



## **TCSF position paper toward TICAD IV and the 2008 G8 Summit**

**”Now is the time to bring ownership of the development of Africa back to Africa and its Civil Society and create a new partnership with them”**

August 10, 2007

TICAD Civil Society Forum (TCSF)

July 7, 2007 was the halfway point for the target year (2015) of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that were adopted in 2000. Although the prospects for achievement of the goals look brighter in many countries, there seems no relief in sight for any of the goals in Sub-Saharan African countries. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the decrease in the number of individuals who live on less than one dollar a day is minimal, and nearly 40% of the people are still struggling with extreme poverty.

In order to accomplish the promises that the world made in 2000, which was the beginning of the new century, unprecedented effort should be made for Africa. However, it was discovered that during the 2007 Heiligendamm Summit in Germany, whose main agenda item was “Africa”, the Group of Eight had not conscientiously implemented the funding for Africa, which the G8 promised during the 2005 Gleneagles Summit in Scotland.

African people and those who have been involved in the support of Africa in the world are so disappointed that they are now focusing their attention on “2008 Japan”. This is because the G8 Summit will be held in Toyako, Japan in June 2008, and the 4th Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD IV) will be held in Yokohama, Japan, a month prior.

Because we have the great privilege of holding these two international conferences in Japan, TCSF should send a message to the world concerning what the Japanese government, Japanese citizens and the world ought to do in order to improve the current conditions in Africa. In addition, we believe that making the most of this chance in 2008, Japan and the world should recognize that the African countries and African citizens should play a central role in African development, should listen to the opinions of the African citizens, and should declare their support for efforts being made by African citizens.

African citizens are currently facing two main scenarios regarding development. One would bring corruption, human rights violations, and inequality; with the other, democracy, security, and equality. It is our intention to contribute to the establishment of peace and reduction of

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poverty. It is our hope that the benefit of the development will penetrate the majority of African citizens, without favouring only a portion of the people. Now is the time to discuss and, more importantly act on the best alternative for cooperation for development, as stated in the following four policy recommendations:

**Four TCSF Recommendations**

- Recommendation 1. African citizens should be the main beneficiary of ODA for Africa by the Japanese government  
Recommendation 2. The ownership for the development of Africa should be returned to Africa  
Recommendation 3. African citizens should play the major role in African development  
Recommendation 4. TICAD IV should be made as an opportunity to reflect the opinion of African citizens and to design practical measures for poverty reduction and elimination of inequality in Africa.

**Recommendation 1: African citizens should be the main beneficiary of ODA for Africa by the Japanese government**

With respect to the people who are struggling against poverty under difficult conditions, we shall request that official development assistance (ODA) should be used to eradicate poverty from the world. Assistance for the poor is also clearly stated in the National Resolution of the Constitution of Japan<sup>1</sup>.

We shall also request that priority of the ODA share should be provided to Africa where about 60% of the population of the least developed countries are living<sup>2</sup> and where the ratio of individuals who live on less than one dollar a day is the highest in the world (41%)<sup>3</sup>. Africa

<sup>1</sup> "...We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want. ....We, the Japanese people, pledge our national honor to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources. (Preface, the Constitution of Japan)"

<sup>2</sup> According to the United Nations, a Least Developed Country (LDC) is defined as a country that is identified by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations using the criteria proposed by the Committee for Development Policy (CDP). The CDP criteria are: the Gross National Income (GNI) per capita is under \$750; Human Assets Index (HAI) based on indicators of nutrition, health, education and adult literacy is below the line; the Economic Vulnerability Index (EVI) is below the line; and the total population is less than 75 million. Of the 50 LDCs listed by the UN in 2006, 34 were African countries. According to the data on Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States (UN-OHRLLS), the total LDC population is about 750 million, of which 450 million (60%) are in African countries. (Population figures are calculated based on data published in the Statistics Profile of LDCs 2006 <<http://www.un.org/ohrlls>>.)

<sup>3</sup> According to the World Development Indicators 2007 issued by the World Bank on April 15, 2007, the population of the poor (people earning less than one dollar a day) was 985 million (18.4% of the world

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is the continent where human life is most severe<sup>4</sup> and achievement of the MDGs seems most difficult<sup>5</sup>. To support the African citizens in their struggle to achieve the MDGs by 2015, the international society, especially Japan (the world's second largest economies) should improve the quality of development cooperation and widely expand funding to Africa.

As defined by the OECD Development Assistance Committee, the main objective of ODA is "promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries". However, the proposals for foreign policy recently issued by the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and Nippon Keidanren<sup>6</sup> clearly state that "ODA is a strategic tool for promoting the national interests of Japan". It is difficult to find any sense of community or solidarity with the poor in Africa in their attitude.

Such an attitude toward ODA would never gain international acceptance<sup>7</sup>, and rather it would only be understood by other countries that Japanese ODA is a self-centred, narrow-minded tool for increasing national profit.

### **Recommendation 2: The ownership for the development of Africa should**

population) in 2004, which is a decrease of 260 million when compared to 1.25 billion in 1990. Based on the World Bank analysis, the decrease in the figure reflects the reduction of the poverty in Asian region, including China, while the poor population is almost unchanged in Sub-Saharan African countries (298 million both in 1990 and in 2004). The analysis also noted that the ratio of the population below one dollar a day over the total population is less than 10% in all the regions except South Asia (31%) and Sub-Saharan Africa (about 41%), indicating the difficulty in the reduction of poverty in Africa. (See World Development Indicators 2007.)

<sup>4</sup> According to the UN HDR 2006, the human development index (a standard means to measure human life conditions based on life expectancy, literacy and education, and GDP per capita) was 0.472 in Africa, the worst of any region in the world. For example, while average life expectancy at birth was 67.3 years for the world, 65.2 years for developing countries and 58.7 years for low income countries, that was 46.1 years for Sub-Saharan Africa, which is significantly lower than any other region.

<sup>5</sup> See "Africa and Millennium Development Goals" (June 8<sup>th</sup>, 2007) in the press release from the Department of Public Information, United Nations <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/07/070613.jp.html> (in Japanese)

<sup>6</sup> Refer to "Action plan for enhancement of diplomatic power" (LDP, 2007), "Concept of aid to Africa" (LDP Japan-African Union Parliamentary Friendship League, 2007), "Study report on ODA (interim report)" (House of Councilors Special Committee on ODA, 2007)

<sup>7</sup> OECD/DAC recommends the Japanese Government separate ODA and "narrowly defined national interests" but the Japanese Government has yet to agree (OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Peer Review, December 2003). <[http://www.fasid.or.jp/chosa/forum/bbl/pdf/122\\_1.pdf](http://www.fasid.or.jp/chosa/forum/bbl/pdf/122_1.pdf)> (in Japanese) summarizes the peer review by DAC. For examples in other developed countries, the United Kingdom government prohibits using the UK ODA for the political and economic interests of the UK and requires using ODA for reduction of poverty in the world. This example contrasts with the situation of the Japanese government. It is stated in Chapter 1 of the "International Development Act 2002" that "The Secretary of State may provide any person or body with development assistance if he is satisfied that the provision of the assistance is likely to contribute to a reduction in poverty." Aiichiro Yamamoto translated the statement into Japanese, appreciating that this is a clear objective clause, and interpreted that the article implies prohibition of development assistance for the purpose of commercial or political purpose. See "GRIPS UK International aid series No.13 -Purpose of aid: Comparison between Japan and UK" <<http://www.grips.ac.jp/forum/britain/13.htm>> (In Japanese)).



## be returned to Africa

TCSF applauds the recent efforts made by the international society for the reformation of ODA.

Having enhanced ownership of Africa in its development is an affirmative change. Such a change should be the outcome of recognizing the accountability of not only the recipient but also the donor for the problems in foreign aid. It seems gradually recognized that foreign aid could be improved by handing ownership, which is decision making rights, to Africa. It seems also widely known that only an adverse effect could be the result if the donor one-sidedly determines resource distribution or provides aid that is profitable to the donor, or different donor agencies or countries force different procedures on the recipient.

The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness plays an important role in the ODA reformation<sup>8</sup>. The essential part of the Declaration is not only having recognized the importance of ownership of the recipient and need for reformation of ODA, but also urging the donors to reform ODA by a certain date, setting out indicators of progress<sup>9</sup>.

TCSF appreciates the role played by the Japanese government in the preparation of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and, at the same time, urges the Japanese government to adhere to the requirements stated in the Declaration. In addition, we hope not only the current donor countries, but also emerging donors including China follow the Declaration when providing aid to Africa.

TCSF requests that ODA be delivered to Africa in compliance with the Paris Declaration, and also that the international society, including Japan, reform ODA ahead of the Declaration.

The Paris Declaration regards the governments of African countries as the main recipient of development aid. However, the practical recipient should be the African citizens. We should not forget that the main objective of ODA is to facilitate self-sustaining development for the citizens, and construction of infra-structure for industrial development and enhancement of governmental function through ODA are nothing more than tool for expediting achievement of the objective.

### **Recommendation 3. African citizens should play the major role in African development**

<sup>8</sup> The "Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness" was endorsed by major donor countries and agencies and partner countries in Paris in 2005. It was adopted for consensus-building to improve aid effectiveness.

<sup>9</sup> Twelve indicators of progress were developed as criteria when donor countries or agencies, or partner countries deliver or receive aid to improve aid effectiveness.

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As Amartya Sen stated, TCSF believes that the African people will be free from poverty when they play the major role in their own fate<sup>10</sup>. Although wages are important in our lives, they are only a part of the many factors that may be associated with poverty. In order for the African people to better control their own fate, they should be capable of committing themselves in not only daily life and daily economic activities, but also cooperation with the external world.

Assistance can be useful for self-sustainability of the poor only when we discuss the method of operation and administration of cooperation together and handing decision-making rights on to the African citizens with complete confidence. We Japanese, living far away from Africa, should not be overconfident in the idea that we truly understand the needs of the grassroots people in Africa, should not one-sidedly guide what ought to be done, and should not increase aid that would only promote the control and power of the government over its public<sup>11</sup>.

The third recommendation does not mean seeking participation of the poor in the projects designed by Japan, but handing decision making rights on to the government, civil society and public of Africa for distribution, modality and even project design of the whole ODA programme. In order to do so, capacity of the public and civil society should be improved, perhaps more than that of the government, and ODA should be reformed so that most of it will be delivered directly to the public and civil society. Our recommendation implies that the capacity of the public and civil society should be increased and support for the self-sustaining life of the public (such as through micro-credit) should be enhanced. It also implies that the civil society should commit itself to reinforce its own governance and accountability.

In order to improve the capacity of the civil society and construction of a mutually beneficial network, TCSF is now planning to propose the establishment of "Africa Partnership Fund". The Fund is a unique trial of non-unilateral governance of international cooperation to be created by the government and civil society. The Fund will be operated based on equal partnership between the government and civil society. Both the African governments and the donor governments take part in the operation as practical operators, and both the civil societies of the African and donor countries act as representatives of the poor.

At the level of Africa as a whole, all interested African countries and civil society organizations should discuss regional distribution of the Fund. At each country level, the government and civil society should meet and discuss operations, including distribution,

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<sup>10</sup> Sen defined poverty as deprivation of basic capability, and individuals can recover their capabilities through social and political participation and expansion of freedom. Sen therefore emphasized lack of freedom as more of a problem than shortage of materials, and democracy and the democratic process are important in relieving poverty (see "Development as Freedom", 1999).

<sup>11</sup> For a long time, delivery of aid to Africa usually followed a paternalistic pattern. Examples could be found in cases such as an international aid battle between forces of East and West during the Cold War, and structural adjustment by the World Bank and IMF from the late 1980s to early 1990.

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expense and monitoring. The Fund should be widely open to the international society, accepting participation of the third donor countries and agents. The performance of the trial should be carefully assessed by comparing with the existing modality of providing aid. The outcome of the Fund should widely reflect the ODA reformation and, if high performance is achieved, we recommend the Japanese government gradually transfer Japanese ODA to the Fund.

Concerning the accountability to the poor, “downward accountability” of not only the government but also the civil society representing the poor should be regarded important.

**Recommendation 4: TICAD IV should be made as an opportunity to reflect the opinion of African citizens and to design practical measures for reduction of poverty and elimination of inequality in Africa**

The objective of the fourth recommendation is to make TICAD IV an unprecedented opportunity to actualize development of Africa in which African citizens play a major role, not making it simply a ritual meeting of policy-makers.

First of all, the concept of TICAD IV should be determined through discussion with Africa. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced that “promotion of investment and economic development”, “human security” and “nature conservation” will be the three major agenda topics of TICAD IV. However, since TICAD IV is a conference for development of Africa, the subjects of discussion should not be one-sidedly determined without seeking the opinion of the African people.

Based on discussions with African civil society organizations, TCSF believes that “reduction of poverty and elimination of inequality” should be the mission of TICAD IV. At TICAD IV, the citizens as well as decision-makers from Africa and Japan should meet to learn every effort attempted and made to reduce poverty and to eliminate inequality by African countries, Japan, and the world in the last five years (since the previous TICAD), and to establish mutual consent on the development in which the public will play the major part in guiding the world public opinion for the next five years (until the next TICAD).

In addition, TCSF recommends that TICAD IV should officially accept participation of civil society. TICAD IV could be the first TICAD where the citizens officially participate and information can be widely exchanged. It is very important to utilize this opportunity to transmit the opinions of the African public through the voice of civil society and to let the African public and civil society join in the policy-making for the development of Africa.

Since the establishment of TICAD, African and Japanese civil societies have been seeking official participation in TICAD, although such participation has yet to be realized. We believe that official participation of the civil society in TICAD will be invaluable, making the citizens of Japan and Africa interested in the development, which should be widely discussed and made more effective towards the reduction of poverty and elimination of inequality in Africa.

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TCSF requests the Japanese government announce the following commitment at TICAD IV and at the coming G8 Summit in order to lead the global society to practically reinforce support for Africa.

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**TCSF Recommendation “Commitment of the Japanese government at TICAD IV”**

TCSF recommends the Japanese Government commit to the following:

**1. Achieve the target of spending an ODA/GNI ratio of 0.7% by 2013 (when the next TICAD will be held)**

The United Nations requires achievement of the target of ODA/GNI ratio of at least 0.5% by 2009. TCSF calls on Japan to commit achievement of the target of spending an ODA/GNI ratio of 0.7% by 2013, when TICAD V will be held, in order to achieve MDGs by 2015<sup>12</sup>. At TICAD IV and the 2008 G8 Summit, Japan, as the presidency holder, should take initiative to fulfill her own commitment<sup>13</sup>, and should also urge other member countries to fulfill their promises.

**2. Implement faithfully the commitments already made on ODA**

During the G8 Summit in Gleneagles held in July 2005, Junichiro Koizumi (Prime Minister of Japan at that time) announced that Japan intended to increase its ODA volume by US\$ 10 billion in aggregate over the five years from 2005 to 2009. Also during the previously held Asia- Africa Conference (so called Bandung Conference) he promised that Japan would double its ODA to Africa compared to year 2003 within three years (by 2007). However, the amount of increase included that for debt cancellation. The Japanese government should fulfill the pledge by paying “direct financial expenditure”<sup>14</sup>, which excludes the amount for debt cancellation. This is because the amount reaching the poor would never increase even when the debts owed by the recipient governments in the past were subtracted.

**3. Improve the quality of ODA and quadruple aid to Africa by the next TICAD**

Because the achievement of the MDGs seems unpromising, Japan should increase aid

<sup>12</sup> G8 members are scheduling to achieve the international agreement figures to increase aid to 0.7% of GNI by 2013 individually: the UK has set a timetable for achieving 0.7% by 2013 (DAC, June 2006); France for achieving 0.7% by 2012 (UNDP Aid Data Report, December 2005); Germany will increase to 0.51% of GNI by 2010 and then to 0.7% by 2015 (DAC, December 2005); EU-15 set a target of an increase to 0.56% by 2010 and 0.7% by 2015 (Global Policy Forum, August 2005).

<sup>13</sup> The Japanese Government announced internationally two commitments on ODA: to increase its ODA volume by US\$ 10 billion in aggregate over the five years from 2005 to 2009 (adding to the figure in 2004) (2005 Gleneagles Summit); and to double its ODA to Africa (compared to the figure in 2003) within three years (2006 Asia- Africa Summit). The government also made a reference to debt reduction for HIPC countries.

<sup>14</sup> Although debt reduction is very important in Africa today, it was more of expenditure for unsuccessful foreign aid in the past. The amount posted by the donor countries to reduce the debt would hardly be beneficial to the lives of African people. The amount of aid without including the amount to eliminate the debt in the past is referred to as “direct financial expenditure”.

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to Africa four times compared to 2005 by the next TICAD. The increase is also important for Japan to lead the discussion about cooperation to Africa, as the host of TICAD IV and the 2008 G8 Summit.

#### **4. Maintain the ratio of grant aid at 3/4 or higher of the total aid to Africa**

The ratio of grant aid to support African countries should be maintained at 3/4 or higher. It is well known today that both aid absorption capacity and economic efficiency of large-scale infrastructure are quite low in the African public sector, whereas the assessment ability of the donor is insufficient and the system for delivering credit is inappropriate. A new, innovative system for credit to African countries should be devised, a credit system that can be used effectively and repaid regularly and, most importantly, that could help the poor. Until such a system is established, delivering credit should be restricted to a trial level in terms of the benefit for the poor.

#### **5. Facilitate participation of the citizens in the debt reduction process**

Since 1996, debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative has been implemented, helping the poorest countries reduce their debt. However, the benefit of the debt relief is not sufficiently provided to the poor. Debt relief should enable the government to increase financial expenditure to struggle against poverty, to effectively support the poor and to promote democracy. So that the debt relief is beneficial to the poor, the civil society should be involved in the debt relief process. In addition, in order to gain consent of Japanese people about debt relief, it is essential to increase commitment of the Japanese civil society to international debt relief. Information on international debt should be open to the public, participation of citizens in the debt relief process should be sought, and a framework to facilitate discussion and cooperation about this topic between African and Japanese civil societies should be organized and secured.

#### **6. Adopt "New Africa-Japan Partnership Declaration"**

In order to recognize TICAD IV as a new stepping stone for cooperation with Africa, TCSF recommends both Africa and Japan announce a new partnership declaration. However, we do not define any items or content of the declaration unilaterally because we believe the declaration can be announced only when both the civil societies and government from both Africa and Japan decide together and reach an agreement. As a Japanese civil society organization, TCSF suggests the following items be included in the declaration:

Africa and Japan shall:

- 1) Implement joint assessment of a newly planned ODA involving the citizens
- 2) Assess yen credit with citizen involvement before full-scale delivery
- 3) Set up a citizens' committee that consists of the civil society organizations from both the partner country and Japan in each African country to seek participation of the

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- citizens in everything from the policy-making to the implementation of ODA
- 4) Officially support an exchange programme for 30,000 individuals in order to enhance solidarity between the civil society organizations from Japan and Africa

**TCSF recommendations on what TICAD ought to be**

TICAD, when being held for the first time in 1993, brought not only clear benefit to the government, but also indirect benefit to the public in Africa. At that time, the East-West Cold War ended and aid to Africa was decreasing. Because Japan, the greatest donor in the world at that time, called on the international community about the importance of aid to Africa, TICAD I worked as a brake against the decline of aid to Africa. However, TICAD has started losing its direction: amount of ODA to Africa did not increase; the system for cooperation with Africa was not improved; and attempted expansion of private investment and trade resulted in failure. Advancing economic association of African countries with China or India today may indicate that Japan would not be able to contribute to the promotion of economic development in Africa for the time being. The expectations of Japan from African leaders and entrepreneurs are lower than ever before.

In such circumstances, we believe that TICAD will be revived if it will be made as an opportunity to discuss the development of Africa with the African public. We believe that the following suggestions should be considered to improve and regenerate TICAD:

1. To officially accept participation of African and Japanese civil societies to TICAD
2. To transform TICAD into an African Union (AU) development forum
3. To redefine the objective and function of TICAD
4. To set up an independent and permanent secretariat for the new process of the development forum
5. To hold TICAD not only in the Tokyo metropolitan area, but also in other local government areas

TCSF strongly appeals regeneration of the function of TICAD, in order to enhance mutual understanding and solidarity between the citizens of Africa and Japan and to realize “the development of Africa by Africans for Africans”.