

2. Aid Trends

2.1 Aid Trends and the Outline of Japanese Assistance

2.1.1 The Outline of Japanese Assistance

2.1.1.1 Assistance to Africa: Recent Trends

The Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) (cosponsored with the UN in October 1993) and the Ninth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD 9; held in South Africa in April 1996) were two events that exemplify recent trends in Japanese aid to African countries including Tanzania. The TICAD forum culminated in the Tokyo Declaration, which called for actions to assist the development of those African countries striving to democratize their political systems and liberalize their economies. More specifically, the Declaration has six key underpinnings: (i) steps in political and economic reforms led by the initiative of developing countries themselves, (ii) economic development driven by stimulation of the private sector, (iii) regional cooperation and integration between African countries, (iv) disaster prevention for both natural and artificial disasters and an understanding of the value of urgent disaster relief, (v) adaptation of Asian development models to the African setting, together with expanded South to South cooperation, and (v) broad-based international assistance involving NGOs and other organizations, for solutions to the AIDS epidemic, environmental issues, and the problems of women^{Note39}.

Working together with the UN, Japan has since cosponsored several follow-up conferences: in Indonesia (1994), Zimbabwe (1995), and the Ivory Coast (1996). In addition, it has furnished aid in the form of non-project grant aid, held programs inside Japan for young Africans, initiated groundwater development projects backed by total financing of ¥25.0 to 30.0 billion over a three-year span, and pursued policy dialogues with African aid recipients.

Foreign Minister Ikeda announced Japan's Initiatives on Assistance to Africa at the UNCTAD 9 forum. That initiative calls for a second Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD II), with a target year of 1998, increased levels of assistance in the field of primary education^{Note40}, training programs in Japan for 3,000 African trainees over the next three years, and active backing for a polio-eradication program led by the African Regional Office of the World Health Organization.

These recent movements in the arena of African aid are strongly echoed in "Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation," the DAC—New Development Strategy that carried through on Japan's initiative at the DAC high-level meeting

^{Note39} Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Japan's Official Development Assistance 1996*.

^{Note40} With \$100 million in financial assistance over the next three years, support for the goal of ensuring that all African children enjoy access to educational services by the year 2015.

in May 1996. Four themes central to this new DAC strategy—poverty alleviation, universal primary education, health care (maternal and child health care), and environmental protection—all have a bearing on conditions in Tanzania and most other African countries. Of the six countries slated for priority assistance under the DAC—New Development Strategy, four are in Africa. Tanzania is one of those designated countries and is currently being considered as a target for the implementation of DAC programs coordinated with British ODA and aid from other concerned donors^{Note41}.

2.1.1.2 Japanese ODA Policy to Tanzania

Japan has given Tanzania top ODA priority in sub-Saharan countries, and on that basis has for some time supplied it aid primarily in the form of grant aid and technical cooperation. In 1995, Tanzania received \$124.3 million in Japanese ODA, the second-largest amount received by any sub-Saharan country after Kenya. As a recipient of Japanese grant aid alone, Tanzania ranks first among sub-Saharan countries, and is in ninth place worldwide.^{Note42}

Lastly, as indicated above, Japan has designated Tanzania a priority country for the implementation of aid under the DAC—New Development Strategy.

2.1.1.3 Technical Cooperation

To date, Japan has furnished Tanzania a cumulative ¥32,066 million in technical cooperation, the second-largest amount of any recipient country in the region. The figure for 1995 alone measured ¥2,779 million (also the second-largest).

Japan began dispatching experts to Tanzania in 1963, and assignments of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCVs) were initiated in 1967 in line with the terms of an agreement worked out the year before. Tanzanian trainees have been accepted to training programs in Japan since 1954, some time prior to the country's independence. Up to 1992, Japan sent around 15 to 20 experts to Tanzania each year. Since 1992, their ranks have climbed to between 35 and 40 in annual terms. In terms of the share of experts, agriculture has been the leading sector to date, followed in decreasing order by manufacturing, health care, and transportation. One feature of recent years is that the number of industrial experts has been declining and the number of health care experts has increased.

About 30 to 40 JOCVs are sent to Tanzania every year. The projects they are involved in range primarily from agriculture to industry, social infrastructure, and human resources development. In 1989, Japan resumed sending volunteers with expertise in

^{Note41} The six priority countries of Japan's aid for implementation of the new DAC development strategy are Peru, Cambodia, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Tanzania, and Ethiopia.

^{Note42} See note 39.

engineering fields; as a result, the number of volunteers involved in personnel training activities has been growing.

Tanzanian trainees in agricultural fields account for the largest share of all trainees to date, followed in decreasing order by those in industry, health care, transportation, and administration. One feature of recent years is that the number of trainees in the administration and health care fields has been rising.

Japan has conducted various development studies, particularly for projects in agriculture, the supply of water, and economic infrastructure. The Lower-Moshi agricultural development project is one of the oldest. Numerous recent studies, e.g., concerning road network development in the Dar es Salaam urban area, have been tied to financial assistance.

2.1.1.4 Grant Aid

Japan initiated grant aid to Tanzania in 1973. The first grant was for the survey and design work associated with a bridge construction project on the Rufiji River. By FY 1995, Tanzania had received a cumulative ¥78,988 million in Japanese grant aid, the largest amount of any country in the region. The figure for FY 1995 alone came to ¥4,994 million (the second-largest sum for a sub-Saharan country). In addition to projects in health care, education, human resources development, and other undertakings designed to satisfy basic human needs (BHN), grant aid has also been aimed at an array of projects in economic infrastructure: e.g., in agriculture, transportation, telecommunications, and power generation. Tanzania received a cumulative ¥13.5 billion in Japanese non-project grant aid between 1987 and 1995.

Incidentally, the number of grass-roots grant aid projects to the country have been picking up for some years now^{Note43}.

2.1.1.5 Loan Aid

Excluding those periods during which its debts were rescheduled, Tanzania received loan aid from Japan up until 1981. This form of assistance proved problematic later on, however, owing to debt relief measures put together for the country under the Paris Club's Toronto scheme and New Toronto scheme^{Note44}.

2.1.1.6 The Situation of DAC Member Countries' Assistance to Tanzania

As a donor country to Tanzania, Japan's record has not always been outstanding.

^{Note43} Such grants to Tanzania totaled ¥53 million in 1994 and ¥105 million in 1995, an amount second only to the ¥177 million total for South Africa in 1995.

^{Note44} Loan aid to the country totaled a cumulative ¥25,571 million in FY 1995. (Payments on ¥4,999 million of that total were rescheduled.)

However, among DAC members it was fifth-ranked as a donor to Tanzania in 1992 (\$71 million) and second-ranked in 1993 (\$88.8 million). Furthermore, it continued expanding on its level of assistance, to \$14.8 million in 1994, an amount that positioned it as Tanzania's top donor. If multilateral organizations are also compared, this figure is second only to the amount provided to Tanzania by the World Bank (\$172.3 million)^{Note45}.

On a cumulative basis, Sweden was the top-ranked bilateral donor of aid over the five-year span from 1990 through 1994. Japan was ranked fourth place, following Denmark and Norway. One explanation is that many Scandinavian-styled socialist countries have been firm supporters of the African-styled socialist policies that emerged when Nyerere was president^{Note46}. To better coordinate their aid programs, these Scandinavian countries have held meetings in Tanzania, and in November 1996 initiated a high-level policy dialogue with the Tanzanian government.

However, the amounts of aid extended by donors like Sweden and Norway have been following a down trend attributable to symptoms of aid fatigue in recent years. What is more, most other donors in the meantime have not been increasing their aid amounts to Tanzania. As these trends suggest, Japanese aid has grown increasingly vital to Tanzania, a country that still relies on foreign aid to finance as much as 40% of its fiscal budget.

Incidentally, many donors have adopted a more circumspect tone on aid to Zanzibar as a result of irregularities reported to have taken place there during the 1995 elections^{Note47}.

2.1.2 Specific Trends

2.1.2.1 Comprehensive Development Programs in the Kilimanjaro Region

Japan began assisting Tanzania in earnest with a development study for a small-scale factory project in 1964. During the 1960s, most Japanese assistance to the country was in the form of development studies and loan aid. In 1968, the Tanzanian government assigned different parts of the country to different donors. Japan was asked to assist in the development of Kilimanjaro, and to that end initiated a Kilimanjaro Integrated Regional Development Study (1970-1977). The findings of that survey ultimately led to the provision of aid for an array of undertakings in various fields, including projects for the development of the region's power transmission grid (development studies, loan aid), agricultural enhancements (development studies, loan aid, project-type technical cooperation, grant aid), and development of small-scale enterprises (development studies, grant aid, project-type technical cooperation).

^{Note45} OECD, Development Assistance Committee, Development Cooperation Report 1995.

^{Note46} Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Economic Cooperation Bureau, Evaluation Office. FY 1995 Country Evaluation for the United Republic of Tanzania.

^{Note47} JICA documents.

Though irrigation-based paddy rice farming has become widespread in the Moshi district, villages upstream have begun rice farming on their own, creating water shortages in areas targeted by certain agricultural development projects. Paddy rice farming techniques developed in the Moshi district are now being transferred to agronomists in other parts of the country on the basis of project-type technical cooperation (Kilimanjaro Agricultural Training Center Project 1994-1999).

2.1.2.2 Recent Aid Trends to Tanzania

As an outcome of annual dialogues with Tanzania in 1991 and November 1994, Japan agreed to supply aid in several priority areas while assisting the country with its structural adjustment policy. Virtually all Japanese aid to Tanzania since then has been focused in those areas: namely, in economic infrastructure development, the promotion of agriculture, and BIIN-related projects (for health care, improved water supplies, etc.).

Through much of the 1970s and 1980s, many development projects were concentrated in the Kilimanjaro region. In recent years, the Tanzanian government has been striving to have projects of various kinds extended to or implemented in other parts of the country. Several nationwide undertakings in program assistance have already been put into effect. That includes arrangements for non-project grant aid, grant aid for increase of food production, grant aid for malaria control (FY 1986-1993), and support for polio eradication campaigns (FY 1996 to date).

As one of several undertakings designed to assist Tanzania in its structural adjustment program, in 1987 and on several occasions since (in 1989, 1991, 1992, 1994, and 1995), Japan has furnished non-project grants under the Special Programme of Assistance for Sub-Saharan Africa (SPA, SPA II, and SPA III). One effort in technical cooperation is a country-specific training program that has been implemented to help Tanzania overhaul its "Civil Service Sector".

Within the agricultural sector, Japan has launched projects to foster the spread of participatory projects of small-scale irrigation (the Bagamoyo project for the promotion of irrigation-based farming, and the "The Study on the Low Cost Smallholder Irrigation Project in Central Wami River Basin") in addition to large-scale, irrigation-based paddy-rice cultivation in Kilimanjaro. As these examples attest, Japanese assistance to Tanzania has become increasingly diversified in its content and geographical scope.

From the latter 1980s to the present, most projects in economic infrastructure and environmental sanitation have been concentrated in or around the capital city. That includes various projects to develop the capital's urban road network. However, under Tanzania's Integrated Road Programme (IRP), development projects of local trunk road network will be given much priority.

Aside from a project for enhancements to water treatment facilities in the capital, Japanese support to improve the supply of water have been concentrated mainly in rural areas, including safe havens for war refugees from neighboring countries. Japan has future plans for additional development studies and grant aid for the improvement of water supplies in rural areas.

Also, in the environmental field, Japan has implemented a village forestry project in Kilimanjaro (project schedule, FY 1991-1997) and is promoting similar forestry ventures in semi-arid districts of the country. Furthermore, JOCV teams have launched a tree-planting project in the city of Dodoma.

In the health care arena, Japan has continued to run an anti-malaria campaign in coordination with the dispatch of experts and the in-country training programs. Additionally, in the interest of fostering advances in maternal and child health care, it has implemented a project-type technical cooperation program (1994-1999) in rural (Tanga region) and central (Muhimbili Medical Center) sites. Tanzania is one of the priority countries for assistance under Japan's Global Issues Initiative on Population and AIDS^{Note48}. In June 1996, Japan initiated surveys for the formulation of new GII project undertakings in four areas: enhancements at regional hospitals, AIDS prevention programs through the supply of safe blood, a blanket polio vaccination program nationwide, and improved maternal and child health care programs through NGOs activities.

In the education sector, aside from the dispatch of JOCVs and grant assistance for grass-roots projects, Japan has not pursued any noteworthy projects to date. Though it did send a project formulation advisor in 1994 to gauge Tanzania's need for education-related assistance, that did not transpire into an actual assistance project. Future project formulation efforts in this area would be anticipated.

Japanese assistance for Zanzibar has been limited to a few narrowly defined sectors (e.g., for marine transport improvement and the restoration of television station broadcasting services).

^{Note48} In February 1994, prior to the September 1994 UN Conference on Population and Development (in Cairo), Japan unveiled its Global Issues Initiative on Population and AIDS (GII). The GII incorporates a comprehensive approach to population and AIDS issues, in that it calls for both direct and indirect assistance undertakings. Direct assistance includes projects in maternal and child health care, family planning, and demographics; indirect forms range from projects in primary education to education for women. In addition to Tanzania, there are several other priority countries for assistance: Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Egypt, Ghana, and Mexico.

2.1.3 Aid Trends among Other Major Donors

General trends in aid were outlined in 2.1.1. Trends among individual donors are here discussed^{Note49}.

2.1.3.1 International Organizations

A. World Bank

Upon achieving independence in 1961, Tanzania became a member of the IBRD, IDA, and IFC. From that point to 1994, it received a cumulative \$2,467.4 million in financing from the World Bank group. To be sure, the volume of assistance widened sharply after the country implemented its Economic Recovery Programme (in 1986) and put Structural Adjustment Programmes into effect. Since the 1980s, all assistance from the World Bank group has been limited to financing from the IDA, which imposes relatively light terms. As the largest donor to Tanzania, the World Bank has had Tanzania embark on a program of structural adjustments.

As part of that structural adjustment process, Tanzania has been encouraged to cut public expenditures, liberalize the oil industry, open up the banking sector, privatize various *parastatal*, and restructure its manufacturing industries. In return, the World Bank has furnished it assistance for projects in such fields as education (basic education) and health care (preventive medicine).

The World Bank has drawn up an implementation schedule that will place SPA IV in effect from 1997 to 1999. With an assessment of the Tanzanian government's good performance under SPA III, an additional \$738 million in IDA loans for development projects and structural adjustment purposes, and \$23 million in IMF financing for the structural adjustment process are scheduled to be extended^{Note50}.

B. UNDP

UNDP assistance is mainly conditioned on negotiations between the Tanzanian government and other aid institutions. Other than those negotiations, the UNDP has furnished assistance for efforts in civil service reform, poverty alleviation (through policymaking and grass-roots-level assistance), environmental preservation (protection of water resources and soil fertility), strengthened local-government capabilities, and the Ministry of Justice.

^{Note49} Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Economic Cooperation Bureau, Education Office. FY 1995 Country Evaluation Report for the United Republic of Tanzania. UNDP, Development Cooperation Report, 1995. Field Survey Report of Development Assistance Committee to the United Republic of Tanzania, 1996 (internal JICA documentation).

^{Note50} Status Report for Tanzania, SPA III, 1996. 11.

C. UNICEF

From 1992 to 1996, UNICEF programs for Tanzania were driven by the objective of lowering the Infant Mortality Rate and the Under-Five Mortality Rate. As such, they included preventive immunization campaigns and other actions to improve maternal and child health care, nutritional levels, the supply of safe drinking water, and public health care. Community-based assistance projects for improved infant survival, care, and growth have been launched in 50 districts nationwide, including Zanzibar, and are demonstrating considerable results. These constitute a composite set of measures designed to address different problems, from postnatal nutrition and health care to primary education and HIV/AIDS prevention.

For the period from 1997 to 2000, UNICEF plans to provide assistance at both national/regional and district/community levels, with the objective of improving and maintaining the quality and availability of health care services^{Note51}.

D. EU

EU-led assistance programs are provided under terms of the Lomé Convention. The current program is Lomé IV (1990-2000). During the first stage (1990-1995), various projects in the transportation, agricultural and social service sectors (e.g., for water supply and sewerage systems, hospital construction, organizational restructuring, and development of the tourism industry) were implemented in line with a "National Indicative Plan (NIP)" worked out with the Tanzanian government in November 1990.

2.1.3.2 Bilateral Donors

A. Sweden

Sweden and other Scandinavian countries have set up a Nordic Conference to coordinate their development assistance programs. In 1996, the Swedish international development agency (Sida) worked out a strategy of assistance for Tanzania that embraces four core aid objectives: continued democratization, economic liberalization, institution building, and rural development.

Sweden for some years now has been working through the World Bank to move its assistance to Tanzania out of the economic sector and into the social services sector. Though early projects put emphasis on manufacturing, education, and the country's cooperatives, the perspective has since become much more comprehensive in its scope. For example, several new Swedish programs will be focused on education, the provision of safe drinking water, communications, energy, and civil service reforms^{Note52}.

^{Note51} From JICA internal documentation on findings of Tanzanian GII Project Formulation Survey.

^{Note52} From JICA internal documentation.

B. Denmark

Denmark is the only Scandinavian donor that so far has not cut back on its level of aid to Tanzania. Since 1990, Denmark has followed policies that emphasize support for the democratization process, environmental preservation, the alleviation of gender disparities, and good governance. It has assigned priority to four specific fields: health care, road-oriented infrastructure projects, agriculture, and private sector assistance (vocational training).

Denmark is currently engaged in integrated aid programs for improved water supplies, environmental preservation, and agricultural gains, with priority on the southern part of Tanzania. The Morogoro area has been assigned priority for irrigation projects.

C. Norway

The level of assistance from Norway has been dwindling. In 1993, it announced a new aid strategy for Tanzania for 1994 to 1997 that stresses efforts in four areas: civil service reforms, support for democratization, heightened local project ownership through Tanzanian-led project planning, and education. Norway has also initiated projects for infrastructure development (e.g., hydroelectric power generation and road construction), environmental preservation, the fight against AIDS, and the provision of small-scale credit.

In one noteworthy policy shift, within the next two years Norway intends to reduce the number of long-term experts it has on assignment in Tanzania to zero. During the 1980s, it had as many as 90 such personnel stationed in the country. This move is part of the drive to boost the utilization of Tanzania's own human resources and foster local project ownership. Norway also provides assistance to Tanzania through programs run by the South African Development Conference (SADC), and as such, it is the only Scandinavian country effectively active in "South to South" cooperation.

D. The Netherlands

Basically, the Dutch budget for assistance is now shrinking. In general, Dutch assistance has been aimed at encouraging liberalization, development, and self-reliance. In aiding Tanzania, the Netherlands has laid stress on rural development. Projects to date have been focused on efforts to improve infrastructure, fight soil erosion, assist in dairy farm management, and develop water supply systems. In the future, project priority will be placed on communications infrastructure and environmental preservation. The Netherlands has also voiced plans to have its projects incorporate the goals of the 20:20 Initiative that was proposed at the World Summit for Social Development.

E. Germany

Tanzania is the top recipient of German assistance destined for countries in southern Africa. Germany, however, has decided to rein in the level of aid it provides Tanzania, and plans to rely increasingly on frameworks for assistance through multilateral organiza-

tions. It also is considering concentrating its assistance primarily in the field of agriculture.

F. The U.K.

From the 1970s to the mid-1980s, the level of assistance from the U.K. remained comparatively weak. Following the 1986 accord with the IMF, Britain began actively assisting Tanzania in the arena of macroeconomic stabilization. It plans to increase its 1996/97 ODA budget for Tanzania to 40 million pounds, literally double the size of the corresponding 1995/96 budget allocation.

In addition to support for the structural adjustment process, Britain is also furnishing Tanzania aid in the field of health care, and to that end it has coordinated its programs with those of Japan (regional health care) and Germany (malaria control). Educational assistance to date has been focused on English language instruction for the secondary school grades. In the years ahead, plans are to shift the emphasis of assistance to secondary school mathematics subjects and primary education. As to other undertakings, Britain has also provided assistance for environmental protection, the construction and improvement of rural road networks, and upgrading administrative capacity. It has proposed that a donor conference be convened to discuss issues concerning the implementation of the DAC—new development strategy.

2.2 The DAC—New Development Strategy and Aid to Tanzania

May 1996 occasioned DAC approval of a new ODA strategy that stresses people-centered development. "Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation" is the action plan (outlined below) that has been drawn up to put the new strategy into effect.

Japan has contributed to having the new strategy approved. In particular, it actively backed a set of tangible development targets on the awareness that "development should be aimed at improving the quality of life for all"^{Note53}.

^{Note53} Excerpted from text of joint communiqué delivered at Halifax Summit.

Economic well-being:

(Poverty alleviation)

-a reduction by at least one-half in the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015.

Social development:

(Education)

-universal primary education in all countries by 2015;

-demonstrated progress toward gender equality and the empowerment of women by eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005;

(Health Care)

-a reduction by two-thirds in the mortality rates for infants and children under age 5 and a reduction by three-fourths in maternal mortality, all by 2015;

-access through the primary health care system to reproductive health services for all individuals of appropriate ages as soon as possible and no later than the year 2015.

(Environmental sustainability and regeneration)

-the current implementation of national strategies for sustainable development in all countries by 2015, so as to ensure that current trends in the loss of environmental resources are effectively reversed at both global and national levels by 2015.

One pivotal goal of the new strategy is to ensure that all developing countries, regardless of their development stage, are able to share in the benefits of globalization and participate in that trend. To achieve these goals, each developing country must have ownership. The strategy also underlines the need for a development partnership in the new global context, in which industrial countries can help strengthen capacities in developing partner countries to meet those requirements for sustainable development, guided by the conditions and commitments in each country.

To put such forms of ownership and partnership within reach, the strategy defines several roles that the industrial and developing countries should assume, both together and on an individual basis. The shared roles include (i) setting the stage for the supply of enough resources for development purposes, (ii) enacting policies that effectively minimize the danger of armed conflict, and (iii) putting an end to corruption and other unlawful practices at the domestic and international levels. Developing countries will be expected to pursue several objectives conditioned on the involvement of their governments and their own people: (i) maintain appropriate macroeconomic policies, (ii) promote social and participatory development, including gender equality, and (iii) promote credible government and the rule of law. For their part, the industrial countries will be expected to (i) provide appropriate packages of assistance designed to mobilize additional resources, (ii) establish frameworks for international trade and investment, and (iii) observe effective aid policies and monitor continuous improvements.

Table 2.1 compares the objectives of the new strategy, data on conditions in Tanzania at present, and future DAC targets. Tanzania itself is fully aware that future develop-

ment efforts should be focused in four key priority areas: poverty alleviation, education, health care, and the environment. Based on that understanding, it has already come out with several policy papers in the social development sector, including the National Poverty Eradication Policy and Social Sector Strategy, each of which essentially advocates development targets very similar to those proposed by DAC. However, huge disparities highlight those targets and the mountain of hurdles the country should be striving to address as quickly as it can. Worse, Tanzania has yet to draft virtually any tangible action plans for the accomplishment of its expressed goals.

Another point to bear in mind is that despite the heavy cost likely to be imposed by the search for solutions to the many hurdles Tanzania now faces in the realm of social development, acceptable returns on any investment to that end will probably be out of reach in the short run. Consequently, in view of its current state of economic malaise, Tanzania can be expected to face a multitude of difficulties in striving to address these hurdles on the basis of self-help efforts alone.

Table 2.1 The DAC—New Strategy and Present Conditions in Tanzania

Sector	Latest Data for Each Sector	Development Project and Objectives	DAC Targets
Poverty	Percentage of population living below poverty line (Note 1) Nationwide: 58% (1980-1990) Urban: 10% Rural: 60%	Eradicate absolute poverty by 2005. (Note 4)	Halve the percentage of people in poverty by 2015.
Education	Primary school enrollment rates (1993) (Note 2) Boys: 93% Girls: 69% Secondary school enrollment rates (1993) (Note 2) Boys: 6% Girls: 5%	Achieve 100% primary school attendance rate by 2005. (Note 4)	Make primary education universal in all countries by 2015. Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005.
Health Care	Under-five mortality rate (1994) (Note 3) 159 (per 1,000 population) Maternal mortality rate (1993) (Note 3) 770 (per 100,000 births)	Reduce the under-five mortality rate to one-third, or 50-70, by 2000. (Note 5) Reduce maternal mortality rate to 100-200 by 2000. (Note 5)	Reduce the infant mortality rate and the under-five mortality rate to one-third, and the maternal mortality rate to one-fourth, by 2015.
	Share of population with access to health care services (1985-1995) (Note 3) 80% (94% in urban areas, 73% in rural) Share with access to safe drinking water (1985-1995) (Note 3) 50% (67% in urban areas, 46% in rural) Share with access to sanitary facilities (1990-1995) (Note 3) 64% (74% in urban areas, 62% in rural)	Ensure 100% access to safe drinking water and sanitary facilities by 2000. (Note 5)	Establish a universally accessible system of primary health care as quickly as possible, with 2015 as the deadline year.
Environment	Annual deforestation (1980-1989) (Note 3) 130,000 ha Annual rate of deforestation (1980-1989) (Note 3) 0.3% Scale of reforestation (1980-1989) (Note 3) 9,000 ha	Reverse the forest depletion trend by 2005. (Note 4)	Reverse the depletion trend for natural resources by 2015.

Notes

1. UNDP, Human Development Report 1994.
2. World Bank, World Bank Report 1996.
3. UNDP, Human Development Report 1996.
4. Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, National Poverty Eradication Policy (draft), September 1996.
5. Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, The National Program of Action (NPA) to Achieve the Goals for Tanzanian Children in the 1990's.

3. Framework for Japan's Assistance to Tanzania

3.1 Basic Direction of Japan's Aid

On the surface, it would be easy to conclude from the foregoing analysis that various natural forces as well as political and economic factors—both internal and external—have prevented Tanzania from achieving many of the development objectives it committed itself to once it gained independence. Nonetheless, it is not possible to ignore certain inherent problems that Tanzania shares in common with other African countries.

The Cold War forced many independent developing countries in Africa to be involved in the competition for aid. However, this created a scarcity of assistance for serious undertakings in human resources development or national infrastructure. The result emerged as a polarization in human resources, with basic reading, writing, and arithmetic for the masses and programs of higher education and training reserved for a handful of elites. This state of affairs factored strongly behind the institutional weaknesses that many African countries suffered. The end of the Cold War, however, prompted an outcry for self-reliant, democratic forms of government. Consequently, many countries are now caught in a process of political and economic upheaval.

For Tanzania, the past 30-odd years have been a long and winding course that would appear to have placed it right back at the developmental starting point. However, politically, socially, and economically, the problems confronting the country today are far more complicated than they were 30 years ago. Moreover, donor strategies have been evolving in the meantime; in particular, recent years have seen donor emphasis shift to participatory approaches and the cultivation of aid partnerships. In exploring Tanzania's development assistance needs against this complicated backdrop of change, it seems imperative above all to put the focus of attention on human resources development as a key foundation for nation-building, assume a multifaceted approach regarding the targeted sectors, regions, and types of aid, and act on the basis of medium- and long-term development visions for the next century.

As underscored by Japan's own ODA Charter, by the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), and by Foreign Minister Ikeda's announcement of Japan's Initiatives on Assistance to Africa, Japanese aid to the continent has been driven increasingly by aid policies oriented toward the fulfillment of basic human needs. What is more, that aid is growing in volume terms. Japan is today the top donor for seven of the 47 countries in Africa, and for some years now has been one of the major donors of aid to Tanzania. In the process, it has been working to improve the quality of aid and as one measure to that end has sought to supplant its request-based philosophy with a stress on closer policy dialogue.

Japan considered Tanzania a priority country for the implementation of the DAC-

New Development Strategy. As a leading donor, Japan should be aware of its role as a proponent of the new strategy. Additionally, it should explore measures for aid to Tanzania while fully bearing the objectives of the new strategy in mind.

On that understanding, we have adopted four fundamental viewpoints regarding aid to Tanzania, as follows.

3.1.1 Human Development and Sustainable Development

Nyerere's policies on human development deserve a distinguished place in Tanzanian history for the benefits they have accorded Tanzania's citizens. When Tanzania gained its independence, Nyerere declared poverty, illiteracy, and disease the three national evils, and embarked on a program of social development aimed at addressing them and placing the country on a self-reliant course. These steps contributed to participatory forms of development and the empowerment of farmers and women, increased school attendance and improved programs for adult literacy, and widened access to health care services and safer water supplies. These initiatives are recognized as dominant ideas today. At a minimum, Nyerere's policies succeeded in fostering national unification in terms of language; furthermore, the educational thrust had the effect of cultivating a stronger spirit of self-reliance among Tanzanians in general (particularly in rural areas).

However, the former framework for one-party dictatorship has had a lasting, pernicious influence that extends beyond earlier, explicit limits on the freedoms of speech and thought. Namely, it has eroded the ability of individual Tanzanians to function as active agents for the institutional reforms and ideological paradigm shift that the country must now pursue. This situation essentially demands that Tanzanians have new opportunities to think about what the terms "democracy" and "freedom" actually mean. Indeed, that in itself will be a fundamental condition for future strategies of development which place priority on human-centered development.

In putting the emphasis on human development, however, steps must be taken to assist the restoration and enhancement of the social services sector and reverse the bottlenecks on service access that Tanzania's current retrenchment finance have imposed, particularly at the expense of women, children, and other socially disadvantaged groups. While these preconditions are consistent with accomplishments under the DAC's new development strategy and can be expected to satisfy in large measure, Japan and Tanzania will be expected to share their roles in these undertakings and work together toward common goals.

Efforts to promote literacy through Swahili language will be vital to the human development drive. By making Swahili its universal language, Tanzania can be expected to achieve the social stability essential for sustainable economic growth in this region.

Aside from the underlying economic factors, Tanzania's development programs suffer weaknesses that detract from their sustainability. Those weaknesses are attributable to shortcomings in both organizational and personnel capacity. Capacity-building efforts are accordingly considered urgent at all administrative and social levels. Japanese assistance to Tanzania will therefore place priority on improving the ability of Tanzanian government institutions and personnel to handle the preliminary stages of preparation as well as project implementation and post project evaluations. The outcome of that undertaking will have major ramifications for the sustainability of Tanzanian development programs.

3.1.2 Support for the Structural Adjustment Process

The World Bank and the IMF have been financing structural adjustment programs across Africa for around fifteen years, albeit with mixed success. Tanzania agreed to the terms of a structural adjustment facility recommended in 1986, and on that basis it has been engaged in an economic recovery program for the past 10 years. The World Bank believes this program has begun to show signs of stabilizing macroeconomic factors and fostering improvements on the institutional front, and for that reason is now backing steps to accelerate the pace of progress. At the microeconomic level, people's access to public services has deteriorated and the decline in real income has made people's daily lives increasingly difficult. The drop in the human development index is one manifestation of these trends. Therefore, continued support for the macroeconomically oriented structural adjustment program would seem to spell a need for parallel forms of assistance to the people harmed directly or indirectly by that adjustment process.

Some critics contend the pace of reform demanded by the structural adjustment program has been far too fast. In a country like Tanzania, where the weaknesses of the administrative institutions have been a perpetual concern, even desired institutional reforms have sometimes failed at the implementation stage because they were unable to keep up with the rapid pace of change. That history indicates that the timetables for reform programs need to be more carefully planned.

Also, from a technical standpoint, the feasibility studies for various sectoral undertakings in structural adjustment have often been inadequate. Such failings, however, essentially underscore the fact that most structural adjustment programs tend to be drafted by economists from the World Bank or other multilateral lenders even though the recipient country is supposed to be in control. Given this reality, Japan should be prepared to help facilitate a smooth and sustained structural adjustment process, and make recommendations or lend support based upon sufficient coordination between aid donors while remaining attentive to Tanzanian viewpoints.

To date, Japan has extended Tanzania non-project grants as a form of bilateral assistance for undertakings in the structural adjustment program. Among other donors

who have provided such aid in the past, some have noted that the Tanzanian government has been remiss about collecting counterpart funds and accounting for how all the funds are spent. Therefore, it seems advisable that non-project grant assistance be conditioned on close negotiations with the Tanzanian government regarding the collection and use of counterpart funds, and in the short run be utilized for enhancements in social infrastructure and other areas that benefit socially disadvantaged people. It will also be necessary to furnish non-project grants over the medium and longer term, albeit while striving to ensure that they are used for ventures in economic infrastructure development.

3.1.3 Assistance for Improving Economic and Social Infrastructure

Elements of the country's social infrastructure (e.g., schools, health care facilities, water supply and rural road networks) are currently in a state of serious disrepair. Their restoration seems urgent even from a new DAC strategy viewpoint. However, on the issues of sustainability and active roles for the intended beneficiaries, questions have been raised about the participatory nature of many projects in this field. Better partnership arrangements among the involved groups and institutions have thus been urged. However, exigency aside, it will be vitally important to seek a full dialogue with all the parties involved, including national and local government institutions and local citizens, and to ensure enough lead time for that purpose at the preliminary stages of project assistance.

To be sure, little can be expected of undertakings in social infrastructure that concentrate on a single sector alone. It will be necessary to adopt a perspective that emphasizes regional development on a scale adapted to actual needs. Moreover, this is not a field that Japan is prepared to address on its own; burden-sharing and steps in coordination with other donors and NGOs will be paramount.

There is controversy about the need for big projects designed to deal with institutional weaknesses in Africa. In recent years, appropriate-scale (and usually small-scale) programs of fast-track aid for basic human needs that have a perceptible impact on local residents have become the mainstream model for bilateral assistance. However, in terms of recipient needs and priorities, assistance projects in core infrastructure that provide the foundation for national development also seem essential. Therefore, from a long-term perspective, grant-led forms of assistance can be expected to pave the way for economic growth even if they do suffer from low efficiency. For some time to come, Tanzania will need medium- and long-range packages of strategic aid for infrastructure development in the arenas of transportation and communications.

It will be vital to put together infrastructure projects for improved market distribution from a regional cooperation perspective, regardless of the scale or goods involved. Now that the once-defunct East African Community appears to be on the verge of resurrection, highway and communications network infrastructure development should be considered hurdles for the region at large, not for individual countries alone. Unless projects

in this area are pursued by the regional community, the resulting infrastructure will not be economically viable. Cross-border cooperation in the arena of rural infrastructure development would conceivably serve to catalyze trade and commerce along the western border with Uganda, with Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia to the south, or with Kenya on the north. The possibilities for such cooperation need to be explored.

To date, Tanzania has chiefly pursued infrastructure projects that place emphasis on economic efficiency, particularly in and among its major cities. If it adopts a regional perspective on cooperation, it should think more about economic efficiency in terms of linkage with neighboring countries. Nonetheless, in view of the current limits on the administrative capabilities of Tanzania and most other African countries, it would appear more realistic for now to limit to policy-related studies any work on projects in economic cooperation led by SADC, COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa), or other comparably broad-based regional organizations, and explore the feasibility of cooperation with Tanzania's neighbors.

In effect, Tanzania needs to pursue work in the arenas of economic as well as social infrastructure. For that reason, donor-coordinated measures in assistance that effectively balance the priorities of these sectors will be essential.

3.1.4 Assistance from the Regional to National Level

To date, Japan has been deeply involved in the development of the Kilimanjaro region. That involvement is the outcome of a request for aid originally submitted by Tanzanian Finance Minister Jamaal in 1968. Japan initiated a comprehensive Kilimanjaro development program in keeping with the one-donor-per-region formula that Tanzania applied at the time. Eventually, Japanese aid projects also spread to the vicinity of Dar es Salaam. Though there evidently is no official, documented record of any shift in the Tanzanian government's policy of putting individual donors in charge of all development affairs for any given region, it would appear the government was interested in having donor countries formulate master plans for each region^{Note54}.

The influx of foreign aid resumed in earnest once Tanzania embarked on its economic recovery program. Most donors have since been furnishing aid to the regions where they were formerly involved, primarily to restore work on projects they started before the freeze. By and large, this would best be described as work on a project-by-project basis rather than a resumption of earlier, comprehensive development programs, per se. At present, most donors are providing assistance from the national level perspective that has been stressed by the current economic recovery program. Consequently, it seems advisable that Japan itself adopt an identical perspective and explore forms of assistance that

^{Note54} From the late 1970s to the early 1980s, several donors in charge of the development programs for certain regions imposed freezes on aid, reduced their aid outlays, and in some instances pulled out entirely, essentially undermining the one-donor-per-region policy through attrition.

can be expected to benefit Tanzanian society at large over the longer term.

Regional disparities count as another key development hurdle for Tanzania. To that end, it will be imperative to give full consideration to the long-term development vision Tanzania is now in the process of drafting.

3.2 Priority Areas for Japan's Aid

Social services have suffered significantly as a result of the shift to structural adjustment-oriented economic policies in Tanzania. The development budget as well as current account outlays have all been reduced. Tanzania's economy has reached a turning point. Japanese aid, therefore, should emphasize measures to foster an economic revival and assist the country's ailing social sector. In keeping with the basic philosophy set out in section 3.1 above, we recommend that the priorities of Japanese aid be focused in the following areas.

3.2.1 Small-Scale Agricultural Development

Agriculture is the major industry in Tanzania, yet in rural areas it consists primarily of small-scale farming operations. Since rural farmers account for the largest share of the population living in absolute poverty, measures to upgrade small-scale farming operations will be essential to the goal of boosting incomes and creating jobs at the rural level, which should be the top priority of Japanese aid.

Assistance for the development of small-scale farming will conceivably include actions in the following areas.

3.2.1.1 Support for Gains in Agricultural Productivity

The task of improving farm productivity in rural areas will demand innovations in farming techniques and enhancements to dam structures, reservoirs, water wells, and other irrigation facilities. The vast majority of rural farmers live in villages widely scattered throughout the country, and they still rely mostly on traditional growing techniques. Villages usually do not have the financial means to develop new techniques on their own; furthermore, most public programs of technical training have yet to reach farmers at the village level.

Japan has an established track record of assisting agricultural development in Kilimanjaro. It would be worthwhile to draw on that record, take a fresh look at traditional farming practices, promote technical innovations, and assist in small-scale irrigation facility projects backed by the participation of the intended beneficiaries. Assistance for the study and dissemination of traditional farming methods will be vital to the goal of helping Tanzania become more self-reliant. Furthermore, in view of sustaining effectiveness once the projects come to an end, it is essential to have local inhabitants actively participate from the earliest planning stages.

3.2.1.2 Support for Capacity Building of Farm Credit Organizations and Agricultural Cooperatives

The advancement of small-scale farming will also demand that farmers have easier access to farm credit. In Tanzania, however, the system for farm credit remains underdeveloped since the Cooperative and Rural Development Bank suspended its activity. Additionally, it will be necessary to set up farm-cooperative frameworks that enable farmers to devise production schedules and deliver and market their crops on a cooperative basis.

To this end, Japan should place emphasis on forms of assistance that facilitate the creation of such systems for the agricultural sector. Moreover, given that women make up most of the agricultural work force, it should devote enough consideration to ways of ensuring that women have full access to the benefits afforded by these systems.

3.2.2 Development of Distribution System

The markets for agricultural produce determines how much income small-scale farmers can earn from farming activity. However, the distribution channels for produce and farm inputs have become bottlenecks to agricultural advances in Tanzania. Many farming households are in isolated villages that lack road access, and for that reason they are often unable to get their produce to market. This lack of road access to major trunk roads has had a decisively negative impact on village economies. Several forms of assistance, as outlined below, will conceivably be needed to help the country develop and refine its distribution infrastructure.

3.2.2.1 Construction of Rural Road Networks

Improving the flow of goods from rural areas will call for steps to develop the road networks connecting Dar es Salaam with local areas. Road infrastructure development can be expected to facilitate not only the distribution of agricultural goods, but also the flow of passenger traffic and physical distribution operations for other industries. Currently, except for a small segment of the road network, road conditions in Tanzania at large are so poor that they seriously hinder trucking and other forms of road transport.

Given these circumstances, it would appear worthwhile that Japan take a look at the Integrated Road Programme (IRP) that has been put together with World Bank aid, and on that basis strive to devise financial support and projects for rural road development. At the project formulation stage, it will be necessary to identify the functions of roads that will be used to transport farm produce to the marketplace.

3.2.2.2 Development of Grain Silos, Marketing Centers, and Other Facilities

The lack of conveniently accessible grain silos and other storage facilities near villages or market places is another factor that effectively limits potential farmer income. Steps to improve road access, market place facilities for crop storage, and other elements

of distribution infrastructure will be essential to the goal of increasing farm income levels. Japanese assistance for that purpose will therefore be vital.

Grant aid should be made available for projects aimed at building new facilities. In addition, the dispatch of experts in capacity-building for project formulation and management will conceivably be necessary as well.

3.2.3 Fostering of Small-Scale Enterprises

Because most farming households in Tanzania are unable to make a living on their farm income alone, it is assumed they also earn income from various nonfarm sources. Self-employed businesses in the "miscellaneous" category abound in rural and urban areas alike. Such businesses make up what is now termed the "informal sector," and serve as a seedbed for the cultivation of future entrepreneurs. To help stimulate Tanzania's private sector, Japan should emphasize forms of assistance to businesses in this "miscellaneous" category. In the process of putting together these aid-based incentives for self-reliance, it will be necessary to proceed carefully, starting with work to identify actual conditions confronting most small-scale enterprises.

While loans will conceivably be the most effective way of assisting small operators, it will also be worthwhile to consider ways of improving conditions for business, for instance, by relaxing certain industrial regulations or building industrial estates. Japan should also encourage the creation of industry cooperatives, such as guilds. In providing their goods and services, many small businesses are limited to the local market. That limitation could be eased significantly, however, provided such business operators had better access to market information and a better understanding of distribution channels. Indeed, Tanzanian policies for the cultivation of small enterprise were generally never market-oriented to start with, and that is apparently the main reason they were not effective.

Potential forms of assistance for small businesses are outlined below.

3.2.3.1 Support for Effective Industrial Policies Including Marketing

At present, Tanzania has no mid- or long-range programs in place for industrial development, and in fact, it urgently needs assistance in putting such programs together.

Through the Kilimanjaro Industrial Development Center (KIDC) project and other undertakings, Japan has a long record as a donor of aid for the advancement of small enterprises. As such, by utilizing its own experience, Japan should provide technical cooperation, particularly for the formulation of industrial policies and the acquisition of marketing techniques. Furthermore, it should explore the feasibility of assisting in the collection of corporate data for networking purposes, and helping small businesses devise effective work-sharing arrangements.

3.2.3.2 Training Programs for Fostering Entrepreneurs

Most small business operators have not received adequate training in management or marketing skills. And often enough, such businesses falter due to poor management. Another problem is the lack of funding, which typically forestalls investments in new equipment or technology.

To help Tanzania deal with these problems, Japan should offer assistance in the form of training programs for business operators to acquire effective management techniques, and vocational training programs that are tailored to Tanzania's own circumstances.

3.2.4 Health Care and Measures Promoting Population Control

Tanzania has been working hard to make its social services in the health-care field universally available nationwide. However, the impact of the structural adjustment program and ensuing austerity fiscal measures has heightened fears about the deterioration of these sectors. With that understanding, it is recommended that Japan place priority on health-care and measures promoting population control programs in the following areas.

3.2.4.1 Support for the Establishment of District Health Management Systems

District health management systems are multidimensional in that they span everything from disease-specific programs and facility levels to patient management, examinations, medical supplies, and preventive care. For that reason, it is essential that plans for these systems strike an effective balance between features and functions, facilities and equipment, and personnel training.

Japanese aid in this sector should be designed to integrate several factors into health-care development program such as the training of doctors, nurses, health workers, medical technicians, district health officers, and village heads, as well as the construction of medical facilities and community health centers.

Also, in the interest of sustained project effectiveness, it will be necessary to study the possibilities for burden-sharing on a continual basis. The Tanzanian government has been urging that the public assume a larger share of the cost burden associated with health-care services. Community education programs will play a crucial role in boosting the public's cost-sharing ability.

The finalized framework for action must be based on health-care reforms the government is slated to unveil soon. Furthermore, in view of the fact that this is a field in which many donors are involved, steps in coordination among donors should also be actively pursued.

3.2.4.2 AIDS Countermeasures

According to the Tanzanian government, efforts in the arena of AIDS surveillance are now adequate, but tangible measures to fight the spread of AIDS itself are still needed. It would suggest that Japanese aid should be focused in community IEC programs (Information, Education, and Communications) and the acquisition of safe blood supplies.

Japan is currently exploring the possibility of furnishing test equipment under the independent equipment supply projects through multilateral and bilateral cooperation arrangements with UNAIDS. It is important to equip facilities, beginning with the Muhimbili Medical Center and other health-care institutions at the national level. In certain rural areas, shortages of clean water, coupled with the erratic supplies of electric power, have aggravated the difficulty involved in performing essential medical exams and tests. Aid to address these issues should also be given consideration. Again, the potential for coordination should be kept in mind due to the fact that several donors are now providing AIDS-related assistance.

Effective community education will call for heavy investments in both time and money, and for that reason, a strong Tanzanian government framework for backup support will also be essential. However, this in turn will demand additional policy-based assistance because the government currently does not have enough administrative capability to run large-scale educational programs. Japan should flexibly bundle instructor training programs with JOCV team assignments already under way, and strive to carry the educational drive to the grassroots level.

3.2.4.3 Population Control

Population growth generally levels off through a process of demographic transition: from high-fertility/high-mortality populations to high-fertility/low-mortality and then to low-fertility/low-mortality populations. Japan has been assisting Tanzania for some time with various programs aimed at reducing the infant mortality rate including infant check-ups, increasing immunization, the supply of oral rehydration fluid for diarrhea treatment, and malaria controls. Tanzania will need additional assistance of this kind. In order to offer more effective forms of assistance, Japan should consider coupling undertakings in these areas with IEC programs and augmenting the supply of contraceptives. To that end, it will conceivably be necessary to devote adequate attention to individual home background and strive to have men as well as women involved in the educational campaigns.

3.2.5 Enhancement in Basic Education for the Advancement of Social Participation^{Note55}

The educational sector's goals of the DAC's new development strategy include universal primary education by the year 2015, and eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, thus fostering the empowerment of women. Tanzania has adopted national development objectives calling for increases in the primary school enrollment ratio to 85% and secondary school enrollment ratio to 20%, by the year 2000.

Tanzania has posted accomplishments in the arenas of primary education and literacy that stand unrivaled by any other African country. In the second half of the 1980s, though, it slipped into a gradual downtrend. Increased poverty and other changes at the community level are apparently behind this trend. For that reason, in this field it will be worthwhile to put together assistance packages that are linked to parallel undertakings in poverty alleviation and community revitalization.

In terms of secondary school attendance, Tanzania has fallen substantially behind most other African countries, and as such, is arguably in need of serious quantitative improvements. Steps to expand access to secondary education services, however, will not be easy to achieve in the short term due mainly to a lack of teachers and operating funds. Consequently, for now, it would be advisable to keep an eye on the direction of Tanzanian government-led educational reforms, and limit the scope of Japanese assistance in this particular area.

At the primary and secondary levels alike, gender gaps are now almost nonexistent in terms of statistics for school attendance alone. However, few primary school students actually go on to secondary school; furthermore, most secondary school facilities are located in urban districts. Therefore, while the gender gaps are apparently not that large at present, they can be expected to widen as more and more students continue their education at the secondary level in the future. That prospect indicates that steps should be taken to train more women teachers and women community leaders in the years ahead.

The drive to expand basic education in Tanzania should be guided more by the concept of self-reliance. Education programs in a country usually reflect the cultural traditions, language, and values of that country's own people. External interference in these facets of the education system would probably not be desirable. Consequently, Japanese assistance should be of an indirect nature, designed to help Tanzania maintain its own efforts.

It should be kept in mind that Swahili is now the official educational language at

^{Note55} In the context used here, basic education refers to Tanzania's primary (7-year) and secondary - O level (4-year) education programs.

the primary-school level. Future programs in industrial development, particularly for small businesses, will likely demand training manuals written in Swahili for the acquisition of new technologies. To that end, it will be essential to assist Tanzania in crafting education programs that are to some extent modeled on national-language policies that have been adopted in some Asian countries.

In view of the foregoing, assistance aimed at expanding and refining Tanzanian programs of basic education could be intensified in various ways, as follows.

3.2.5.1 Community- Oriented Assistance for the Improvement of Primary School Facilities

By pursuing fast-track measures to accomplish universal primary education nationwide, Tanzania succeeded in boosting the school enrollment ratio significantly. In recent years, languishing economic conditions have frustrated efforts to maintain the country's educational infrastructure, and as a result, many primary schools have reached a pronounced state of disrepair.

Schools in rural areas are potential hubs of community activity. Many communities are now growing and are in the process of building new school facilities. To utilize those facilities for various other community activities in addition to education, it is advisable that Japan assist in financing and planning primary school structures that are equipped with multipurpose classrooms and living quarters for school principals and other teaching staff.

3.2.5.2 Support for Training Programs for Personnel Involved in the Administration, Financing and Management of Schools

Recent government surveys have found that teacher salaries are extremely low, and frequently delayed or not paid in full. Teachers have suffered a low social status, and among many young people today, teaching itself is considered to be one of the least attractive career choices. In order to run and manage its schools as effectively and efficiently as it can on limited budget resources, Tanzania urgently needs to overhaul its administrative and financial structures for education.

Japan, for its part, should provide assistance for undertakings in a variety of education administration-related areas, including the pursuit of proper budget management and better teacher training programs. Owing to the public budget constraints, an increasing number of schools in Tanzania now receive assistance from the private sector. In the years ahead, the country will need to train more personnel in school management affairs.

3.2.5.3 Assistance for Curriculum Formulation with Particular Stress on Science and Math Education

Tight budget conditions have aggravated the difficulty of developing curricula and instructional materials suited to the needs of students in Tanzania. The country has far to go before it will be able to supply all students with textbooks. That shortcoming has effectively weakened the motivation of students to learn.

Training programs for personnel in various engineering and science technology fields will gain in importance as Tanzania pursues industrial advances in the years ahead. Developing and preparing the instructional materials for those programs, however, will demand substantial sums of money. For that reason, Japan should supply such assistance as Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) undertakings aimed at developing teaching methods, curricula, and text materials and putting together teacher training programs. Moreover, it should consider producing elementary science and mathematics textbooks in Swahili, not English. Seminars designed to share insights on the lessons learned from Asian national language policies would be one potential approach.

Japan has been sending JOCVs to Tanzania for quite some time. In helping to develop instructional materials, it will need to draw on JOCVs' experiences to gain a satisfactory understanding of conditions in all regions of the country.

3.2.5.4 Support for Training of Teachers and Women Leaders

The rush to make primary education universal created a shortage of qualified teachers and spurred a decline in the quality of education itself. This state of affairs essentially demands that assistance be provided to improve the primary and secondary school teacher-training skills of faculty at the Zonal Teacher Resource Center and similar institutions.

Also, to increase the percentage of girls who attend secondary school and beyond, it will be vital to cultivate more women teachers and leaders in the community. To do so, it will be necessary to provide assistance in the form of surveys and research, research grants, and scholarships for fostering women teachers, while paying enough attention to actual circumstances within Tanzania itself.

3.2.6 Sustainable Environmental Development

Forest depletion, desertification, and other forms of environmental damage in parts of rural Tanzania are actually the manifestations of human activity. Poverty and population growth are clearly the key influences in this respect. In urban areas, rapid population growth has outstripped the pace of investment in infrastructure for the handling and treatment of industrial and household waste, effluent, and sewage. As these trends illustrate, Tanzania faces environmental pressures on two fronts: namely, natural environmental devastation in rural areas, coupled with environmental deterioration in urban

areas. As undertakings in poverty alleviation, programs aimed at upgrading small-scale farming operations and promoting small enterprises have also had an impact—directly and indirectly. Japan must assist Tanzania in framing environmental policies and programs that protect the environment and improve living conditions as well as support the goal of sustainable economic growth. Actions in the following areas seem worthy of consideration.

3.2.6.1 Forest Preservation

Measures to protect forest resources are especially vital in semi-dry regions. In Tanzania, however, the annual cutover acreage has far outstripped the reforestation acreage. As to be expected, the country's forest resources are now being depleted at a rapid pace.

Firewood is still the main source of fuel for many rural households. Therefore, it will be essential to promote public awareness by rural people if Tanzania is to effectively protect and preserve its vast forest assets. To this end, Japan should assist the country in identifying areas with serious forest depletion, in launching social forestation programs for those areas, and in fostering diffusional activities of these programs in surrounding areas. To boost community participation from the project formulation stage, it will be necessary to take the time to identify local conditions and views through gender analyses, RRAs (Rapid Rural Appraisals), and PRAs (Participatory Rural Appraisals)^{Note56}.

3.2.6.2 Improvement of Rural Water Supplies

Water-supply facilities remains deficient in rural areas, and for that reason most households still have to haul buckets of water from nearby rivers or lakes. This task is performed mostly by women; as such, it adds tremendously to the burden of labor they already bear in farming and other activities.

In view of this situation, Japan should strive to help Tanzania develop its rural water-supply facilities by conducting development studies and providing grant aid. It is crucial that local residents be actively involved in the maintenance and operation of these

^{Note56} Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRAs) are one developmental method whereby rural citizens gauge their own skills and expertise, improve their capability to develop by themselves, and on that basis strive to assume an active role in project formulation, implementation, monitoring, and assessment. PRAs amount to a more advanced version of the approach taken by Rapid Rural Appraisals (RRAs). RRAs are basically used as a means of incorporating the findings of local surveys by outside researchers on rural conditions into project planning or reports. PRAs, by contrast, are driven by the purpose of improving the capabilities of local residents through active participation, and hence their goal is to ensure that local activities and organizations are sustained over the long term. PRA methods have caught on among many donor countries, including Canada, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and UK. A network of more than 90 countries has been established for PRA-related projects. Sussex University Professor Robert Chambers led a PRA workshop in UK in December 1996. Donor-backed PRAs were under way in Tanzania in 1996.

facilities. In effect, this will demand that aid be bundled with training programs and steps to form local organization for maintenance purposes.

3.2.6.3 Improvement of Urban Living Conditions

Though the environmental condition in Dar es Salaam has noticeably deteriorated in recent years, Tanzania has yet to launch any initiatives in urban environmental development.

Japan should therefore assist in developing urban infrastructure for the treatment and disposal of garbage, waste water, and sewage. From the standpoint of maintenance costs, however, Japan should explore approaches tailored to the local stage of urban development, and that utilize septic tanks as well as other, nonactivated sludge treatment strategies. Furthermore, given the foreseen difficulty in collecting utility fees, Japanese aid should be bundled with development studies and institutional supports.

Projects for garbage disposal, waste water and sewage treatment ought to be pursued not as independently planned ventures, but as integral components of a well-balanced urban development master plan including the construction of roadways and residential complexes (including relocation projects).

Efforts to improve urban traffic problems with sufficient attention to the demands of inter-city transit will also be necessary. In particular, it would be possible to develop new urban transport systems that utilize existing rail lines.

3.2.6.4 Protection of the Basin of Lake Victoria

Lake Victoria is vital to water-based transportation between Tanzania and its neighboring countries. On top of that, its fishery resources offer significant potential. However, the mercury pollution from a nearby gold mine is becoming serious. Under the terms of a World Bank global environment facility (GEF), Tanzania is in the process of drawing up an action plan for the protection of its water resources. Japan should assist it in launching projects based on that plan, where feasible.

It would be possible to help formulate programs for sustainable water resource management, conduct water quality assessments to determine the actual level of mercury pollution, and investigate the impact on the health of local residents (e.g., by analyzing biological samples such as hair and blood samples).

3.2.7 Improvement of Government Administrative Capacity

Tanzania is now moving forward with reforms aimed at democratizing government administrations and improving their efficiency. The emphasis of that drive has been placed on reforms to the civil service system and to local government structures. Steps to reform the civil service are being pursued with UNDP support. To this purpose, a confer-

ence on sectoral donor coordination has been set up to assist Tanzania in these undertakings. A governance committee within that forum is now exploring measures for the reform and democratizing of the civil service.

Japan has backed aid for democratization as a cornerstone of assistance to African countries. Aid of that kind for Tanzania will be vital. To determine what can be done to assist the democratizing process, it is advisable that Japan work through the donor coordination meeting to share information, listen to what Tanzania needs, and present recommendations of its own.

These steps will in turn demand that Japan expand on its direct forms of cooperation, including training programs in Japan for Tanzanian personnel involved in administrative fields, and the dispatchment of policy advisors to Tanzania. Project ownership should be in the hands of Tanzania's government and citizens from the start. From formulation and implementation to post-project evaluation, their active involvement in project affairs can itself be expected to contribute to gains in administrative capacity. It is essential, therefore, that Japan fully realize that capacity-building of the Tanzanian side should be started at the project formulation stage. Tanzania is responsible for running the affairs of its government organization. Hence, Japan should limit its efforts in this area to indirect forms of support, and avoid aid strategies that could be interpreted as an effort to impose its will.

Aid in this area would include the following efforts:

3.2.7.1 Support for the Reforms of Civil-Service and Local-Governance Systems

Civil servant salaries and other operating costs currently consume most of Tanzania's national budget. In an era of budget shortfalls, these expenses form serious bottlenecks to further development and growth. Under its structural adjustment policies, Tanzania has for some years been pushing ahead with initiatives in privatization and decentralization, but so far that drive has been limited to only a few sectors.

This reality suggests the country urgently needs support in working out policies for the privatization of public-works projects, and in putting together programs to reform local government.

3.2.7.2 Support for Institution-Building in Administrative Systems

Steps to improve the capabilities for project formulation and management of personnel in such administration systems will be absolutely essential to any drive for upgrading government administrative capacity.

To strengthen institution-building of government organizations, it is important to

execute a training program of civil servants and the cultivation of skills and technical cooperation for personnel and salary management to develop efficient administrative capacity. In turn, aid project implementation in general will demand that participatory PCM (Project Cycle Management) workshops be held, and that efforts be made to foster a stronger awareness of the importance of practical techniques in project management affairs.

3.3 Aid Implementation-Related Issues

Practically every point for consideration stressed in the Report of Regional Study for Development Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa released by JICA in 1991^{Note57} applies as stated to Tanzania. Therefore, to avoid needless repetition, below we list seven implementation-related issues that deserve extra attention from the perspective of addressing weaknesses in the institutional structures and personnel resources and efficient management of aid which should be the foundation for Tanzania's ongoing national development.

3.3.1 Comprehensive Approaches

To date, Japan has followed a largely sectoral approach, and on that basis it has demonstrated a measure of success particularly in the agricultural and transportation fields. Furnishing aid to deal with the above-cited priority areas, however, will conceivably demand a cross-sectoral approach. In addition, it will be necessary to better coordinate multiple projects with flexibility, utilizing different forms of aid.

For example, consider projects for the development of small-scale farming. Little can be expected of aid that merely supplies essential technologies alone. Instead, the approach should be to bundle aid that addresses the needs of several sectors including farm credit, infrastructure, information services, education, and health care.

The task of assisting small businesses, moreover, will demand a comprehensive package bundling three kinds of aid, namely, financing, technology transfers, and managerial training.

Furthermore, aid to the health-care field will be more effective if implemented in unison with programs designed to improve the literacy of mothers. In fact, it must begin with a drive to erase gender disparities in education. Projects to enhance water-supply infrastructure to secure safe drinking water and develop roads to improve access to hospitals and community health centers will also be crucial. To be sure, aid will be far more effective if it addresses multiple needs effectively: e.g., by striving to boost rural income and improve nutritional levels through gains in agricultural productivity.

^{Note57} JICA, Report of Study Group on Regional Study for Development Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa, February 1991. (Study Group Chairman: Masaya Hattori, honorary consul general in Japan for the Republic of Rwanda)

At present, JOCV team assignments count as one form of Japanese assistance ideally suited to this comprehensive approach. As one example, JOCV personnel from three fields, nursing, nutrition, and vegetable-farming, have been coordinating their activities at the Maternal and Child Health Center in Ilonga. Such arrangements need to be recognized as examples of the cross-sectoral approach, and as guideposts in the search for future aid strategies and directions.

Planning, implementing, and assessing projects based on this approach will demand strengthened cross-sectoral coordination among Japan's own aid organizations. We wish to emphasize that the strong initiative shown to this end by JICA offices in Tanzania will be crucial.

3.3.2 Consideration for Inter-Regional Cooperation

Tanzania shares Lake Victoria, Lake Nyasa, and several other international bodies of water with its neighbors; in addition, it has become a key supply route for such inland countries as Zambia, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. Though efforts to restore the East African Community are currently making steady headway, Tanzania has also been acting independently through the SADC framework as an agent for cooperation in southern Africa. As it happens, cooperation with its neighbors will be essential to continued political stability and economic growth within Tanzania itself. Tanzania and Malawi have already drawn attention with work to link their rail and road networks together. Such ventures suggest that the need for infrastructure development should be explored from a regional perspective. Major agricultural belts in Tanzania have developed along the border and, as such, their cross-border commerce with neighboring countries is now as extensive as it is with domestic markets. The regional focus needs to be applied as well to assistance projects for the development of small-scale farming, enhancements in distribution infrastructure, and the cultivation of small businesses. Needless to say, in the health-care field, AIDS is a problem that transcends national borders entirely.

3.3.3 Local Cost Sharing

Aid projects must have a scale that the recipient country itself can manage. During the Cold War years, the competition for aid was defined largely by geopolitical factors. As a consequence, many projects failed because their planners did not devote enough attention to the structures and capabilities of the targeted recipient. Aid projects should be kept within a scale commensurate with the recipient country's economic, institutional and human resource capacity. It is important to promote self awareness by the Tanzanian government of this point.

Public sector salaries consume 70% to 80% of Tanzania's entire national budget. Given its current economic plight, the country is often unable to bear the burden of subsidiary costs stemming from the implementation of development projects. This reality suggests that aid projects should integrate a consideration for acceptable cost-sharing

arrangements. On the other hand, measures that pave the way to ultimate self-reliance will be needed as well. This is a point that has significant ramifications for technical assistance.

The need for local cost-sharing arrangements has been repeatedly underscored by other country study groups.

However, the fact is that Japan is prepared to cover only a fraction of the local costs, and the budget for that is still severely limited. Therefore, additional consideration should be given to widening the applicable scope of local cost-sharing. This is not to imply that Japan should be prepared to unconditionally bear the cost of regular project operations. Indeed, projects should be implemented on the understanding that Tanzania will ultimately be responsible for running them on an independent basis.

3.3.4 Promotion of Policy Dialogues

The planning, formulation, and implementation affairs of development projects should all be under the control of the developing country itself. Effective and efficient aid, however, is often difficult to achieve if based entirely on requests from the intended recipient—especially when that recipient is a country whose political and economic foundations have been altered as profoundly as they have been in Tanzania. Another point is that Tanzania is striving not only to overhaul its administrative institutions, but to pave its transition from a socialist controlled economy to a market economy system. Together, these circumstances spell the need for an especially close dialogue and coordination of views. For some years now, there has been growing support for aid partnerships and the notion of project ownership by the recipient country or the intended beneficiaries. It therefore seems advisable that donors and recipients strive to improve their mutual understanding of aid specifics and objectives by committing enough time in the preliminary stages to far-reaching policy dialogues.

Such policy dialogues should also be utilized as a means of firmly reminding recipient countries of their responsibilities in the event they fail to live up to the terms of aid agreements.

3.3.5 Improvement of Aid Implementation Systems

Recently, it became difficult to implement aid projects under a single-year fiscal-budget framework in Tanzania. This is a common problem with aid projects for most African countries. Also, the recipient country has to have suitable institutional pipelines in place if development assistance is to be implemented in a smooth and efficient manner. In Tanzania, as mentioned earlier, these structures are so weak that they have become aid targets. For this reason, it is extremely difficult to disburse aid funds in line with budgets enacted on a single-year basis.

Given the circumstances, it is necessary to consider relaxing a single-year budget framework for the implementation of aid projects.

In addition, it would seem essential to strengthen the function and power of JICA Tanzania office for a flexible budget arrangement. Such resilience is often desirable, particularly for the provision of grant aid and technical cooperation. On that understanding, it is advisable that JICA Tanzania office to a certain extent be given the power to disburse budget funds in response to local developments, albeit within formally defined project limits. Actually, in terms of assisting recipient countries in the formulation of their own development strategies (a tangible step toward the "new global partnership" advocated by the DAC's new development strategy), this step will be necessary.

Needless to say, improving the effectiveness of aid will demand that systemic bottlenecks in recipient-country pipelines for a acceptance of aid be overcome. However, the same should be said of aid frameworks in Japan, the donor country. Indeed, now that the emphasis is on coordination with NGOs and other donors, this cannot be treated as a bilateral issue. There is a real need to maintain harmony with the recipient and with other donors, and from that perspective we strongly urge that Japan take action to improve its own aid frameworks.

3.3.6 Coordination with Other Donors

Coordination with other donors will be essential to the task of planning, implementing, and evaluating aid projects aimed at addressing the priority areas discussed earlier in 3.2. In particular, given that quite a few aid projects are now facing the difficulty of further implementation due to Tanzania's current budget crisis, future projects will have to be subjected to a rigorous selection process backed by donor efforts in coordination.

Though donor meetings have been taking place in Tanzania on a regular basis, Japan has elected to attend only four of them to date. In view of the intensifying emphasis on coordination in all undertakings aimed at putting the DAC's new strategy into effect, at least embassy officials, JICA personnel, or related-project representatives should attend any donor conference deemed necessary. Furthermore, these three groups should be encouraged to share any information they obtain.

3.3.7 Promotion of Local Participation

None of the undertakings aimed at addressing the priority areas discussed earlier in 3.2 will be successful unless they are based on close cooperation with local residents. It will be critically important to improve the awareness of local residents, organize them, and ensure these local organizations will be sustainable. This will conceivably demand a participatory approach of the kind many other donors have already adopted^{Note58}. In

^{Note58} Incidentally, the World Bank group formally committed itself to approaches of this kind at the 1996 CG Conference.

pursuing such approaches, no one should neglect the task of integrating women into the projects—a group that has long been socially disadvantaged.

Japan still has little experience with the participatory approach in the implementation of ODA projects. For that reason, promoting NGO-led activities will be a necessary alternative. In particular, it seems advisable that Japan pursue projects coordinated with local NGOs that are able to operate in the local language with ease. Simultaneously, it should be careful in selecting who to work with, however, for local NGOs range broadly from the highly organized UMATI to individual consultancies. Furthermore, Japan also has the option of working together with a number of different NGOs on one program, as USAID does. In any event, it should enlist PCM methods as a tool for dialogues in which the immediate project beneficiaries are also actively involved. Finally, we wish to underline our view that donors are in a position to contribute to improved mutual understanding between local residents and Tanzanian government officials.

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Annual Studies (Country, Region, and Issue-Wise)

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Country Studies				
1987	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to the Philippines	J	E	
1988	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to India	J	E	
1989	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Thailand	J	E	
1990	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Indonesia	J	E	
1990	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Bangladesh	J	E	
1991	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Brazil	J	E	P
1991	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Pakistan	J	E	
1991	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Sri Lanka	J	E	
1991	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to China	J	E	C
1992	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Egypt	J	E	
1992	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Kenya	J	E	
1993	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Malaysia	J	E	
1993	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Nepal	J	E	
1994	Second Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Indonesia	J	E	
1994	Second Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to the Philippines	J	E	
1994	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Palestine	J		
1995	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Vietnam	J	E	
1995	Second Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to India	J	E	
1995	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Ghana	J	E	
1995	Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Senegal	J	E	F
1996	Second Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Pakistan	J	E	
1996	Second Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Thailand	J	E	
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Regional Studies				
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1991	Study on Japan's Development Assistance for Women in Development	J	E	
1991	Study on Japan's Development Assistance for Population and Development	J	E	
1994	Study on Japan's Development Assistance for Development and Education	J	E	
1995	Study on Japan's Development Assistance for Participatory Development and Good Governance	J	E	

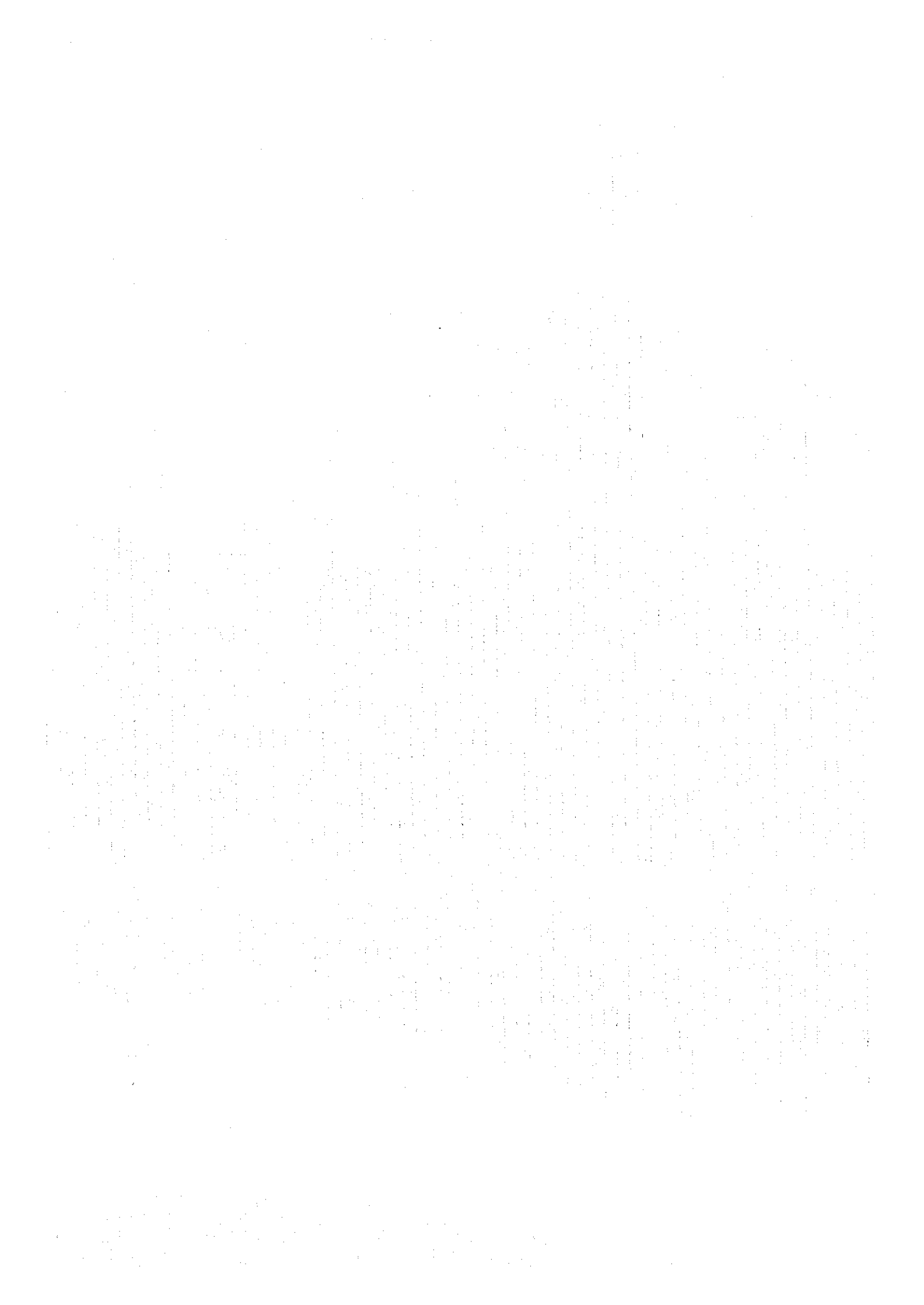
J = Japanese

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