects of the UNHCR for the establishment of small-scale businesses to promote the reintegration of returnees in Zambia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mali, Uganda, Rwanda, and Togo through its contribution of US$1.5 million to the UNHCR in 1998. It also supported Anti-personnel landmines to tackle the problems for landmine clearance and landmine victim rehabilitation in Southern Africa. From the end of June to July 1999, Japan dispatched a project finding mission to Mozambique to find projects for assisting in landmine clearance and victim rehabilitation. Thus in November 1999, Japan contributed US$1 million in emergency grant aid to the UNDP Mozambique Landmine Clearance Trust Fund for a landmine clearance project in the Massinger district to support the country's economic reconstruction. The project was completed in October 1999. Japan subsequently decided to provide US$600,000 in supplemental assistance.

Between 1992 and 2000, the Japanese government supported major democratization seminars organized annually in the African region as well as in Francophone and Anglophone subregions, which contributed to give Japan's perspectives on, and experiences in, democratic governance. In addition, MOFA co-organized and co-sponsored the Tokyo International symposiums on Preventive Strategy in 1995, 1996, and 2000 on conflicts in Africa, which examined a range of issues, from the causes, prevention, resolution of conflicts, and postconflict nation building to the roles of subregional organizations. MOFA and the Institute of International Affairs co-sponsored an International Symposium on the Conflict in Africa and a Culture of Peace and Coexistence in 2001. The issue of the reintegration of former Child Soldiers has been addressed

by MOFA within the framework of TICADs (*Source*: http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/Africa/ticad2/followup.html accessed and downloaded on June 22, 2009).

Under TICAD II and III, Africa-Asia Business Forum (AABF) face-to-face business negotiation processes between selected qualified Asian and African firms were set up. AABF fora I, II, and III (between 1999 and 2004) were organized and led to the identification of partners in future joint ventures, and in attracting greater flows of foreign direct investment and trade between Asia and Africa with business prospects worth US$152, 9 million.

In February 2007, another AABF meeting was organized in Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania in which sixteen percent of the participating companies were headed by women and about 22% of all participants were women. AABF IV led to business prospects worth US$156 million—more than the US$152.9 million in declared value of the three previous combined meetings (*Source*: http://www.ticad.net/aatic-2.html accessed and downloaded on June 22, 2009).

Some of the sectors identified through the AABF include agro-business, medical equipment/pharmaceuticals, and Textiles/garments. The AABF has to foster partnership building and technology transfer of the industries associated with tourism sector through policy dialogue and partnership building to attract more Asian and specifically Japanese tourists to Africa—generating a boost in investments for tourism development. Its ultimate objective is to attract investment into Africa and to increase trade and investment between Africa and Asia. The major actors in the AABF are African governments, Japanese government and companies, the African Development Bank, and the United Nations Development Programmes. UNDP is firmly behind TICAD initiatives as a partner in areas such as private sector development, governance, peace building, and the environment.

The Hideyo Noguchi Africa Prize, which was established in 2006 by the Japanese government to recognize outstanding achievements in the field of medical research and services, was awarded for the first time during TICAD IV. Dr. Noguchi was a well-known Japanese researcher who died some eighty years ago in Ghana, where he lived and carried out research on yellow fever.

In 1995, for instance, the government of Japan established the UNDP/Japan Women in Development Fund (JWIDF) to support UNDP's efforts to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women in developing countries. Its purpose is to build women's capacities through innovative initiatives. It has funded numerous projects in the amount of US$4.5 million in 14 African countries. Two future high-impact projects

feature empowering rural women involved in shea butter production in northern Ghana; and targeting women in the counties of Nimba and Bong in Liberia through a micro-loan program.

TICAD has claimed to boost economic growth in Africa. However, it is not clear what its contribution has exactly been in a long-term sustainable basis and in which specific sectors in economic growth of 3%–5% between 2000 and 2007 in Africa? Some scholars, including this author, have suggested that this growth has partially been accomplished by with the recent magnitude of the foreign investments of China and India in Africa.

The TICAD process underscores the importance of South-South cooperation, especially the development of trade and investment between Asia and Africa. Its infrastructure development, including road networks construction and energy sector development, is critical to economic integration and support to the promotion of trade and investment in Africa. TICAD has evolved into a major global framework to facilitate initiatives for the sustainable development of the African continent.

TICADs have too many items to deal with at the same time; their prescribed approaches seem to be too general; and their own overall plan can be considered as too ambitious. However, it is fair to note that each TICAD, since 1993, has its own specific objectives. Nevertheless, though those objectives have some corrective specific measures, they are not very much isolated from the dogmas of neoliberal projects of the 1990s and those articulated by the international organizations and transnationals in Africa. TICADs are, however, articulated on more clearly defined human terms and social expressions than any other foreign-based approaches that have carried similar intentions or mission about rethinking international cooperation with Africa.

Chapter Eleven

The Role of Education in the Japanese International Cooperation with Africa: Earlier and Recent Trends

General Issues

This chapter is not a full analytical account on the Japanese system of education, its curriculum, and its philosophy. I reflect on the place and the role of education in Japanese foreign policy, particularly on Japanese development aid policy. However, it is necessary to attempt to understand in general terms the place that education has occupied in Japanese society. Then, I discuss international cooperation in education and the kind of outcome it has intended to produce and the policy implications of the Japanese assistance to education in Africa. In short, this chapter is a reflective essay on the Japanese educational aid to Africa, trends that this type of aid has produced and its expected policy implications. For the purposes of this book, only generalized trends have been identified and discussed.

> There is a need to study education aid from a comprehensive perspective since education aid transcends the traditional jurisdictions of ministries, unlike school education which is almost completely contained within MOE, and diplomacy which is the domain of MOFA. Furthermore, education aid extends beyond the Japanese borders, and therefore involves a wide variety of actors at both international and domestic levels. It is necessary to understand education aid as the outcome of a complex process involving many actors and not just the "ministry" as a formal organization. (Kamibeppu 2002: 6)

The view expressed above supports a perspective I have developed in this book in general and in this chapter in particular. I attempted to project a bigger picture as well as trying to understand the significance of this picture in policy and political terms. Even with good intentions, extending education beyond the national borders may have implications that may be unpredictable

as they may touch more than two nation-states and their people who have different purposes and levels of economic and social development.

Within the world of the international cooperation in education between the 1960s and the end of the 1970s, education was considered as the central means to human resource development for social and economic development. This did coincide with the rise of various types of nationalism in Africa. In the 1980s–1990s, and after the adoption of SAPs, which contributed to the devastation of education in Africa, especially higher education, the international education aid community produced a new consensus that started to perceive and define education as good in itself instead of an investment for economic return. This new consensus was reached under the pressures from the recipients, the failures of the SAPs and the rise of Japan in international cooperation. In the 2000s, there is a combined perception of education as a human right as well as the foundation of social capital.

Educational aid to Africa as a policy as well as a development strategy is controversial. The critics of education aid have located this issue as contributing to the syndrome of dependency, the begging behavior and mentality, or it has been conceived as too small to satisfy the needs, or dysfunctional, or mismanaged by the recipients. It is not correct, however, to consider all educational aid to Africa as irrelevant, inadequate, or bad.

Why and how is it that this naturally poor and mountainous archipelago of four main islands (Honshu, Kyushu, Shikoku, and Hokkaido) was able to challenge its natural limitations and constraints and become a major player in international affairs? Conversely, without deeply attempting to answer to this question in this particular chapter in any systematic manner, it should still be noted that the role that education has played in Japan's exceptional success in national development and in world economy, especially after World War II, is an important factor or a force. It can reveal the degree and the quality of its capacity of transformation and the basis of its innovations that have led a country and its people with poor natural resources to an economic superpower since the twentieth century.

Many scholars claim that the legitimacy of the rapid Japanese progress, to a large extent, reposes partially on the capacity of the Japanese society and the state to synthesize and create an appropriate educational system that is functional and global, and which has enormously provided many solutions to the contemporary Japanese society. This claim has to be challenged against historical evidences because every nation state can make a similar proposition. As Fukunari Kimura stated:

> Historians claim that Japan enjoyed high literacy ratios already during the Tokugawa Era (1603–1868), and introduction of the education system

> since the Meiji Era (in the latter half of the nineteenth century) is usually praised. However, according to some statistical figures, Japan was faced with a serious shortage of human resource development even in the postwar era. (2009: 5)

Education is very much part of the Japanese lives, as it defines social values, it consolidates its nationalism, and it provided industrial capacity both in term of technical knowledge and scientific tools that have been used for the service of the society, the economy, and the market. Education in Japan, as quoted by John Whitney Hall of Yale University, is "something of a contemporary world phenomenon" (Anderson 1975: v). It has been a powerful instrument of change in contemporary Japanese society. Although Japan learned and borrowed from China centuries earlier and systematically since the nineteenth century from the Western models of education, especially the United States, France, and Germany, the demand for good education was something that came from the Japanese themselves as Hall argued:

> The Japanese emphasis on schooling and self-improvement, the Japanese belief in learning as a means of personal and social development, had revealed itself long before western education arrived in Japan. A hundreds years ago the Japanese education people were as literate as those of England and as dedicated to popular education as most Europeans. The system of schooling which was evolved in the years following the first Education Ordinance of 1872 absorbed a great deal from Western examples, but the high value which the Japanese place on education today did not have to be learned. (Ibid.)

Although Japanese literacy was comparatively high as part of formal education in the nineteenth century—the engine of the Japanese social progress, the post–World War II industrialization required a different type of education. As Fukunari Kimura indicated:

> In the late 1940s and the early 1950s, Japan had a solid background in basic education but did not have a fully established upper secondary and tertiary education. It took 20–25 years, until the mid- 1970s, to achieve a respectable educational level. Of course, the meaning of education in the 1940s and 1950s was perhaps different from the present because of changes in the industrial structure and cultural background. But we can at least claim that the quantitative expansion of Japan's educational system until the mid-1970s was an important factor in the country's industrialization process. (2009: 5)

Educational aid is located in international cooperation domain of policy and politics. From realist as well as idealist perspectives, its objectives

should not be qualitatively different from those in the areas of commerce, technological transfer, and import-export practices and traditions. Thus, it has to be discussed as part of foreign policy as well as part of the domestic/national development policy. But educational values are perceived generally as universal and as such, they are placed in the area of humanities or ethics or human rights. However, as Takao Kamibeppu stated:

> Despite differences in the specifics of the definitions, they are largely based on an international definition of ODA established by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The DAC defines ODA as grants or loans to developing countries, which a) are undertaken by the official sector, b) have promotion of economic development and welfare as the main objective, and c) have concessional financial contributions to multilateral organizations. (2002: 7)

Educational aid is destined to contribute to improve cooperation, to change states' perceptions of themselves, to increase their visibility and as such, it should also be beneficial to the recipients and donors at different levels.

International cooperation implies the existence of sets of rules and mechanisms, which have been agreed upon by two or more transnational institutions, individual actors, and their agencies in order to actualize and produce specific mutually defined benefits for the states and/or countries/agencies involved. It also offers the possibility for minimizing sacrifices or tensions in order to maximize possible gains in a situation of scarce resources. The processes of cooperation contribute to consciously diminish the chance and/or the degree of tensions among the agents and agencies engaged in international cooperation. International cooperation works on the rules of mutual benefits, a respect of the rules of the games and the willingness to succeed. It also means the advancement of some specific interests upon agreed rules and purposes. Why do nation-states cooperate? Because in a complex world economy built on interdependence and the principle of sovereignty determinism, nation-states tend to recognize what they can or cannot achieve in working alone.

Cooperation implies a degree of national or regional consciousness, objectivity, harmony, and reciprocity. As Thomas Lairson and David Skidmore state:

> First, cooperation does not require that nations' purposes be identical but rather that some degree of parallel or overlapping interests exists such that the actions of each make some contribution to the purposes of the other. Second, the most interesting forms of cooperation are those that persist over time. These are cases most likely to have the greatest impact. Third, cooperation may reach the point where tacit or explicit rules and regularity

> occur: scholars use the term regime to describe this situation. Finally, cooperation differs of its scope—that is, broad or narrow issues—and in the terms of the importance of the issue. Cooperation over issues of whaling can be distinguished from those nuclear weapons or control of nation's money supply. (2003: 149)

The role of education in international development literature has been controversial, especially in relationship to less industrialized countries' developmental paradigms. Some of the controversies are related to how poorly and uncompromisingly, for instance, transnational financial organizations such as the World Bank and other institutional donors have conceived and dealt with education with a one unidimensional approach in Africa between the 1980s and the 1990s. Furthermore, there are philosophical and epistemological issues related to the questions of education regardless of the level of discussion and where the discussion is being held. The top-down policy framework in education promoted by foreign donors has contributed in many ways to underdevelopment of the educational systems in Africa. Thus, the issues of education for whom and what kinds of education for the recipient countries are central in the study of international development in education.

Japanese assistance in education to Africa has been an important aspect of the Japanese International Cooperation policy at large from the 1960s up to the present. The unique role of formal education in contemporary Japanese nation building and the Japanese economic development approach have been historically influenced by the Japanese imperial ambitions and Emperor's mission of modernizing, *à la Japonaise,* the country, the strength of the Western educational systems in the history of the European colonialism, and the nature of the Japan's culture. Although in this chapter the focus is on the role of education in the Japanese foreign policy during and in the post–Cold War era, the appreciation of historical based arguments concerning how education was also perceived and considered in the development of Japan, is necessary to help understand how and why Japan's cooperation in education has been central.

It should be noted that since the 1870s, during the Meiji Restoration period, Japan has been projecting its social development, modernizing its economy, and cultivating its relationship with contemporary nation-states through domestic educational reforms. Thus, despite policy changes within the Japanese society from the American Occupation to the present, the theme of educational reforms is still very important in Japan's assistance to the educational sector in Africa. As Edward R. Beauchamp states:

> The first of these reforms occurred in the early Meiji period (1868–80) when Western education was introduced for the purpose of modernizing

> the nation. The Japanese approach was a pragmatic one, based on the Imperial Charter Oath of April 6, 1868, which called on the people to eschew old-fashioned ways, insisting, "Knowledge shall be sought through the world." The major criterion used by the Meiji reformers was simply to borrow the best features of several western educational systems and adapt them to the Japanese situation. As a result, a highly centralized administrative structure with an emphasis on state-run normal school borrowed from France; a system of higher education rooted in a handful of elite public universities was the German contribution; The English model of Spartan-like, character building preparatory schools stressing more discipline, fit nicely into the Japanese context; and from the United States came the model of elementary education, a number of practical pedagogical approaches, and an interest in vocational education. (1994: 3–4)

It is necessary to indicate that during the American Occupation, which had as main teleological purposes to promote and sustain the goals of occupation, educational reforms continued to be a central item of the agenda. That is to say, new educational reforms had to address the new project of democratization, demilitarization, and decentralization of the Japanese society and the state. In short, Japanese achievement in education provides not only the historical context to examine its role in international cooperation but, more importantly, it raises the issue of the role of education in a national development. As Beauchamp argues:

> There is no doubt that postwar Japan has made enormous strides in providing expanded educational opportunities for her young people. In the thirty-five years between the end of World War II and 1980, the number of students attending schools in Japan increased by over 80 percent, from fifteen million to over twenty-seven million. Virtually all youngsters (99.98 percent) complete the nine years of compulsory education, and an impressive 94.2 percent of these graduates go on to a noncompulsory senior secondary school. Perhaps most significantly, the Japanese have persuasively demonstrated that mass education does have to be purchased with diluted standards. Time and time again international achievement tests have placed the Japanese at or close to the top in a variety of subjects. Furthermore, in 1990, approximately 40 percent of senior high school graduates attended some kind of institution of higher education. (1994: 13)

This is the context in which one will have to examine the role education has been playing in the Japanese-African's cooperation. Furthermore, it should also be added that international cooperation among the nation-states implies interdependence, willingness, mutual or relative gains, and the cost.

As of 2005, Japan provided the second largest ODA next to the United States among the DAC countries, as it accounted for 11% of the total

amount offered by DAC countries. And most of the Japanese ODA bound for Asia, though a new trend, shows a gradual increase for Africa (Ushiogi 2006: 38). As of 2004, Japan allocated 9.8% of its ODA in the educational sector while within the DAC members; the average global proportion percentage allocated to education was 9.1%. Furthermore, educational assistance by JICA in 2004 represented the following distribution: the largest share of 27% was accounted in the occupational and industrial technology education (vocational training/industrial technology training); followed by elementary and secondary education at 22%. Higher education received about 18%. What do these percentages represent or reflect in Africa? What is the significance of these percentages and their policy implications in Africa?

Human capital is considered in various schools of thought, especially modernization, political development, and dependency, as the most important factor that can be used as an instrument of change and social progress. In general, there is no taboo to state that literate people in various domains tend to be more productive and more effective in whatever sectors they are working in. Thus, investing in activities that are related to human resources should be, in principle, beneficial to both individual and society in a long run (Schultz 1960). Nevertheless, we must always ask the question—what kind of education would be most relevant in what kind of society?

As it is widely recognized, Japan is one of the few countries in the world that have historically and firmly used formal education as the foundation of its nation and state building. That is to say, education was used as a complex political tool in the state formation in providing knowledge needed for economic development, in socializing the people about their historical and cultural identity, and in carving a new and important role for Japan in international development community.

Yet, one is still curious to know if education matters in the Japanese foreign policy at large. If it does, then the next question is what kind of education that matters and at what level does it matter? If it does not matter, then, the question would be why not? What is the status of education in the Japanese development agenda?

Education has figured in almost all the international conferences and reports as a human right issue since the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UNESCO declaration as a basic human right. But Japan was not an independent state yet in 1948.

In a reference to reforms, General Arthur MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, stated as quoted by Henshall:

> I felt the reforms I contemplated were those which would bring Japan abreast of modern progressive thought and action. Forts destroy the military power.

> Punish war criminals. Build the structure of representative government. Modernize the constitution. Hold free elections. Enfranchise the women. Release the political prisoners. Liberate the farmers. Establish a free labor movement. Encourage a free economy. Abolish police oppression. Develop a free and responsible press. Liberalize education. Decentralize the political power. Separate church from state... (1999: 138)

In 1990, in the World Conference on Education for All held in Jomtien, Thailand, the notion of education as a basic human right was reiterated. Japan was present and visible as an important donor during that conference. In April 2000, the World Education Forum held in Dakar made a declaration according to which all children of primary schooling age would participate in free and compulsory primary education of good quality by 2015 (part of the Millennium Development Goals) and the gender disparities in school would be eliminated in primary and secondary by 2005. Furthermore, the Millennium Development Goals on education include: expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education; insuring that the learning needs of young people and adults are met; achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015 and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults; achieving gender equality in education by 2015; and, improving the quality of education for all.

Notwithstanding efforts in some African countries, the above objectives have not fully been actualized in Africa, even though the momentum is real. Japan has been an active actor in the setting up of the Millennium Development Goals. Thus, it is argued that there is an international consensus that education should be the engine of human development. Has this momentum become part of the Japanese official development assistance policy?

How much has Japan been spending as part of its official development assistance to Africa since the 1970s? What conditionalities, if any, African states should fulfill prior to receiving Japanese assistance in education? And what sector(s) of education Japan has paid more attention and why? I do not deal with all these dimensions in this section. My efforts are to raise issues about how to rethink the role of education in international cooperation and to provide a comprehensive policy analysis of the implications of the Japanese assistance in education.

As already discussed, the role of formal education in all its complexity and levels in the contemporary Japanese development has been an area of fascinating and productive debates since the post-Occupation (1945–1952). There are those who tend to argue that the Japanese government put more investments in its education system because Japan was an "aberrant" or "abnormal nation-state," which did not have to spend much money in building a military system. Japanese Constitution impeded

Japan to build offensive armed forces. The United States, on the basis of peace treaties, had to bear the responsibility of protecting Japan if it was externally attacked. Thus, spending in human development replaced the military ambition associated with most nation-states. In this regard, Japan did not have many choices but to invest in sectors where the outcomes would be locally consumed and second, would build nationalism, and provide human skills and capabilities. Yet, it should be noted that even before the Occupation, formal education had always played a major sector in the Japanese development, from especially the Tokugawa Era (1603–1867) to the present. As Lucien Ellington states:

> The best literacy estimates suggest that by the end of Tokugawa Period, 40 percent of Japanese males and 15 percent of females could read and write at some level. These literacy rates meant that, at the time, Japan, based on this most fundamental educational standard, was comparable to Western European countries and the United States instead of the rest of Asia. Practically, the most important legacy of Tokugawa education lies in this statistic…When examined through modern eyes, Tokugawa education certainly had a host of problems. There was no national school system. Access to formal education was still based largely upon class, gender, and geographical location. Yet much of the Tokugawa educational legacy, particularly the incalculation of the values just described, is still present in Japanese education. (1992: 20–21)

As indicated above, during the Togugawa era and the Meiji Restoration (1869–1912), education was one of the vital agenda policy items of the imperial power. The Japanese political elite has historically been privileged to access to formal education. Thus, investing in formal education has been a conscious political decision to foster economic, social, cultural, and technological development and sciences. It was also through formal education that the imperial system had hoped to challenge the possibilities of the Western domination and invasion. As Ellington stated:

> While the 1870s were marked by a massive infusion of Western learning, by the 1880s policy makers developed a concern that another important goal of Japanese education, the creation of a loyal citizenry, was being hindered by too much Westernization. The central government assumed more power over education during these years by such policies as the 1881 law abolishing local textbook selection in favor of government-approved books. Conservatives also called for greater emphasis on moral education built on Confucian principles and other traditional Japanese values such as subordination of individual to state interests. (1992: 23)

By the time of World War II, Japanese education was generally a synthesis of old and new elements and values with the emphasis on morality,

nationalism, the subordination of citizenry interests to those of the state. This education was philosophically opened but politically selected and nationalistic. Formal education had to contribute to discover the secrecy and vitality of Western education and it had to empower the Japanese people and the imperial system for not succumbing to the values of the European powers and their Christian missionaries. In this regard, education became a tool for social progress and an instrument of political struggle against the Western-American dominant influences.

It should be noted that in comparing Japan in the post–Cold War period with other industrial countries in the area of public expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP, Japan does not seem to distinguish itself significantly. In fact, the government spent less than most of those countries. For instance, in 2000, France spent 5.8%; United Kingdom 4.6%; Canada 5.6%; Italy 4.5%; Germany 4.5%; Spain 4.5%; Korea 3.8%; and Japan 3.6%, respectively. In the years 2001 and 2002, for instance, the expenditures were the same in Japan and only slightly different in other countries. France, for example, spent 5.8% and 5.7%; United Kingdom 4.7% and 5.7%; Canada 5.2% and no information in 2002; Italy 4.6% and 5.0%; Germany 4.5% and 4.6%; Korea 3.4% and 4.3%. Concerning public expenditure on education as% of government expenditure, the trends are similar. For instance, France spent in 2000 and 2001 11.5% and 11.4%; United Kingdom 11.4% and 11.5%; Canada no information in 2000 and 12.5% in 2001; Italy 9.5% in 2000 and no information in 2001; Germany 9.5% and 9.9%; Korea 13.1% and 11.7%; and Japan 10.5% and 10.5% (Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs 2006: 120). However, what these data are not reflecting is probably the role of the private corporations or the communities in education and how this education is distributed or consumed.

Japanese Approach to Aid Education to Africa

Japanese educational aid to Africa was formulated late as compared to other domains of aid such as industries, trades, and agriculture. In March 1957, the Ministry of Education (MOE) created the association of International Education, a quasi-governmental organization specifically to administer the foreign student programs (Kamibeppu 2002: 30). The focus was on assisting students from Southeast Asia and the Middle East. It started to give some scholarships through the newly established Student Exchange Division as a unit of MOE.

With the creation of JICA, a political compromise in which education was going to have more attention in international cooperation was established, as JICA had a mission to coordinate all foreign aid programs.

But JICA put more emphasis on technical education in the areas of industrialization, engineering, trade, medical and agricultural sectors. This also reflects Japan's approach to education, which is pragmatism. Japan's education aid at large has been relatively smaller than aid to other areas. Furthermore, the literature on Japanese educational aid reveals, until recently, little about the historical dynamics of this important area. "This is a major gap in the literature because we are provided no comprehensive picture of education aid policy making processes" (Kamibeppu 2002: 13). Educational aid was defined as a small subarea of social development, including health and poverty. This is an irony as it has been recognized that education did play an important role in the development of Japan itself. As Kamibeppu indicates:

> In MOFA, education aid members include the Economic Cooperation Bureau with Technical Cooperation Division, the Grant Aid Division and the Loan Division as central units…In JICA, education aid activities are undertaken by various departments and divisions without a specific coordination unit. Private consulting firms and engineering firms, many of which are under supervision of MITI and the Ministry of Construction (MOC) are awarded contrasts for education aid projects by MOFA and JICA. (2002: 4)

However, at the end of the Cold War, JICA took a number of important initiatives and actions that were going to change the content of Japanese international cooperation on basic education and Africa. The most important are:

1. In December 1994, JICA installed the Task Force on the expansion of Education Aid;
2. In 1996, it started a study on basic education aid with a report in October 1997;
3. In April 1996, Foreign Minister Yukihiko Ikeda announced the Human Development Aid initiative for Africa at the ninth UNCTAD in South Africa; It should be noted that the Plan for Human Resources Development in Africa was intended indeed to promote human resources in Africa; Japan has subsequently supported the campaign to ensure primary education for all children in Africa by the year 2015. This support includes the following three components:
   a. One hundred million dollars in educational support for Africa over three years starting in FY 1996;
   b. Technical training for some 3,000 Africans over the same three year period;

   c. Utilization of 2 million dollars from the contributions made by Japan to the UNDP Human Resources Development Fund, in order to promote South-South cooperation, including Asia-Africa cooperation.
4. In May 1996, under Japan's leadership, OECD's DAC launched the New International Development Strategy that included a goal of primary education for all by 2015;
5. In 1996, JICA began a study on Japan's aid to basic education in Sub-Saharan Africa and released a report in December 1997; and
6. In March 1997, JICA organized the International seminar on Basic Education and Development Assistance in Sub-Saharan Africa (2002: 100).

One of the important issues to point out in examining educational aid at large is that within the Japanese government, several units can deal with some various dimensions of such aid. Educational aid has not been located in only one unit or one department as it generally is the case in other countries. This makes an assessment of the education policy impact difficult.

Educational aid is part of "software" perspective, as compared to the emphasis on heavy infrastructures of the official development assistance (ODA) that Japan has been known about in relationship to its approach to the development of Southeast Asia. Recently, it has included mostly technical assistance and grants. Some aspects of the Japanese approach to educational aid to Africa have been at large influenced and, to a large extent, even determined, by the Japanese status in international political economy, the Japanese model of economic development, and Japan's own political culture and philosophy. As examined in the previous section, the belief in education is rooted in the Japanese experiences and also in pragmatism of international political economy and the dynamics of building a nation-state. Education was projected into Japanese assistance because it was considered as the foundation of the nation building. According to the MOFA (2002):

Japan, as a country that has historically invested in education as a basis of nation-building, will enhance its support to the efforts of developing countries for achieving the goals of the Dakar Framework for Action through the following.

1. Enhanced support in education sector to low-income countries. Japan will provide ODA in education sector over the next five years (from 2000) with the amount of more than 250 billion yen to give support to low-income countries, which have difficulty in achieving the Dakar goals.

2. Strengthened cooperation in basic education sector. Basic education is indispensable to ensure a person's acquisition of knowledge, values, and skills that will be the basis for his or her life-long study. Based on this recognition, Japan will strengthen its cooperation through ODA in line with the Basic Education for Growth Initiative: to give support to the efforts made by developing countries for Universal Primary Education.

Within the framework of the TICADs, an important concept that has embodied Japanese approach to Africa in educational sector has been self-help. It implies autonomy or sovereignty, self-determination, and, to a certain extent, a movement toward self-sufficiency. Africans should be able to set up their priorities based on their needs, and their social and political realities. Within this perspective, in principle, Japanese assistance in education to Africa should support these policy priorities and enhance national development projects. Self-help implies the respect of autonomous development efforts of the recipient countries and the encouragement to emulate the notion of ownership of developmental projects and policy. "The concept of Japanese cooperation is characterized by knowledge sharing in order to create local knowledge. The concept of self-help has grown up out of Japanese society and tradition and the concept of inter-learning also is probably linked with the Japanese tradition of knowledge development" (Sawamura 2002: 343) as cited in Sahamura (2004: 33).

Japan's philosophy of self-help efforts is also rooted in its experience of achieved rapid economic development growth after World War II through its own efforts while receiving international assistance. The economic growth achieved by East Asian countries further validated Japan's position with respect to self-help efforts in development cooperation. Japan explicitly places a strong emphasis on the self-help efforts of developing countries. Generally, developing countries prefer to act on their own initiatives and therefore prefer Japan's recipient-friendly policy (Sahamura 2004: 34–35). On the basis of both its own experiences and the African needs, Japan should pay more attention in its educational assistance to the dialectical relationship between the African nation-state building's imperatives and societal development urgencies.

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Chapter Twelve
Conclusion

Formulation (design) and implementation (application) of particular kinds of relations among nation-states can produce particular types of outcomes on policies and their social and political environments. These relationships, which should not be defined in a linear or a technical fashion, have complex layers of economic, cultural, and political factors that interact between themselves producing unpredictable or predictable outcomes depending on the nature of the nation-states or political regimes involved and their power in the world of the states. These relationships also can be formal or informal.

In this book, the focus is on economic and political relations within a specific period from the Cold War era to the present with the particular interest on international cooperation or official economic assistance.

Japan-Africa relations are considered as a specific form of international relations, but not as abnormal as some scholars have suggested given their political histories and their imagined or constructed destinies in the world. This particularism was analyzed within the framework of the world of the states and the imperatives of the international political economy. Their relations are relatively new, but they are cemented on the vibrancy of their societies and the high expectations of both sides. Based on their economic and political status in international political economy, Japan-Africa relations are more complex than those of Africa with the former Western colonial powers. African and Western European relations have been more predictable until recently. In most cases, they have a character of neoimperialism, as the relationships are predetermined by some forms of control and new top-down partnership paradigms.

Contemporary Japan-Africa relations, especially from the 1970s and up the present, exhibit some features and intentions that seem to deal with unique Japanese-African social and economic needs, the particularities of their state formation, and their locations within the orbit of powers. From this position, the forces and apparatuses of these relations have

been responding mostly to the Japanese and African economic specificities as instruments of improving the quality of national policies and societal conditions. At the same time, these relations also reflect general characteristics of deep inequality within the international political economy in the functioning of Japanese and African economies, especially in the areas of labor, marketization, consumption, and production of their resources. Furthermore, the inequality is conditioned by the arrogance and superiority complex of the industrialized countries, which control the techniques and means of scientific knowledge and capital (money), and their condescending attitudes vis-à-vis the less industrialized countries. In this work, as both Japanese and African political elites (states) are becoming more conscious of their roles and places in the world system, I have balanced my arguments between these two competing propositions using the theories of international relations and the international political economy, their strength and their weaknesses.

Some of the challenges in studying Japan-Africa relations include the fact that Japan is the second economic power in the world without military power; Japan did not develop any systematic relations in a relatively long period of time with any African countries or empires before the European colonization of Africa; Africa is a collective political entity and obviously not a single nation-state; and despite its latent potential is the least industrialized continent in the world with proportionally the largest population of poor people. The big challenge to scholars and international financial systems is as follows: What theories or set of theories should be used to explain these relations effectively and judiciously within social sciences? In this study, the combination of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary perspectives with the main approaches of political science is a positive contribution toward an understanding and appreciation of the complexity of Japanese-African international relations.

I have attempted to show how the contemporary Japan-Africa relations with a focus on the ODA have been produced; what forms these relations have taken; who their agents and agencies have been; what purposes they have been pursuing, and who have been benefiting from them within the deontology of the states. Furthermore, the acquisition of membership in the OECD and superpower economic status provided the passport for Japan in the world. It is within the OECD's guidelines that the Japanese ODA started to make a difference in providing specific types of financial resources to Africa.

Japan-Africa relations are dynamic, as they are constantly changing to respond to the claims and agenda of their states, the imperatives of the international political economy, and the demands of their national economies. This dynamism was historically contextualized within the

frame of the evolution of the Japanese state, the expansionism of the capitalist economy, and Africa's struggles for decolonization and social progress.

In any contemporary relations between or among nation-states, whether one examines them from Marxist/Neo-Marxist, Feminist, Liberal/Neoliberal or Constructivist/Neo-Constructivist perspectives, there is hardly any disagreement that "there is no free lunch" in world of the states. That said, other important questions remain, for instance, who initiates this invitation to lunch?; when and where would this lunch take place?; how much would it cost? And, what would be the quality of the lunch menu itself? Furthermore, it should be added that in general the person who sets up an agenda for any meeting or any program is very much likely to control it.

Furthermore, Japan-Africa relations are not naturally caused and determined by the logic of geographic "genetics" in terms of their locations, their cultural DNA, and their surrounding physical environment. They are not influenced by geographic proximity. Japan and Africa did not even meet through the parameters and the imperatives of the oceans or the seas, which have served in the past in many parts of the world as the means of communication. Thus, as these relations are obviously not natural or topographical, their patterns are not repetitious and random associated with natural mutations. This is to say, one cannot use natural laws to explain why Japan-Africa relations have produced a certain types of behaviors or consequences. The relations are therefore teleologically determined. They are designed by the nation-states to achieve predictable or tangible desirable policy outcomes and effects.

There are scholars who have perceived and defined Japan as a political actor as timid, mystical, and indifferent to international affairs. This author has demonstrated that historically the Japanese state has been neither timid nor mystical, though it has embodied aspects of disinterests in international relations. Although the Japanese society was intimidated by the violence of atomic bombs and their horrific consequences, Japanese constitutive political elite—new political parties, the new imperial system, and the state bureaucrats never lost confidence in their determination for rebuilding their country. Out of the so-called "embracing defeat," Japanese negotiated successfully with General Douglas MacArthur, President Harry Truman, to a lesser extent, the State Department, and the Secretary of Defense, the rules for the establishment of a Pacifist State were concluded in the security and peace treaties of San Francisco. General Douglas MacArthur fully supported the actions of the reconstruction, the respect for the Japanese culture and against remilitarization of Japan. The Japanese elite, including Emperor Hirohito, did not lose their political will

to reconstruct their country. The Japanese new constructed political and cultural identities embody many elements of the past.

Japan and Africa met through the evolution, imperatives, and the contradictions of world capitalism and the dualism of the world politics. It is this capitalism that dictated the rules of how the actors had to behave and what kind of linkages should develop among them through global institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO).

They entered into world capitalism from different avenues with a different status, different periods, various purposes, intentions, and expectations. Japan, a former imperial state, defeated by the United States, was forced to adopt the peaceful constitution and renounce to war as way of resolving human political problems. Africa was in the process of political decolonization without mastering any agencies of capitalism and also without having a sufficient comprehension of how capitalism worked. African new political purposes were hijacked by the agencies of capitalism and global militarism led by the United States and the Soviet Union.

As I previously indicated, relations examined in this book offer particular features that challenge theories of international relations. For instance, Japan is the only country to experience the effects of atomic bombs; and, then is the only state that achieved economic superpower status without being a major military power or without any domestic support of the military sector though Japan has one of the largest defensive military apparatuses in the world. Based on these characteristics, Japan's politics takes collective security and development very seriously.

Nevertheless, since the end of the 1980s, Japan started to perceive its role differently, as a new actor with different approaches. Japanese relationship was gradually facilitated through the relative maturity of the Japanese state, a relative autonomy acquired by achieving the status of an economic super-power, its psychology of liberation from the fear of socialism at the end of Cold War politics, and internal dynamics with the changes in Japanese party politics. The actors, the energies, and the motivation that were mobilized as instruments of ending Cold War politics, despite their various origins and their contradictory relations, contributed to liberate Japan.

With a new spirit of relative freedom, Japan has been able to multiply and diversify its relationship with Africa. In Africa, the relationship was facilitated through states and societal quest for reforms, which had three origins: local national movements, international political activism, and transnational/multinational financial resources. In Japan, unspoken demand for some type of multipartyism was reflected in the rise of several factions within the ruling party and the creation of new parties during the 1990s. Challenging Liberal Democratic Party rule, in term of political

competition, has led Japan to revise its role in international relations and thus repositioning itself as Africa's spokesperson.

Three trends emerged at the beginning of the 1990s: The first was the effort to diversify its ODA across Anglophone, Francophone, and Lusophone African countries; the second was a relative consistency in the focus of its ODA, as it became the arm of the Japanese foreign policy; and, the third was the re-orientation of the ODA toward software policy.

In addition, the nature of the Japanese state after Japan's military defeat by the United States and its allies and the evolution of that state in world affairs during Cold War politics as a clientelist state, influenced the Japan-Africa relations in a predictable way. As weak political entities, Japanese and African actions were part of subcategories of the world of the nation-states through which they were searching for legitimacy of their actions in international system. Japan moved to Africa when it had acquired a status of super-economic power. During the period (1980s–1990s), conditions in Africa worsened under extreme underdevelopment, the consequences of the SAPs and their conditionalities, continual peripherilization of the states within the context of orthodox austerity programs, and other constraints associated with Africa's role and place in international political economy. The combination of these factors led to either the collapse of the states and the economies or further weakening of these states, a sort of paralysis of the states. Thus, Japan was considered a savior with its significant intervention in the ODA.

Japan-Africa relations from the 1980s to the present were analyzed through the critique of theories of international relations and international political economy, and the projection of the concept of *Pax Nipponica* and that of *Pax Africana*. Despite some apparent contradictions due to the nature of the Japanese state and the place of Africa in the world economy, Japanese actions and policies toward Africa since the end of the Cold War era have been articulated on the *Pax Nipponica* concept. Through it, the Japanese state has invented different approaches to interact with Africa while maintaining its perception of itself as being essentially a pacifist state with the mission to make the world more peaceful. Thus, Japan has invented the TICADs for Africa which serve as forums for making new interpretations of international relations. Not only does Japan view itself as a mobilizing force, it perceives itself as the incarnation of peace. Thus, the TICADs are considered as the engines of social progress in Africa.

While *Pax Nipponica* is a state based concept as well as a social concept, *Pax Africana* challenges the African states to become developmental states. It is a concept that is based on neo-constructivist theory intended to assist the advocates of *Pax Africana* to continue to look for a new political and cultural identity. Thus, the philosophical meanings of these two concepts

in their functional actualization present conflicting relations between Japan and Africa. For *Pax Africana* to occur, the state must be transformed to a developmental state. The role of Japan to contribute to this process of change has not been linear.

Japan-Africa relations do not fit well into the stereotypical description of the Western European paradigms. The new Japan-Africa relations are being articulated on the following principles: self-help, self-reliance, cooperation, partnership, and ownership. These principles were also articulated earlier by the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980, which was produced by the African leaders as an alternative policy for all experiments on development advanced in Africa.

The discourse of international assistance has been replaced by that of partnership. Partnership implies the existence of some equality and mutuality. The Japanese discourse of relationship based on the above principles is different from those of former Western European colonial powers including the United States. It embodies some dimensions of humanism versus state-centric interest of realism.

Japan has been promoting the rapprochement between Asia and Africa through TICADs. This rapprochement can be interpreted as a reflection of the spirit of Bandung, except that it is mainly commercial and economic. Japan would like to control what is going on in East Asia, especially with the perceived threat of competition from China.

The end of Cold War politics has played a liberating role for Japan. It has allowed Japan to firmly develop good commercial relations with Russia and allow it to attempt to diminish the scale of petroleum imports from the Middle East. By the same token, Japan is advancing toward new sources of oil: Africa and Russia. Japan has created its new role as a spokesperson of African economic and social problems within the OECD countries and within the United Nations system. Through the TICADs, it is accumulating credentials and re-affirming its position thanks to its works in Africa. Nevertheless, without the political power, its actions are limited.

There is no doubt that the campaigns about, and the actions related to decreasing foreign debts and debt-relief programs, which Japan has integrated in its TICADs, will have some positive impact on Africa. As a new leader, Japan is bringing Africa and Asia together through TICADs. Japan is affirming its Asianness, which was questioned earlier in the process of state formation and economic development. In this process, it has created a new role for itself in attempting to exclude or to weaken the Western interests in Asia.

TICADs have reformed the Japanese foreign policy and changed the Japanese perceptions of Africa. The conditions in Africa have provided Japan with the space to test its new principles and new policy. Philosophically,

TICADs seem to project a holistic perspective to deal with African crises. Their discourse tends to go beyond the liberal economic principle known as the invisible hand of Adam Smith or the classical free market approach.

TICADs also serve Japan as a space for building alliances to be used for acquiring the world political power status within the United Nations Security Council. Thus, TICADs have a political purpose.

It is necessary to point out some of the problems I have been able to identify in the studies of Japan-Africa relations. Prominently behind the Japan-Africa relations, there is a lingering question from the Japanese elite about why the African elites do not have or make similar kind of determination and political will as those of postwar Japan to move forward on the industrialization of Africa? In pursuing its foreign policy toward Africa, Japan seems to be insensitive vis-à-vis the impacts of brutality of transatlantic slavery and colonialism in Africa.

This author questions the seriousness of Japan on the principles related to TICADS because Japan has simultaneously supported SAPs and their conditionalities, which devastated the African economies and social programs. Japan did not support SAPs in Asia. This double standard raises questions as to the perception of Japan of Africa, as it also fully supports NEPAD, which gives responsibility for fundraising to the industrialized countries (G-8). Such action begs the question of whether or not Africa should continue to play a junior role in its own development cooperation programs.

One of the issues I alluded to in this study, is the level of ignorance of Africa, her people and her cultures in Japan and of that of Japan, its history, and its cultures in Africa in general. The relations have been perceived as a lack of systematic links or understanding between them. In the past, stereotypical images and constructs were taken for real knowledge. The notion of the so-called Dark Continent, which was created by the former colonial European powers in order to justify the large-scale enslavement of Africans and later colonization, was also indirectly used in Japan during the colonial era to project a stereotypical African image. Although I did not expand on this matter, as this is not a central issue in this book, it is relevant to mention that contemporary relations between Japan and Africa did not start from *tabula rasa* or a neutral ideological disposition.

Epistemologically, Japan's limited knowledge of Africa was also contributed to by the fact that Japan (Japanese state or elite) at the time they met the forces of Western civilization, decided to ignore or to relegate even their own history of philosophy in favor of the European philosophy (Joly 2008: 15–16). Japanese learned about Africa through the Japanese fascination with European thought, sciences, and civilization. Japan did not develop any particular interest with Africa though it had some episodic

relations with Ethiopia and later with South Africa during the colonial period. During this period, Japan-Africa relations were characterized by ideological eclecticism, political aloofness, and elements of cultural arrogance. Its relationship with Apartheid South Africa testifies that Japan was advancing a cultural or ethnic effacing approach in its relations.

Japan has to know Africa and it has to learn how to develop particular relations with the local traditional institutions without necessarily having the blessing of the government. Relations of nation-states should not be based on the sympathy or compassion but rather on mutual beneficial framework.

During the Cold War era, especially before 1989, when Japan surpassed the United States' ODA to Africa, Japan failed to develop any systematic and specific approach(es) or methodology to interact with Africa in a way that could be beneficial to both entities. Its relations were basically and selectively influenced by two main factors: first, the search for raw materials and second, the instrumentalization of the support of the U.S. foreign policy in Africa and its centrality in the world. Japan presented itself as a neo-mercantilist state with opportunistic policy and behavior, which only desired to have relations with African states in order to have access to Africa's minerals and petroleum reserves to feed the Japanese economy.

In this respect, Japan was not very much different from France and other industrialized countries; the primary difference being that other industrialized countries have been also interested in African domestic politics and policies for longer period of time. Japan has had a high level of hesitancy to fully invest in Africa. For instance, in the list of the 10 top Japanese partners (as of 2008) in any sector, there is no African country. The reasons for this hesitancy are numerous, but the most important ones are as follows: the fear of Japan to face newness in Africa; lack of innovations in the Japanese politics to develop new mechanisms of understanding African politics and cultures; the Japanese attitude to minimize risk taking; and the Japanese culture of silence.

Japan is a solid welfare state with strong state interventionism in the management and distribution of resources. Japanese welfarist economy works very closely with the private sector which provides investments, supports science and technology, and donates resources to local and community development programs.

Welfarism was produced through a combination of factor such activism of the leftist movements, latent nationalism of the Liberal Democratic Party, the nature of the Japanese Constitution and the support of the transitional government. This welfarism has a liberal policy, which allows the Japanese market or "Made-in-Japan" to disproportionally reach Africa.

The trend of the Japanese state and corporations to place too much emphasis on pragmatism or direct solution finding of economic and political relations with epistemologically a very little interest or none in understanding of African philosophy is a serious *manquement* in Japan-Africa's relations. Japan should be interested in African people, their cultures, their languages, and their histories in order to make its policies toward Africa more relevant and comprehensive. This situation is likely to change in both African and Japanese education systems if Japan and Africa move beyond their current level of artificiality in their educational curriculum. For instance, both Japan and Africa have strong sense of "*particularité*" (particularity) and "*communalité*" (communality) in their history and their social fabric, which they should expand in exploring new and different types of relations that may reach more their respective constituents.

One of the major contributions of Japan is its success in rearranging or interpreting capitalism to become in Japan internally more flexible, competitive, and horizontal. Such a success can be seen in the campaign and policies against "*zaibatsu*" empires topped by family-dominated holdings. Postwar industries and enterprises became more dependent on the state funds and state directives. Africa has a lot to learn from the Japanese economic model, its efficiency, its managerial style, and its relationship with society at large.

What is the new Japanese administration's agenda for Africa (since 2009)? It is not clear if there are some tangible new intellectual and ideological orientations to test this right now. However, the Democratic Party of Japan has made some general declarations upon which one could interpret some possible features of its international cooperation's philosophical and policy orientations.

In terms of the new administration's foreign policy, the new government's international cooperation seems to advance proactive foreign policy strategies and build a close and equal Japan-United States' alliances. It claims to establish intraregional cooperative mechanisms in the Asia-Pacific region with the aim of building an East Asian Community. It will attempt to ensure that North Korea would halt its development of nuclear weapons and missiles, and it will probably make every effort to resolve the abduction issue. This will play a proactive role in UN peacekeeping operations, liberalizing trade and investment, and the fight against global warming. It will also take the lead in eradicating nuclear weapons, and removing the threat of terrorism. Thus, the DPJ is likely to expand strongly on its international relations in which Africa is just a small component. From this perspective, if any significant change might be expected in favor of Africa, it may come from the dynamics of the new JICA and its bureaucratic memory of the old JICA but with a deeper pocket.

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Notes

One General Introduction

1. For further information about how the author is using the concept of the national project in this book, see Lumumba-Kasongo (2008).
2. According to Andrew Cordon, "Two hours after the San Francisco Treaty was signed, the United States and Japan ratified the controversial U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. It granted the United States the right to keep military bases and troops in Japan. The official mission of the troops was to protect Japan from attack and guarantee international peace and security. From the perspective of the Americans and many in Asia, the function of the American troops was to contain Japan as much as to protect it. Not surprisingly, the security treaty faced much opposition in Japan. Some on the political left quite logically saw it as a violation of the Japanese neutrality and the principle of unarmed peace enshrined in the constitution" (2003: 242). *Pax Americana* includes military control, peace, and democracy. For Japan, this *Pax* meant also in terms of its postwar defense posture, despite internal and external pressures, an affirmation upon a policy of absolute minimum defense. It should be noted that as of 2009, the United States alone accounts for almost two-fifths of the total world military spending. With its large number of overseas military installations and bases, the United States is the only superpower capable of global military projection and action.
3. The situation can be described as follows: "The long stretch of world-beating economic growth ended as the 1990s began. The first sign of trouble was a stock market swoon. This resulted from a conscious policy decision by powerful bureaucrats in the Ministry of Finance . . . By the end of the decade, finance officials decided the resulting surge in land and stock prices had reached dangerous heights. They gradually tightened credit, hoping to curb speculative investment and gently deflate the bubble" (Gordon 2003: 314).
4. Wendt and Duvall (1989).
5. As Hedetaka Yoshimatsu stated: "Japan has stood at a unique position in East Asia. It has long been the sole developed nation in the region. In particular, its economic power has been preponderant, accounting for roughly two-thirds of total gross domestic product (GDP) in East Asia. Japanese trade, investment and official loans have sustained economic growth in major East Asian countries and 'virtually' economic integration in East Asia" (2003: 1).

Four Contextualizing Contemporary Japanese Politics and Japanese Nation-State in the "Caricature" and Reality of Bipolar World since the 1970s

1. The other three Articles of this Security Treaty are stated below:

   ARTICLE III

   The conditions which shall govern the disposition of armed forces of the United States of America in and about Japan shall be determined by administrative agreements between the two Governments.

   ARTICLE IV

   This Treaty shall expire whenever in the opinion of the Governments of Japan and the United States of America there shall have come into force such United Nations arrangements or such alternative individual or collective security dispositions as will satisfactorily provide for the maintenance by the United Nations or otherwise of international peace and security in the Japan Area.

   ARTICLE V

   This Treaty shall be ratified by Japan and the United States of America and will come into force when instruments of ratification thereof have been exchanged by them at Washington.

Five A Reflection on African Conditions in the Period of the Recent Global Reforms

1. About the usage of contestation, see Lumumba-Kasongo (2009b).
2. For further information about this subject see Lumumba-Kasongo (2001).
3. Most of the data in this section were drawn also from the above article.

Six International Cooperation between Western Powers and Africa: A Comparative Reflection

For further information on the topic of this chapter, see Lumumba-Kasongo: in (2009a).

1. He was a very respected Minister of State in France under the presidency of Charles de Gaulle before he became the Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire and then its President. President Félix Houphouët-Boigny was first to use in a positive sense the expression *Françafrique* to describe the relationship between France and Africa. He advocated the maintenance of a close cooperation with France. There are those who think that this cooperation contributed to the "Ivorian miracle" of economic and industrial progress, but this topic is controversial and is not the object of this project.
2. *See* Dowden (2009).
3. Ibid.
4. Many data and other information on this section were obtained from Lumumba-Kasongo (1999).

Ten Japan's Relationship with Africa in Post-Bipolarity: A Reflection on the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD)

1. NEPAD, known as an "African initiative" with its Charter of 207 Articles, was officially adopted on October 23, 2001 by African heads of state to deal comprehensively with the African malaises, especially poverty. The first paragraph of the document adopted in Abuja reads:

   > This New partnership for Africa's Development is a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development, and at the same time to participate actively in the world economy and body politics. The Programme is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalizing world.

2. For further information on TICAD IV, see the official opening speech of Yasuo Fukuda, then, Prime Minister of Japan and Chair of TICAD IV and Chair of the G8 Hokkaido Toyako Summit in the official site of TICAD.

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