

**国際シンポジウム**  
**開発途上国における**  
**民主的機構への**  
**支援・強化のために**

国際協力事業団  
国際協力総合研修所

総研

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**国際シンポジウム  
開発途上国における民主的機構への  
支援・強化のために**

**JICA International Symposium on  
“the Roles of ODA and NGOs in Supporting and Strengthening  
Democratic Institutions in Developing Countries”**

**国際協力事業団  
国際協力総合研修所**

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## 序 文

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この報告書は、平成12年12月6、7日の両日に国際協力事業団(JICA)主催、外務省後援、全米民主主義財団(NED)協賛により開催された国際シンポジウム「開発途上国における民主的機構への支援・強化のために」の議事内容を取りまとめたものです。

冷戦構造の崩壊に伴い、世界各地で民主化、自由化、市場経済化に向けての動きが着実に進展している中、国際社会においては特に開発途上国における民主化への動きを積極的に支援していこうとの機運が高まっております。民主主義の基盤強化は、統治と開発への国民参加を促すと共に、人権の擁護・促進につながり、国家の中長期的な安定と開発促進にとってもきわめて重要な要素です。

本シンポジウムには、民主化支援分野において幅広い知見・経験を有す4つの援助機関、日本をはじめとする先進国および途上国の9つのNGOの代表、大学教授等を含む20人のパネリストならびに国内NGO、労組関係者、学識経験者、マスコミを含む約120人の聴衆が参加し、開発途上国の民主化において制度的基盤となる自由選挙、機能的な立法・司法制度、メディア等の諸機構に対する支援・強化のあり方について、活発な意見交換を行いました。途上国の民主化支援に係る諸活動に関し、ODAとNGOとの効果的な連携のあり方について、参加者の間で認識が共有できたのは本シンポジウムの大きな成果でした。

当事業団では、本シンポジウムの成果を活かしつつ、開発途上国の民主化支援に関係諸国・機関およびNGOと共に取り組んでいく所存ですので、引き続きご支援賜りますようお願い申し上げます。

最後になりましたが、シンポジウムにご出席されたモデレーター、パネリストの方々、聴衆としてご参加いただいた皆様に深く御礼申し上げますとともに、開催にあたってご協力、ご支援をいただいた関係者の方々に心より感謝申し上げます。

平成13年1月

国際協力事業団  
国際協力総合研修所  
所長 加藤 圭一

基調講演「民主化支援について」



飯村 豊 外務省経済協力局長



カール・ガーシュマン 全米民主主義財団(NED)理事長

第1セッション「民主主義とオーナーシップ：内発的イニシアティブの醸成に向けて」



第2セッション「自由選挙の促進とNGOとの協力：政治参加 - 民主主義を機能させる」



会場風景

第3セッション「メディアと労働組合の役割」



第4セッション「民主化支援に係るODA-NGOの連携」



総括ディスカッション



会場風景

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**JICA International Symposium on  
“the Roles of ODA and NGOs in Supporting and Strengthening  
Democratic Institutions in Developing Countries”**

December 6-7, 2000  
at  
**Institute for International Cooperation  
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Tokyo**

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**PROGRAM**

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**December 6, 2000/First day of Symposium:**

09:30 **Keynote Address - Support for democratization in developing countries**

From ODA perspective: Mr. Yutaka Iimura, Director-General, Economic Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

From NGO perspective: Mr. Carl S. Gershman, President, National Endowment for Democracy (NED), USA

10:15 Coffee Break

10:40 **First Session:**

**“Democracy and ownership: toward enhancement of own initiatives”**

As a basis for effective functioning of democracy in developing countries, “good governance” should be built up; in addition to free election, ensuring rule of law through, for example, a legal system building, transparency in the administrative management (e.g. prevention of corruption), etc are essential. In this session, discussion will be made on what sort of support (including the role of education) might be effective for fostering ownership of developing countries, which is a key to the well functioning of democracy.

**Moderator:** Mr. Ryokichi Hirono, Professor Emeritus of Seikei University, Professor of Teikyo University, Japan

**Panelists:** - Mr. Bruce Jenks, Director, Bureau for Resources and Strategic Partners, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)  
- Mr. Vedi R. Hadiz, Fellow, Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore, Indonesia  
- Mr. Thun Saray, President, Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC), Cambodia  
- Ms. Mariko Sato, Associate Professor, Institute of Education, Tsukuba University, Japan  
- Mr. John D. Sullivan, Executive Director, Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), USA

Open Discussion

12:10 Lunch



13:30 **Second Session:**

**“Cooperation with NGOs for promotion of free elections: Political participation-making democracy work”**

In this session, discussion will be made on the ways and means for supporting developing countries in the implementation of elections, which give the best opportunity for the expression of people’s free will. Discussion will be extended to the ways to support democratic institutions building and fostering further democratic process, both of which are the basis for free election, with a focus on the growing importance of the roles of civil society, in particular of NGOs.

**Moderator:** Mr. Christian S. Monsod, Former Chairman of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC), Senior Consultant and Director of Benpres Corporation, Philippines

**Panelists:** - Mr. Todung M. Lubis, Chair, University Network for Free Elections (UNFREL), Indonesia  
- Mr. Peter M. Manikas, Regional Director of Asia Programs, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), USA  
- Ms. Atsuko Miwa, Project Manager, Global Link Management Inc., Japan  
- Mr. Bengt Säve-Söderbergh, Secretary-General, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), Sweden

Open Discussion

15:00 Coffee Break

15:30 **Third Session:**

**“Roles of media and trade unions”**

Various kind of democratic institutions such as free and independent media, trade unions etc, which underpin the healthy functioning of a civil society can play important roles in establishing democracy in developing countries. In this session, taking it into consideration how to secure freedom of speech in democratic process, discussion will be made on the effective ways for supporting developing countries in addressing these issues.

**Moderator:** Mr. Tsuneo Sugishita, Professor, Faculty of Humanities, Ibaraki University  
Senior Advisor, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Japan

**Panelists:** - Ms. Micheline Beaudry-Somcynsky, Senior Advisor, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Canada  
- Mr. Kavi Chongkittavorn, President, Thai Journalists Association, Thailand  
- Ms. Kuniko Inoguchi, Professor, Faculty of Law, Sophia University, Japan  
- Mr. Hidekazu Yamaguchi, Executive Director, Japan International Labour Foundation (JILAF), Japan

Open Discussion

**December 7, 2000/Second day of Symposium:****10:00 Fourth Session:****“Overview of ODA-NGO collaboration in assisting democratization process in developing countries”**

In this session, we will overview aid policies and programs by donor countries and organizations, taking into account,

- priority areas in support for democratization
- collaboration with NGOs(roles of government/NGOs, effective collaboration)

Identifying the viewpoint of private sector entities for assisting democratization, discussion will be made on possibility of sharing the roles.

**Moderator:** Ms. Micheline Beaudry-Somcynsky, Senior Advisor, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Canada

**Panelists:** - Ms. Patricia K. Buckles, Mission Director/Philippines, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), USA  
 - Mr. Michiya Kumaoka, President, Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC), Japan  
 - Mr. Kassie Neou, Executive Director, Cambodian Institute of Human Rights (CIHR), Cambodia  
 - Mr. Takayuki Sahara, Senior Assistant to the Managing Director of Regional Department I, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Japan

Open Discussion

11:30 Coffee Break

**12:00 Discussion (wrap up)**

Future direction of supporting democratization in developing countries, with the partnership among developing countries, donors, NGOs, will be discussed.

**Moderator:** Mr. Ryokichi Hirono, Professor Emeritus of Seikei University, Professor of Teikyo University, Japan

**Panelists:** - Mr. Carl S. Gershman, President, National Endowment for Democracy (NED), USA  
 - Ms. Kuniko Inoguchi, Professor, Faculty of Law, Sophia University, Japan  
 - Mr. Todung M. Lubis, Chair, University Network for Free Elections (UNFREL), Indonesia  
 - Mr. Christian S. Monsod, Former Chairman of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC), Senior Consultant and Director of Benpres Corporation, Philippines  
 - Mr. Kassie Neou, Executive Director, Cambodian Institute of Human Rights (CIHR), Cambodia  
 - Mr. Bengt Säve-Söderbergh, Secretary-General, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), Sweden

13:30 **Closing Address** by Mr. Yushu Takashima, Vice-President, JICA

---

# CONTENTS(目次)

---

序文 .....	i
写真 .....	iii
PROGRAM .....	vii

---

## Keynote Address 1

---

### - Support for democratization in developing countries

-Mr. Yutaka Iimura .....	1
<i>Director-General, Economic Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan</i>	
-Mr. Carl S. Gershman .....	4
<i>President, National Endowment for Democracy (NED), USA</i>	

---

## First Session 7

---

### "Democracy and ownership: toward enhancement of own initiatives"

<b>Presentation .....</b>	<b>8</b>
-Mr. Bruce Jenks .....	8
<i>Director, Bureau for Resources and Strategic Partners, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)</i>	
-Mr. Vedi R. Hadiz .....	10
<i>Fellow, Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore, Indonesia</i>	
-Mr. Thun Saray .....	12
<i>President, Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC), Cambodia</i>	
-Ms. Mariko Sato .....	15
<i>Associate Professor, Institute of Education, Tsukuba University, Japan</i>	
-Mr. John D. Sullivan .....	25
<i>Executive Director, Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), USA</i>	
<b>Open Discussion( 質疑応答 ) .....</b>	<b>31</b>

---

## Second Session 33

---

### "Cooperation with NGOs for promotion of free elections: Political participation-making democracy work"

<b>Presentation .....</b>	<b>34</b>
-Mr. Todung M. Lubis .....	34
<i>Chair, University Network for Free Elections (UNFREL), Indonesia</i>	
-Mr. Peter M. Manikas .....	44
<i>Regional Director of Asia Programs, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), USA</i>	
-Ms. Atsuko Miwa .....	47
<i>Project Manager, Global Link Management Inc., Japan</i>	
-Mr. Bengt Säve-Söderbergh .....	50
<i>Secretary-General, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), Sweden</i>	
<b>Open Discussion( 質疑応答 ) .....</b>	<b>58</b>

---

## **Third Session** **61**

---

“Roles of media and trade unions”

<b>Presentation</b> .....	<b>62</b>
-Ms. Micheline Beaudry-Somcynsky .....	62
<i>Senior Advisor, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Canada</i>	
-Mr. Kavi Chongkittavorn .....	65
<i>President, Thai Journalists Association, Thailand</i>	
-Ms. Kuniko Inoguchi .....	67
<i>Professor, Faculty of Law, Sophia University, Japan</i>	
-Mr. Hidekazu Yamaguchi .....	69
<i>Executive Director, Japan International Labour Foundation (JILAF), Japan</i>	
<b>Open Discussion( 質疑応答 )</b> .....	<b>72</b>

---

## **Fourth Session** **75**

---

“Overview of ODA-NGO collaboration in assisting democratization process in developing countries”

<b>Presentation</b> .....	<b>76</b>
-Ms. Patricia K. Buckles .....	76
<i>Mission Director/Philippines, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), USA</i>	
-Mr. Michiya Kumaoka .....	79
<i>President, Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC), Japan</i>	
-Mr. Kassie Neou.....	83
<i>Executive Director, Cambodian Institute of Human Rights (CIHR), Cambodia</i>	
-Mr. Takayuki Sahara .....	86
<i>Senior Assistant to the Managing Director of Regional Department I, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Japan</i>	
<b>Open Discussion( 質疑応答 )</b> .....	<b>90</b>

---

## **Discussion (wrap up) [ 総括ディスカッション ]** **93**

---

---

## **Summary of Symposium** **99**

---

---

## **Closing Address** **100**

---

-Mr. Yushu Takashima  
*Vice-President, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)*

---

## **Profile ( 略歴 )** **101**

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## **Mr. Yutaka Imura**

Director-General, Economic Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

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### **Support for democratization in developing countries: From ODA perspective**

#### **1. Introduction**

Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to offer my sincere congratulations on the holding of this symposium. The symposium is held to discuss “the Roles of ODA and NGOs in Supporting and Strengthening Democratic Institutions in Developing Countries”, with the participation of Japanese and foreign aid agencies, non-governmental organizations, academics, and others who are active in various ways in promoting and supporting democratization in developing countries.

I would also like to express my deep appreciation particularly to President Carl Gershman of the National Endowment for Democracy for his immense cooperation in the holding of this symposium. I became acquainted with Carl in the early 1990s, when I was working at the Japanese Embassy in Washington. I was greatly impressed by his enthusiasm and devotion in reaching out in support of democratization in developing countries.

This symposium aims to discuss how to support democratization from the perspective of development cooperation and to share experiences in this field among ourselves. I believe that the overcoming of poverty, which is the major problem facing the international community today, cannot be achieved without democratization and good governance. Democracy is also an ideal shared universally. On the other hand, there is a variety of approaches toward cooperating in the democratization of other countries. This difference of approaches sometimes develops into a dispute over foreign policy. We can naturally expect that various ideas based on differences between developed and developing countries and on political, cultural and social back ground would be raised during a day and a half of discussions. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than if, by sharing various thoughts in this symposium, we are able to understand each other better and to find out how to forge collaborative relationship among ourselves here.

As the twentieth century will soon draw to a close, I would like to briefly look back on moves toward democratization which have occurred worldwide during the final 10 years of this century.

From the perspective of democratization and the transition to market economies which is closely related to the former, the final decade of the twentieth century has been a really memorable one. Specifically, the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the following breakup of the Soviet Union shortly after put an end to the East-West cold-war structure. Directly stimulated by these developments, moves toward market economies became a worldwide trend, and the importance of democracy came to be widely recognized around the world.

Together with these trends, the waves of globalization have begun to hit the international community. Today, with the spectacular development of science and technology, free movement of people, goods, money, and information is picking up speed. Symbolizing this fact is “digital divide” which was one of the main issues at this year’s Kyushu-Okinawa G8 summit. The process of globalization has a bright side, in that it offers opportunities for the promotion of development. However, it could accompany a negative side as well: an ever-widening gap emerges between those who seize the opportunities and those unable to respond properly to the stormy waves of globalization and left behind in the sea of change. At the same time, globalization forces all countries and societies to be more open and democratised.

The Asian currency and economic crises of 1997 and poverty in Africa are issues related to this negative side of globalization. In the course of these events, the role and significance of democratization and “governance” in development have become clearer. In particular in Asia, the region that had achieved such outstanding economic development as being called the “Asian miracle,” the currency and economic crises have revealed not only the issues relating to the short-term capital flows in the international financial market, but also the frailty of the region’s economic and social

systems and the shortage of human resources to support the systems. This showed that without resilient democracy, the stormy waves of globalization cannot be ridden out.

In Africa, development stagnates. Still remain various problems such as poverty, conflicts, debts, and AIDS and other infectious diseases. In recognition to the limited results brought about by macro-economic policy efforts carried out for development in the last two decades, more and more attention has been paid in Africa to the ways of governance in a country as a whole.

Thus, I think that one of the characteristics of the 1990s is that democratization, good governance and other issues that are closely related to domestic political and social setups, has come to be main issues in development.

Now, let me state four points which, we believe, are important for the effective support for democratization in the context of development cooperation.

First point is ownership.

The universal value of democracy and the importance of democratization in development are becoming a common recognition throughout the world, but nevertheless it is the fact that the definition and meaning of democracy differs depending on the situation of each country. Furthermore, the process toward democratization is indeed a complex one. Since each country has its own political, economic and social background, it is natural that different approach by each country can be taken in the actual process of democratization. If democracy remains something given from outside, it will likely remain only in form and unsteady from the viewpoint of sustainability.

Secondly, capacity building.

On the basis of respect for the ownership and internal initiative of developing countries themselves, I would like to stress the importance of support for capacity building. This is important because it supports the strengthening of the capacities by developing countries for managing and administrating their own countries and societies, and for achieving development. The supports in this area include, among others, the building of legal systems and public administration, the establishment of electoral systems, which are the basis of democracy, and the fostering of human resources who can ensure their sound implementations. Protection of human rights should also be an important factor in our support to capacity building in developing countries.

Schooling and adult education to enlighten people on the significance of democracy and literacy education for adults are also important part of our endeavour.

Third point is cooperation with private sector including NGOs.

In entrenching democracy in a country, the roles of civil society and the community are important. NGOs which undertake their activities with a daily contact with local people at the community level are an indispensable partner in support for democratization. I suppose you are well aware that many NGOs have achieved significant track records of their activities, especially in support for the implementation of elections and the empowerment of women. We have the honour to have the participation in this symposium of representatives from such NGOs.

As my fourth point, I would like to point out the importance of promoting cooperation toward democratization among developing countries themselves. Various forms of cooperation and collaboration can be pursued at the government level and among NGOs. The importance of promoting south-south cooperation and intraregional cooperation, in which developing countries with similar economic and social conditions share their experiences, lessons and views and utilise them to overcome their problems, is well recognized in the development cooperation community. This might be especially effective in moving forward democratization, because the people's feeling as being forced on them by the advanced nations might pose a major hurdle in itself. I understand that attempts are in progress to promote collaboration and build networks among NGOs in Asia in the field of support for elections. I would be happy if we can share these experiences during the course of this symposium.

Now, I would like to briefly touch upon Japan's efforts toward support for democratization through its ODA.

While we are increasingly active in support for democratization, we should make even greater efforts in this area compared with other areas of our aid programme.

In August 1999 the Japanese government announced its Medium-Term Policy on ODA as the concrete policy framework of ODA. As one of priority issues, this medium-term policy cites support for democratization following up

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ODA Charter adopted in 1992. It recognizes that reinforcing the democratic foundations in developing countries will promote greater public participation in development and foster the protection of human rights and thus lead to achieving medium- to long-term stability and development.

Previously, Japan announced the Partnership for Democratic Development initiative at the Lyon Summit in June 1996. This initiative cites three basic principles: support for democratization should be based on a partnership between Japan and the developing country; support should be provided to the self-help efforts of the developing country; and support should be implemented through dialogue.

I would like to introduce here only a few specific examples of support recently conducted on the basis of these policies. Believing that the smooth implementation of the general election and presidential election was extremely important for the future social stability and economic recovery of Indonesia, Japan actively cooperated in those elections in 1999 through, for example, financial cooperation and the dispatch of experts from the Japan International Cooperation Agency. We are also extending active support for the building of the legal system in Laos and Vietnam, for example by dispatching experts as well as by accepting trainees in judicial area. And Rengo, the Japanese Trade Union Confederation, deepening exchanges with labor unions in other countries, mainly in Asia, is providing support in the field of human resources development and organizational management know-how to these unions.

For the next fiscal year, we are requesting the fiscal authorities and eventually the Diet to establish a new grant aid scheme, so-called governance grant, which contributes to the improvement of governance and administrative capabilities and to the building of democratic systems in developing countries that are making efforts toward that direction as well as the establishment of the rule of law. We sincerely hope that this scheme will be approved so that we can accelerate our efforts toward support for democratization.

Finally, I sincerely hope that, during this symposium, you will share with us your experiences and views on the issues of democratization, and hold frank discussions on what is necessary to support our partner countries, in particular what we should do to deepen the partnership between government and NGOs. In doing so, I hope that we can make this symposium an opportunity not only to deepen mutual understanding among us, but also to promote concrete collaboration among countries, and between governments and NGOs.

Thank you for your kind attention.

## **Mr. Carl S. Gershman**

President, National Endowment for Democracy (NED), USA

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### **Support for democratization in developing countries: From NGO perspective**

I would like to begin by congratulating Yutaka Iimura and his colleagues at the Economic Cooperation Bureau and JICA for convening this important discussion about how the ODA and Japanese NGOs can become more active in strengthening democratic institutions in developing countries. Such an initiative, and the broad objective of deepening Japan's role in supporting democracy in the world, has been a priority of Director-General Iimura for many years. It was he, from his position in Japan's embassy in Washington, who made possible my first visit to Japan in October 1994, during which I was able to hold discussions on how Japan and the United States could cooperate in furthering democracy. This led to a major conference in Washington on democracy in East Asia which the NED's International Forum for Democratic Studies co-sponsored with the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) and the Institute of Public Policy Studies in Thailand. And it has been his steadiness of purpose and commitment to democracy that is responsible for bringing us together today.

I learned just last evening that Yutaka is now engaged in a battle to protect the ODA's budget from severe cuts in the Japanese Diet. I know he well remembers from his time in Washington the budget battles that we had to wage on a regular basis. So this is one area where we now seem to have more in common than he would wish! But I know he'll be successful.

Those who believe that Japan should become more involved in the promotion of democracy need to respond to three concerns that are often raised by skeptics. The first concern derives from the belief that democracy is a by-product of economic development, which should remain the exclusive focus of international assistance programs. Until recently this was the conventional wisdom among most governments and international financial institutions.

Now there is no question that higher levels of income and education help democracy become established and consolidated. But there is a deeper appreciation today than ever before that development requires democracy and especially what is called good governance, without which a country cannot be competitive in the new global economy. The Asian financial crisis was not the only factor responsible for this change in thinking, but it was the most important one. It drove home the argument that efficient markets, foreign investment, and economic growth depend on the competence and accountability of state institutions, the transparency of financial transactions, the quality and probity of corporate governance, and the fairness and credibility of the rule of law. While some features of good governance are certainly possible in non-democratic systems, the likelihood of abuse and corruption is greater in countries that are more closed than in those where government is open and accountable, the judiciary is independent, and the media are free. Moreover, studies of economic performance in Latin America have shown that democratically-elected governments are better able than authoritarian regimes to win popular support for responsible, anti-inflationary economic policies, and to develop the national consensus that is needed to make such policies sustainable through successive administrations.

The advantages of democracy go beyond its contribution to good governance. Democratic institutions help countries work out the compromises and accommodations that are necessary to maintain social peace. Without the democratic mechanisms whereby governments can hear from groups or individuals who feel excluded or disadvantaged, and which make it possible for societies to work out forms of inclusion that respond to the universal quest for human recognition and participation, there would be bitter, irresolvable divisions that would inevitably lead to violent conflict. In this sense, democracy is a form of domestic confidence-building, a way of preventing social conflicts from spinning out of control, and in the process destroying any hope of economic development.

Since such internal conflicts often spill over into terrorism, drug-trafficking, massive refugee flows, and other



problems that affect the entire global community, democracy is also a form of international confidence-building that contributes to a more peaceful world. Governments that deal justly and lawfully with their own populations will tend to be more peaceful and responsible members of the international community.

For these reasons, democracy-promotion has become an established field of international assistance. While it has not supplanted development aid, it has now become an essential tool of development that is used not only by Western governments but by governments and NGOs in the developing world as well.

This brings us to the second issue raised by the skeptics: namely, that democracy is a Western concept that is essentially foreign to Asia and other non-Western societies that have different cultural traditions. This view is belied by the spread of democracy in Asia during the past decade-and-a-half — beginning with the “people’s power” revolution in the Philippines and eventually spreading in East Asia to South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and Indonesia; and in South Asia to Bangladesh and Nepal — in each region building upon the gains made earlier in Japan and India, respectively.

The struggle for democracy in Asia has hardly run its course. Its resonance throughout the world is exemplified by the fact that five Asian voices for democracy and human rights have received the Nobel Peace Prize since 1989. One of them, Kim Dae-jung, is now President of the Republic of Korea, where he was once a hunted dissident, while two others, Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo and Jose Ramos-Horta, have helped bring independence and democracy to East Timor. The last two — Daw Aung Sang Suu Kyi of Burma (Myanmar) and His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet — represent movements for freedom and democracy that continue to be suppressed.

These world-famous moral leaders embody the two key priorities for democracy- promotion in Asia: first, to help the new and emerging democracies consolidate strong democratic institutions; and second, to help those who are working to open and liberalize systems where a democratic transition has not yet taken place.

Clearly, the first priority is the focus of this conference. Here the agenda for action is as broad and complex as democracy itself. Ensuring free and fair elections is surely a critical aspect of this agenda, as is the related issue of assisting the development of a stable party system that makes possible inclusive political participation and coherent political competition. But democracy obviously involves much more than elections and parties. It also depends on having a vigorous, autonomous civil society, including free communications media; the institutions and procedures for administering the rule of law; a competent and accountable government bureaucracy; and the right combination of business enterprises, trade unions, and government regulatory institutions that comprise what political scientists call economic society. It depends as well on increasing the participation of women and the poor in all of these different sectors of democratic activity.

While these are the areas where the ODA is looking to expand its programs, it is significant to note that Japanese NGOs are also active in advancing the second priority by providing help and support to people who are striving for democratic openings. For example, at the Second Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy, which met last month in Sao Paulo, Brazil, one Japanese participant represented an NGO working to promote democracy in Burma. A second participant is the founder and director of an NGO that helps women in Afghanistan. A third heads an NGO which has aided democracy and human rights in East Timor. I’m also happy to note that a distinguished Japanese journalist is currently a visiting fellow at the NED’s International Forum for Democratic Studies focusing on how the United States, Japan, and South Korea might work together to foster democratic values in North Korea as a necessary step toward its eventual peaceful unification with South Korea.

These NGO initiatives are extremely important and should be expanded. It is my hope that Japanese NGOs will play an increasingly important role in the World Movement for Democracy, which represents the kind of South-South cooperation and sharing that Director-General Iimura called for in his address. I also hope that Japanese NGOs will become part of the newly-established Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia (ARDA), which is the Asia regional network associated with the World Movement. These loose networks of collaboration offer an excellent opportunity for Japanese groups to expand their contacts in the burgeoning field of democracy activism and promotion.

The fact that these individuals are already addressing such difficult issues as democracy in Burma and Afghanistan, and that the ODA itself is preparing to expand its support for democratic institution-building in developing countries, responds to the third and final concern of the skeptics - which is that Japan, for reasons of its own history in Asia before

World War II and its post-war effort to establish a democratic system, is in no position to preach about democracy to other countries, or even to encourage its development abroad.

I understand and respect the feelings that lie at the root of this attitude. But let me suggest that those who hold this view underestimate what Japan has to offer in the area of democracy-promotion. Its experience after the war in developing new democratic institutions contains lessons that should be shared with others who are now embarked on their own path of democratic consolidation.

Might I also suggest that it is important to deepen the understanding, here as well as abroad, of the indigenous roots of democracy in Japan. I have long believed that democracy cannot be exported; that it must grow from within if it is to take root and endure. To be sure, my own country, the United States, played a critical role in the post-war democratic transition in Japan. But were it not for people like Yukio Ozaki and millions of other democrats throughout Japanese society, democracy would not have succeeded here to the point where it is now almost taken for granted - even as it continues to deepen and evolve.<sup>1</sup>

As non-Western countries increasingly try to build democratic societies in a manner that is consistent with their own cultural traditions, the Japanese model of transition and democracy deserves the closest examination, with all of its problems and imperfections. (Coming from the United States today, where we've had a little difficulty resolving the recent presidential election, I can assure you that no democracy is without its flaws, and that every democracy can do better.)

Most importantly, it is my hope that the people of Japan, who are the product of that experience, will begin to reach out to others in need and, with their characteristic reserve and modesty, build new bonds of cooperation and democratic solidarity.

Let us have a fruitful discussion, and let this conference help us find new ways to work together on the basis of our common democratic values.

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<sup>1</sup> After delivering this talk, I had the honor of meeting with Yukika Sohma, the daughter of Yukio Ozaki and the Vice-President of the Yukio Ozaki Memorial Foundation, which was established in the Diet shortly after Ozaki's death to further his vision of a democratic Japan. We discussed holding a seminar under the auspices of the Foundation to explore how Japan might create an independent democracy-promotion institution that would cooperate with the NED and similar institutions in Europe to advance democratic values in Japan and throughout the world.

## First Session

“Democracy and ownership: toward enhancement of  
own initiatives”

Panelist

**Mr. Bruce Jenks**

Director, Bureau for Resources and Strategic Partners,  
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

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Let me start by taking this opportunity to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and JICA for their initiatives in holding this symposium. It is an important and timely initiative.

I will limit myself to focussing on three points about the relationship of democratisation and ownership, the subject we have been asked to address.

Firstly, democratisation is a reality in today's world. The percentage of people living in broadly democratic states has more than doubled in a little over a decade. The broad mantle of democracy now characterize over 120 countries. Over two-thirds of the world's population is affected.

Democratisation is recognized as a dimension of globalisation. Governance in a global economy can no longer be seen as a closed system. In a global world, good governance requires a new balance between the state, the private sector and civil society to ensure people centered development.

It is a paradox that globalisation has heightened, not lessened, the importance of good governance because states are now more vulnerable to the costs of mistakes. The opportunity cost of failed policies is severe marginalisation.

Not only are there more democratic societies than ever before, not only is democratisation recognized as a dimension of globalisation, but democratisation is now seen as essential to the goal of eradicating poverty. This is the goal that inspired overwhelming support at the Millennium Summit. And it was Amartya Sen who observed that no substantial famine has ever occurred in a democratic country. Empowerment, giving the poor real choices, is a key to the eradication of poverty.

In sum, democratisation is on the development landscape to stay. It's critical importance is borne out by the real experience of developing countries themselves. Democratisation is a reality, not an imposed, foreign ideology.

Let me turn now to my second principal point. And this builds on the first point. Not only is democratisation a reality in today's world, but it is recognized politically as a fact of life.

At no less an event than the Millennium Summit, the world's leaders in the Millennium Declaration pledged to: 'spare no effort to promote democracy and strengthen the role of law as well as respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedom, including the right to development.'

The Secretary-General gave prominence to democratisation in his "We the Peoples" Millenium Report. His current report to the General Assembly states:

'I believe that the whole United Nations System stands ready to see democracy building and democratisation assistance placed among its foremost priorities.'

And finally let me add that in the case of UNDP, the Administrator has recognized the new reality by putting the issue of Governance at the centre of the Organisation's focus. This repositioning of UNDP does not reflect an ideological decision from the top but rather reflects the organisation's response to the heavy increase in demand from developing countries for support in governance work.

In sum, it is the great bulk of developing countries themselves that are putting democratisation on the development co-operation agenda. It is not anybody's agenda in particular. As we speak today, there is a large gathering in Benin at the Fourth International Conference of New and Restored Democracies reinforcing this very message.

My third point goes to the fundamental character of democracy. Ownership is not just critical to democracy. It is part of the definition of democracy. To illustrate this point, let me cite in full the quote from Amartya Sen I referred to earlier. What he said was that no substantial famine had ever occurred in a democratic country because 'a government which has to deal with opposition parties, to answer unfriendly questions in parliament, to face condemnation from the public media, to go to the polls on a regular basis, simply cannot afford not to take prompt action to avert a threatening

famine.’

So, in short, democratisation is an expression of ownership. Beyond this, empirical work has demonstrated that democratisation and reform must come from within. It cannot be imposed from without, made a component of a conditionality framework. This was a key finding of the World Bank; research – in the form of the so called ‘Dollar Report’.

The conviction that democratisation must be home grown is certainly part of UNDP’s experience. UNDP has refocused its efforts on governance following unmistakable evidence from the countries themselves that this is the assistance they wanted from UNDP. In some 50 countries, UNDP was requested to provide support to parliaments and electoral assistance. In some 40 countries we have helped with judicial reforms and in a further 60 we are strengthening human rights. Similarly, we are working on strengthening local government, promoting civil society participation and supporting the strengthening of transparency and accountability measures.

I would like to stress a number of dimensions to our work that are critical if successful outcomes are to be achieved. They reflect closely some of the key principles Mr. Imura mentioned this morning.

Firstly, capacity building is essential to ensure any lasting and sustainable impact. Processes and reforms must be institutionalized.

Secondly, UNDP has a long tradition of partnership and trust with programme countries. That tradition must be preserved and nurtured if UNDP is to continue to be effective in this area.

Thirdly, we believe a strong dimension of South-South collaboration is critical to strengthening the legitimacy and appropriateness of work in this field. South-South collaboration ensures that it is real experience on the ground that are being shared and built upon.

Finally, partnership with civil society organizations is an essential component of any sustainable approach. Democratisation cannot take place in a vacuum.

Against this background we believe UNDP is playing an important role in supporting the process of democratisation. We are doing so at the request of the countries themselves.

Of course we do this in partnership with many others – with IPU, IDEA and many others. And above all we do this thanks to the support of our donors, none more so than our number one donor, Japan. Through its contribution to UNDP, Japan is contributing directly to the strengthening of democratisation. I cannot let this opportunity pass without expressing our sincere thanks to the Government of Japan for their support to UNDP.

Let me conclude by pointing to a central challenge that faces us all.

We live in a period of extraordinary change:

- Over the last decade or so, as we have already said, the number of people living in what could be called broad-based democracies, has doubled.
- Over the last several decades, the gap between the richest fifth of the world’s people and the poorest has grown from 30-1 to 60-1 in 1990 to about 75-1 today. In other words inequity has more than doubled.
- And over the last decades, ODA as a % of GNP of the DAC has halved.

In sum, expectations have doubled, inequity has more than doubled and solidarity has halved.

Ladies and Gentlemen, if this were a heart patient specialist looking at a cardiac patient, the prognosis would surely be high risk. An artery sometime will give.

Never has Japan’s leadership of ODA been so vital to the health of our rapidly globalizing and democratising world.

Panelist

**Mr. Vedi R. Hadiz**

Fellow, Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore, Indonesia

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I was initially asked to speak during the session on the role of media and trade unions, but because of logistical considerations, it has been decided that I will speak during this session. This is not a problem, however, as I would like to argue that the strengthening of organisations in civil society, and in particular trade unions, may contribute to democratisation and good governance.

Specifically, I would like to make some comments on the kind of democracy that is taking shape in Indonesia. In addition, I would like to suggest that there is a role for trade unions and other similar organisations in improving the quality of democracy.

One problem in Indonesia is the fact that, while the previous authoritarian regime has crumbled, social forces that had been nurtured under it have been given the opportunity to reconstitute and reposition themselves. This they have done under a new more open, fluid, and decentralised system of power, characterised by the growing stature of parties and parliaments, which themselves embody the forging of extensive new alliances among the elite. Even under this more democratic system, the leitmotif remains the appropriation of state power, its institutions and resources by powerful politico-bureaucratic and business coalitions. Thus there remain continuities with the rapacious New Order.

The Indonesian case suggests that you can have a kind of democratisation, without good governance. Indeed, it is even necessary to question what 'sort' of democracy is taking shape in Indonesia. Does it simply allow the elite to protect themselves through such practices as money politics?

Indonesia provides a good 'laboratory' for the study of political transition. The case demonstrates clearly the flaws in scenarios that foresee the more or less smooth, linear process of displacement of authoritarianism by liberal forms of democracy and governance.

In post-Soeharto Indonesia, the power structure in the state and society has not been transformed fundamentally, although the old institutional framework that governed them – which we might call authoritarian corporatism – has unravelled. Essentially, the elite – old and newly ascendant, national as well as local – are able to insulate themselves from popular pressure/scrutiny without recourse to overt authoritarianism. Those nurtured by the extensive New Order network of patronage (including those formerly ensconced in only the second or third layers) are constructing a new regime that will safeguard their interests. Those that had already been marginalized in the New Order (workers, peasants etc) continue to have no effective vehicles to contest power or influence policy.

In other words, the institutional framework looks increasingly democratic, but the social relations of power embedded in them remain elite-centred.

There are questions arising about the extent to which political parties/parliaments agglomerate and articulate wider public interests or advocate contrasting policy agendas/social visions, and the degree to which they simply act as machines to capture the terminals of patronage and secure access to state power, its institutions and resources. Parliament can simply become an auction house for the rich and powerful, a vehicle for the allocation of largesse.

To improve the 'quality' of democracy in Indonesia, it is necessary to empower groups outside of elite circles to enable them to demand accountability. Politics cannot be confined to members of the elite who are insulated from wider social pressure. Thus, the organisational capacities of non-elite groups have to be improved vastly.

Among such non-elite groups is labour, marginalized under the New Order through repressive controls over trade unions. Such repressive controls negated the previous history of close association between labour and wider social and political struggles in Indonesia. The New Order 'floating mass' policy severely restricted political participation, especially by lower-class groups.

New unions and other forms of labour organisation have emerged since the fall of Soeharto, and legal restrictions

have been relaxed. Nevertheless, individual new unions remain weak and ineffective, and the labour movement as a whole is badly fragmented. This is the legacy of more than thirty years of state-enforced disorganisation.

Unions have to learn almost from scratch how to organise members, set up dues – collection systems, undertake collective bargaining, negotiate with government, attempt to influence policy, etc. An interesting development is that middle class workers (including those in banking, finance, and the media) have begun to show an interest in unionism, which was discouraged during the New Order.

Efforts should be made to improve the organisational capacity of such grassroots organisations as labour organisations. International training and assistance, combined with own experiences, would be helpful. The sharing of the experiences of labour movements emerging from previously repressive political environments would be particularly useful (e.g. South Africa and South Korea).

Historical studies have shown the importance of effective labour organisations/movements to successful democratisation in diverse societies. Among these are Therborn (1978), Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens (1992) and Collier (1999). Democracy often arises as an accommodation when there is a collision between the interests of the elite to secure their entrenched positions and those of the non-elite to widen the political space for participation.

Panelist

## **Mr. Thun Saray**

President, Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association  
(ADHOC), Cambodia

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First of all, I would like to express my deep gratitude to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan for organizing this important and interesting symposium, and for inviting me to speak to all of you today. It's a great honor for me to be present here with you. Today I would like to discuss democracy and ownership in developing countries to answer the question: What areas of effective and well functioning democracy need to be supported? I would agree that in addition to elections, democratization and ownership in developing countries are based on good governance and the rule of law.

In post-conflict situations, the democratization process is vital for rebuilding the country and especially for preventing future conflict while dealing with past conflict. Good governance should be built up during this process.

"Good governance" is a general term with slightly different meanings depending on the person who uses it, but in practice, the key elements of promotion of good governance involve *promoting respect of human rights and the rule of law, promoting public participation in state affairs, building the capacity of public institutions, and reform of administration.*

### **Promotion of Respect for Human Rights**

Security of the individual and respect for basic human rights is the cornerstone to achieving good governance through "supply of knowledge". It can be expected that one can change the behavior of state officials by holding them accountable.

The fundamental freedoms that should be protected by the rule of law are essential for healthy relations between the state and civil society. To be effective, the justice system, as well as security forces, must recognize and protect the rights of the individual and be accessible to all. In order to promote respect for human rights, a human rights education program for state officials is needed.

Training, workshops and campaigns on human rights, democratic principles, and conflict resolution and good governance contribute to improving and promoting respect for human rights and democracy. Donors can help in creating institutions and training personnel that play a role in protecting human rights and managing conflict.

### **Promotion of the Rule of Law**

A competent and independent judiciary is crucial to democratization. The absence of the rule of law fosters a lack of public confidence in legal and security systems and affects the general well-being of people.

The absence of a fair justice system can trigger frustrations that impede peacebuilding and conflict prevention. Security and justice systems are basic responsibilities of the state and are at the core its sovereignty. Support in this area should not undermine but rather strengthen respect for the state's monopoly over the use of force within the rule of law. In this respect, NGOs have an important role to play by initiating different activities in collaboration with state institutions and with the support of donors in such areas as:

- Monitoring human rights and law abuses;
- Strengthen justice institutions through reform (i.e. courts, independent human rights commissions, ombudsmen, law reform commissions, civilian police forces, and prison/detention services);
- Incorporating the inputs of civil society on drafted laws in order to endure adherence to respect for human rights;
- Support for communal and traditional law enforcement/dispute resolution structures and groups;
- Facilitating access to legal systems for individuals and groups, especially those that are marginalized.



## **Fostering Public Participation in Public Affairs**

Democratization enables the population to articulate its needs and interests and to protect the rights and interests of marginalised groups and vulnerable members of society.

NGOs encourage government to become involved with civil society and to create conditions for *public participation and partnership building*.

Fostering popular participation in the governance agenda is essential for democratization and partnership between government and civil society. The democratization process increases participation of civil society, strengthens the accountability of institutions in the public sector, increases the transparency of public administration, and promotes a free press. Promoting the participation of civil society empower individuals, communities and organizations to negotiate with institutions and bureaucracies, thus allowing civil society to influence public policy while providing a check on the power of government. Participation also aids in dealing with conflicting interests in a peaceful manner. A climate and capacity for constructive interaction between civil society and government results as a critical component for long-term peacebuilding.

- Strengthening civil society by building advocacy capacity and strengthening networking is crucial for influencing policy-makers and law-makers;
- Supporting the decentralization process is a very important factor to stimulate local and regional participation in decision-making, thereby improving the accountability and legitimacy of government through fair and meaningful elections.

Building partnership between government and civil society contributes to broad ownership of reforms. The effectiveness of reforms and benchmarks depends on the extent to which all concerned actors participate. It is essential that the policy making of the state, civil society and programming of assistance by donors be multi-institutional. The mechanism for building effective partnership needs more formal working groups, consultation and seminars with civil society prior to enactment of national plans and policies.

## **Building Government Capacity for Good Governance**

Public institutions are the means through which the government implements its policy. Partiality and corruption in the public institutions responsible for managing public resources and social services directly undermines the credibility of the state. Helping to strengthen the ability of these institutions to perform their core functions in a more effective and non-discriminatory manner can be an important part of the democratization process.

- Helping the executive branch to improve efficiency of the delivery of government services and to promote transparency and the eradication of corruption. A code of ethics for government officials and elected officials should be prepared and adopted in consultation with NGOs. Anti-corruption legislation based on the findings of an independent commission with provisions on asset declaration for members of the judiciary, legislative and executive branches must be drafted and adopted in full consultation with civil society.
- Civil service reform focusing on improving impartiality of, and access to, public institutions, thus helping to eliminate discrimination and bias.
- Strengthening control in the hands of civilian institutions over political and economic affairs and the armed forces (including military budget and expenditures).

Demobilization and social reintegration of former combatants should be implemented carefully and arms control should remain high on the agenda.

- Supporting the freedom of, and access to, information is also an important tool for combating corruption and for maintaining transparency in the society.

In conclusion, I would like to highlight the fact that the points of this speech are potentially relevant to developing countries currently undergoing democratization and reform. In this sense, a few key issues need to be addressed: First, broad understanding of human rights law and conflict resolution to ensure the promotion of respect for human rights. Second, strengthening the capacity and independent accountability of state institutions with promotion of the rule of law. And third, fostering public participation in public affairs along with building partnership between government,

civil society and donor communities to ensure effective reforms and policy-making. This partnership can play an important role in promoting good governance by creating effective benchmarks for assistance and monitoring

Panelist

**Ms. Mariko Sato**Associate Professor, Institute of Education, Tsukuba University, Japan

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**Education Assistance Programs for Democratization****1. Introduction**

Since the end of the Cold War, donor countries have increasingly held up democracy as a central issue in official development. Japan also established promotion of democratization as one of four principles for aid-giving in its ODA Charter approved in 1992.

Education assistance programs for democratization may mean different things in different contexts, and they have indeed already been undertaken in various forms by the donor community. In this paper, the term “educational assistance programs for democratization” refers to educational assistance for constructing democratic societies as a broad definition. The following three forms are identified in accordance with actual programs: 1) general education assistance; 2) assistance for democracy education; and 3) assistance with educational efforts for democratic institution building. The first two forms are assistance to the education sector for constructing contextual preconditions for democratization. The third refers to the development of human resources to promote democratic institutions in sectors other than education. Educational assistance programs for democratization are provided mainly through technical assistance, dispatch of specialists to design and implement programs, provision of necessary equipment and materials, and training of local people in maintaining institutions.

Specialists and researchers agree that the answer to the question of how education relates to democratization lies in the that education contributes to an array of social and political conditions conducive to democratization. A substantial body of empirical studies have been generated to support this answer (Seligson, 1987; Fagerlind & Saha, 1989). Education is seen as the foundation for full participation in stable and democratic societies. At the same time, education (at least at the primary level) is a fundamental human right. However at the present time, 145 million school-aged children do not attend school, which amounts to about one-fifth of all school-aged children in the world. Also, there are 870 million illiterate people (two-thirds are female) in the world. Therefore, the main aims of “general education assistance” are the universalization of primary education and the elimination of illiteracy.

Even though access to education is the first step toward democratization, attaining it does not automatically promote democratization. Democratic citizens are not born: they learn the art of democracy just as they learn sports, history and reading through education and training. For example, schools can teach tolerance of diversity, respect and responsibility for human rights, and that all people have equal social and political rights. Democratic schools are also an agent in instilling democratically managed values (Esquivel, 1998). Children can learn and clarify democratic values in democratic schools. Therefore, education for democracy is comprised of three main initiatives: 1) to integrate the values and arts of democracy into the curriculum as basic dynamics; 2) to teach knowledge of democracy through subjects such as development education; and 3) to manage schools in a democratic way. Education for democracy is not limited to school education, but can be introduced into educational programs for the general public, such as nonformal education, adult education or lifelong education.

In society, people need to learn how to manage democratic institutions and how to build political and negotiating skills. Educational efforts for democratic institution-building aim at developing human resources within social institutions. Assistance in the form of human resources development is provided to governmental institutions (such as the judiciary, legislative and executive branches) for the development of competent and qualified professionals, and to indigenous NGOs and the media to support their educational activities that instill democratic values and provide voter education to the general public.

In this paper I will introduce some assistance programs in each form. I will then explore each of these in terms of strategies for educational assistance programs for democratization by examining the issues that arise through the provision of these programs.

## 2. General Education

### 2.1 Global Education: A status report

As mentioned above, education is a precondition for a democratic society, and education *per se* is a human right. Education empowers individuals, and empowerment is necessary for a democratic society. From the economic point of view, many researchers argue that education is the most important apparatus a nation has for the development of human resources and the establishment of full participation for broad-based economic growth (Schultz 1961; Psacharopoulos, 1985). Economic development has been one of the most commonly cited prerequisites for democracy. In consequence, educational development has important multiple effects on the democratization of society.

However, even though many developing countries have endeavored to attain universal primary education since their independence, at the present time the status quo of education does not have a promising future. As shown in Table 1, approximately 145 million school-aged children do not attend school. Of non-enrolled children, close to 60% are girls. Low school-enrollment rates especially prevail in the least developed countries in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. By contrast, in many countries in Southeast Asia and Latin America, while universal primary education has been attained, enrollment rates are artificial even in these countries. There is a large number of repeaters and children who drop out before the end of the primary education cycle (see Table 2).

**Table 1 Children age 6-11 not attending school  
1960-90 and projections for 2000 and 2010**

(millions)

Region	Year	1960	1980	1990	2000	2010
Sub-Saharan Africa						
Total		25 (75)	26 (43)	41 (50)	59 (51)	83 (51)
female		14 (82)	15 (49)	22 (54)	32 (55)	45 (55)
Middle East						
total		9 (61)	9 (33)	9 (24)	10 (21)	12 (21)
female		5 (72)	6 (43)	5 (31)	6 (27)	7 (26)
Latin America/Caribbean						
total		15 (42)	9 (17)	8 (13)	7 (11)	7 (11)
female		7 (43)	5 (18)	4 (13)	4 (12)	4 (11)
East Asia						
total		67 (47)	55 (25)	26 (14)	27 (13)	21 (12)
female		39 (56)	32 (30)	14 (16)	15 (14)	11 (12)
South Asia						
total		49 (56)	59 (40)	48 (27)	47 (23)	46 (20)
female		30 (71)	38 (53)	32 (28)	31 (32)	29 (27)
All developing countries						
total		165 (52)	158 (31)	129 (24)	145 (22)	162 (23)
female		96 (62)	94 (38)	77 (29)	85 (27)	92 (27)

Note: Numbers in parentheses refer to children that are not in school as a share of the total number of children or of all female children.

Source: *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1993*

**Table 2 Percentage of cohorts reaching final grade (selected countries)**

Country	Cohort Reaching Final Grade
Eritrea (1995)	70
Ethiopia (1995)	47
Chad (1995)	50
Mauritania (1995)	58
Mexico (1995)	83
Paraguay (1995)	72
El Salvador (1995)	49
Venezuela (1995)	56
Cambodia (1996)	39
Lao (1995)	55
Saudi Arabia (1995)	55
Papua New Guinea	66

Source: *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1999*

In addition to these concerns regarding quantity of students, developing countries also face a low achievement problem. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement has conducted standardized tests in a number of countries (both developing and developed countries) in science, mathematics and reading since the 1960s at scheduled intervals. Results have revealed that the test scores in all subjects of children in participating developing countries have been lower than children in developed countries, both at the primary and secondary levels. In 1993, UNICEF administered reading, writing, mathematics and life skills tests to 1,680 Nepalese children aged 11 and 12 with the cooperation of the Nepalese government. The percentages of children whose scores were above the minimum achievement score indicate that about the half of the children did not acquire basic achievement scores in reading, writing and social skills, and only about 70% of boys and 60% of girls attained basic achievement scores in mathematics. In addition, girls' scores were lower than those of boys in all subjects (Bista, 1999). The Southern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality conducted a random-sample survey on reading in Zimbabwe, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia and Zambia from 1991 through 1995 involving 23,700 grade 6 primary school children. The children who correctly answered less than 16 out of 56 questions correctly were assumed to be illiterate. As a result of the test, the percentage of illiterate children was calculated to be 15.6% of boys and 10.2% of girls in Zimbabwe, 4.2% and 3.1% in Kenya, 19.1% and 22.5% in Malawi, 12.1% and 9.6% in Mauritius, 24.8% and 25.7% in Namibia, and 19.5% and 19.9% in Zambia. These surveys show that even attendance at school does not always ensure that literacy is acquired. Other surveys also show that even middle-income countries are not free from the problem of low - quality education.

Both attendance and non-attendance at school are responsible for the increase in illiterate populations. In 2000, there are more than 870 million illiterate adults in the world, two-thirds of whom are women, which translates into the hard fact that "more than one-quarter of all adults still can neither read nor write" (King, 1991). Even though the illiteracy rate has been on the decrease since 1970, in absolute numbers it has remained almost the same (see Table 3). There is no need to emphasize that the lack of literacy continues the vicious cycle of poverty, lack of human rights, and lack of democracy.

**Table 3. Estimated illiteracy rate and illiterate population aged 15 and over**

(millions)

Region	Year	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
All developing countries		848 (42.0)	863 (37.1)	868 (32.8)	872 (29.6)	870 (26.6)
Africa		126 (59.8)	132 (54.4)	137 (48.7)	141 (43.2)	143 (38.0)
East Asia/Oceania		276 (30.7)	259 (24.8)	231 (19.7)	210 (16.4)	182 (13.2)
South Asia		346 (60.9)	370 (57.0)	394 (53.4)	416 (49.8)	438 (46.3)
Latin America/ Caribbean		44 (20.3)	44 (17.6)	43 (15.1)	44 (13.4)	42 (11.8)
Middle East		56 (59.2)	60 (53.6)	63 (48.3)	65 (43.4)	68 (48.5)
Developed countries		29 (3.4)	23 (2.5)	17 (1.8)	13 (1.3)	11 (1.1)
World Total		877 (30.5)	886 (27.5)	885 (24.7)	885 (22.6)	881 (20.6)

Note: Numbers in parentheses refer to illiterates as a share of the total population aged 15 years and over.

Source: *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1999*

Non-enrollment at the primary-education level and illiteracy problems are predominant especially among disadvantaged groups: girls, rural poor, slum dwellers, ethnic and religious minority groups, scheduled castes/tribes, etc. Their education has significantly lagged behind that of boys in general and children in mainstream urban areas. Table 4 shows the difference in literacy rates among groups in India. This situation raises not only on the problem of democratization in terms of access to education and equal educational opportunities, but also the problem of human rights itself.

Factors concerning low efficiency problems at school can be divided into two areas: the supply side and the demand side. Supply-side factors include insufficient education budgets, insufficient number and low quality of teachers, use of an instructional language that is different from the first language of the children, and educational content that does not meet children's needs. Poverty, child labor, and traditional gender norms are demand-side factors.

**Table 4. Differences in literacy rates among groups**

	1961	1971	1981	1991
Rural/urban	28.1	28.7	27.7	28.4
Female/male	21.5	20.8	21.1	24.8
SC/non-SC	n.a.	n.a.	17.7	14.8
ST/ non ST	16	18.6	19.8	22.6

Note: SC and ST refers to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes

Source: Government of India, *Census of India*, GI, New Delhi

## 2.2 Assistance to General Education

The World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) was convened in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990 by the World Bank, UNICEF, UNDP, and UNESCO. The WCEFA is an international response to the devastating situation surrounding basic education, especially in the LLDCs (the least developed countries). It was the highest profile educational event the world has ever seen. The aim of the WCEFA was to persuade the countries of the world that unconventional commitments are needed if the task of offering basic education to all is to be achieved. The importance of basic education was confirmed by the World Declaration on Education for All adopted by the WCEFA, which called for increased funding for basic education both to developing countries and within the donor community. The international community encouraged developing countries to focus on increasing the quantity and quality of basic education in their countries rather than higher, vocational, or technical education. For many donors, most notably the World Bank, primary education became the major focus in the education assistance sector.

The donor community has provided educational assistance that utilizes a combination of the interrelated approaches of program and project assistance. These approaches include improving educational policies; constructing schools and educational institutions; improving teaching, curricula and educational materials; and using targeted approaches to increase education access for girls and other disadvantaged groups. Since the 1980s, structural adjustment assistance has been the main means of assistance in the education and other sectors. Structural adjustment policies make conditionalities on the educational policies of recipient countries through the following: shifting educational costs from the government to the beneficiaries; encouraging adequate national budget allocation; privatizing educational institutions that used to be managed as part of the public sector; maximizing the efficiencies of education using multiple-grade classes or multiple-shift school systems, shifting resources from secondary and tertiary education into previously under-financed primary education; decentralizing educational administration and encouraging community participation in education-related decisions; and developing a detailed educational plan and integrating it into the national economic social plan.

Although the importance of primary education and literacy have been stressed thus far, this is not to say that higher education is not important. Higher education, as well as primary education and secondary education, emerges as a powerful agent contributing to the transformation of democratization. Democratization is not promoted without the development of social science capabilities, particularly policy analysis, analysis and presentation of data on the state of society, and analysis of trends in social development. Only higher education offers development in these areas. Higher education also generates a white-collar middle class that is more knowledgeable and politically aware. As a class,

white-collar workers also have greater access to international information and communication through information technology, and they are more likely to acquire universal values and norms based on human dignity and equality.

### 3. Democracy Education

#### 3.1 Initiatives for Promoting Democracy Education Programs

The general goal of democracy education is to develop learners' participatory and democratic attitudes in order to help them to construct and maintain democratic societies by presenting the principles and values of democracy as a political system. Democracy education clearly plays a major role in educating the citizens of tomorrow to participate fully in the democratic process and to support the development of a democratic political system at the local as well as the world level (Ray-von Allemen, 1997).

Diverse initiatives have been proposed and practiced at the practical level both in developing and developed countries. These initiatives can be divided into three main areas as referred to above: 1) integration of the values and arts of democracy into the curriculum as basic dynamics; 2) teaching of knowledge of democracy through subjects such as development education; and 3) management of schools in a democratic way. Some model initiatives for integrating democracy education into school curriculums are as follows (Flowers, 1998) .

Initiatives for 'integrating the values and arts of democracy into the curriculum':

- ensuring that learning materials, information and posters on democracy and human rights education are available anywhere at school;
- permeating democratic principles across all standard school subjects, whether they are based on the natural sciences or the social sciences;
- adopting new teaching methods into the classroom: critical thinking, creative problem-solving, dialogue and respect for differing points of view, openness to discussion and questions, and active student participation; and
- making knowledge of human rights a basic requirement for the licensing of new teachers and the recertification and promotion of experienced teachers and all others who work in the education system.

Second, world-wide norms in the knowledge of democracy should be taught in schools. Initiatives for teaching knowledge of democracy can be introduced into human rights education, education for citizenship, education for peace, development education, intercultural education, and other areas as the basic foundation, even though they have slightly different perspectives. These are as follows:

- basic knowledge of democracy and democratic growth through international and regional covenants such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the U.N. Charter, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Native People, etc. The international significance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was especially clear from the outset as it was the first comprehensive codification of internationally recognized human rights;
- the importance and legitimacy of civic responsibilities in an everyday context;
- inter-ethnic respect and tolerance within and beyond national borders, and the nature of conflicts and how to resolve them especially in countries with ethnic conflict; and
- integration of knowledge and the concepts of democracy into contemporary issues and conflicts.

The surrounding culture of schools contains a hidden curriculum as well. If schools are managed in a hierarchical and authoritarian manner, and discrimination, abuse, corporal punishment and injustice exist in the classrooms, students cannot learn anything concerning democracy. Democratic school systems and the management of such systems are essential components for democracy programs. The main types of initiatives in this area are:

- reform of conventional authoritarian schools by encouraging flexibility and autonomy in learning, power-sharing in school management, active student councils and a concern for equal rights among staff and students;
- increasing communication and partnerships between teachers and parents; and
- involving the community in the schools.

Both governmental and private institutions including NGOs have included democracy education as part of their non-formal education, adult education, or life-long education programs provided to the general public. The programs

are implemented in almost the same way as those in the schools.

### **3.2 Assistance for Democracy Programs**

In the initiatives noted above, the donor community has much experience and many resources that can help children and the general public access and understand democracy compared with developing and transitional countries. The donor community has provided technical assistance to promote these initiatives in developing and transitional countries. Specialists in the donor community provide expertise through workshops, seminars, and lectures aiming at developing the skills of the local staff in charge of these initiatives including teacher educators, school inspectors, regular teachers, and officials in education ministries. Governments and NGOs in developed countries have adequately trained personnel including experts and specialists, provided teaching methodologies and educational materials such as teachers' manuals and instructional aids, and promoted techniques and skills concerning curriculum development. In addition, the donor community can help produce new types of materials utilizing computer-aided instruction and audio-visual aids via information technology. These methods are expected to contribute to effective program implementation and maintenance, even though only a limited number of developing countries can make use of them. These materials and techniques can be used both for school children and for the general public .

## **4. Educational Efforts for Democratic Institution-Building**

### **4.1 Human Resources in Democratic Institutions**

Educational efforts aim to establish and strengthen democratic institutions, covering not only governmental but also private initiatives through the development of human resources in these institutions. There is no need to stress that the strength and effectiveness of governmental institutions of the executive, legislative and judicial branches are indispensable in democratic societies. Human resources are clearly important in all stages of democratization for the establishment and maintenance of competent and democratic governmental institutions. However, there is a serious shortages of human resources in these governmental institutions in developing and transitional countries.

As well as governmental institutions, independent and democratic private institutions play an important role in democratization in these countries. Private institutions such as NGOs—human rights organizations, labor unions, professional associations, women's groups, religious groups, and the media—are included in this category. NGOs play an integral role in democratization. Indigenous NGOs often take a grass-roots approach enabling them reach powerless and vulnerable groups such as women in rural areas, indigenous people, and the poor. This approach ensures a fair and participatory democratization process at the grass-roots level. NGOs promote seminars, lectures and meetings with human rights and democracy as general issues, and voting and registration systems as areas of specific focus. NGOs employ educational techniques incorporating everyday experiences that are familiar to indigenous groups (such as music, street theater, comic books, itinerant story-tellers, and folk tales) that can help connect democracy, human rights and voting to people's everyday experiences. For example, if a given country enacts a new constitution, NGOs are able to effectively provide programs for vulnerable groups regarding their human and legal rights and how those rights can be enforced and protected under the new constitution. An independent and diverse media (including trusted newspapers and broadcasting media) is also a key channel for providing information and disseminating various opinions among citizens.

### **4.2 Assistance with Educational Efforts for Democratic Institution-Building**

#### **4.2.1 Assistance to Governmental Institutions**

The donor community has provided a great deal of technical assistance to training programs oriented towards professional skill enhancement. The program offerings include:

- programs to train more competent lawyers, judges, prosecutors, and public defenders;
- establishment of judicial schools and judicial training centers;
- development of legal education programs at the higher education level;
- training programs aimed at increasing legal knowledge, independence, and ethical standards for personnel in the



- executive, legislative and judicial branches;
- training programs for personnel to establish free electoral systems and voter registration systems; and
- training programs for central and local government staff in management and budgeting for decentralization and more participatory and open administration.

It should be emphasized that the above-mentioned professional training programs include basic knowledge of democracy and democratic values as their cornerstone.

#### **4.2.2 Assistance to Private Institutions**

NGOs and the media have been strongly encouraged to participate as partners in the process of democratization and have received much assistance from donor countries. Assistance programs for private institutions are:

- training programs to improve advocacy skills and management;
- training to design and implement human rights education programs, voter education, political training, and democracy education for the general public and vulnerable groups;
- technical assistance to research methodologies that combine cultural and social contexts with the use of local materials;
- leadership training programs for women of indigenous NGOs; and
- professional skills training programs for journalists, media owners and journalism educators.

### **5. Problems in Providing Assistance**

The educational assistance programs discussed in this paper are expected to play important roles in democratization in developing countries (Valverde, 1999). However, they also raise a number of problems that should be not disregarded. For example, democracy education programs are difficult to implement in schools of countries where human rights have been abused for many years by dictatorial states or civil wars. Ethiopia is one such example (Osler, 1997). Besides the insufficiency of educational infrastructure, Osler also discusses teachers' reluctance to integrate democracy education because they feel insecure doing so. Here I would like to present a few frequently cited problems in this area.

Even though such problems are complex, I would like to touch on one particularly conventional and wide-spread criticism made by developing countries—namely sovereignty. Educational assistance programs for democratization generate psychological and political objections on the part of recipient countries because such concerns relate to their sovereignty.

Developing countries, especially some countries in Asia, have claimed that even though a democratic society may be the ultimate national goal, democratization trends in developing countries often do not follow the same pattern as those in Western Europe. They insist that democratization requires an infrastructure of culture, social, economic, and political development, and countries need time to develop these preconditions. If assistance for democratization is intended to strengthen the democratic process and institutions in society, democratization implies social change. In this context, a number of state authorities have warned of certain undesirable consequences of rapid changes in society, including imitation of Western countries, breakdown of traditional values, creation of spiritual vacuums, dissolution of the traditional role of the family, and the alienation of the young from the old.

To a much greater extent, democratization programs also involve imposing a certain model which will have profound political and social consequences for the recipient and which will differ between one donor and another. If this assistance is too exclusively bilateral and comes largely from a single source, there is obviously a great concern of the part of the recipient that the democratic institution model will merely be an unadapted copy of the system of the donor. It is immaterial whether this transposition is the product of a conscious policy or simply sociological automatism.

These concerns are also shared in the education sector. Many developing countries are still coping with linguistic, ethnic and cultural divisions. Education, in particular primary education, has a significant role to play with respect to nation-building, and education serves as an important legitimating agency for establishing the legal jurisdiction of state authority. National history, language, culture, and civic education at the primary education level are important tools for creating a national identity that transcends ethnic, religious, regional, or class identities. Education is inherently political

and ideological. From this point of view, the governments of developing countries are not willing to receive educational assistance, especially assistance regarding educational content. These governments are concerned, rightly or wrongly, that educational assistance may transplant different values and norms and might weaken the sense of national identity held by their children and young people.

## 6. Concluding Remarks

As discussed above, recipient countries may have a reserved attitude toward educational assistance programs for democratization because they are related to the aforementioned dimension of sovereignty. What recipient countries object to is not Japanese or American assistance as such, but their exclusiveness or absolute predominance. And, more obstacles may be perceived by recipient countries in the assistance programs of bilateral agencies than those of multilateral agencies and NGOs. Therefore, one effective strategy that has been suggested involves multilateral agencies taking leadership in educational assistance programs for democratization while initiating and coordinating research at the international level (despite funding by donor countries). In addition, the expertise for program development required at the operational level is more readily available from multilateral agencies.

UNESCO (as an example) has placed a high priority on education for international understanding and human rights since its inception. UNESCO has launched various forms of education assistance, all of which promote democratic values that are needed for the effective exercise of human rights. Recently UNESCO has begun to concentrate on democracy programs within schools (Rauner, 1999). UNESCO included "democracy" in the formal title of its project: *the United Nations Associated School Project for Promoting International Education for Peace, Human Rights, Democracy and International Understanding*. Participating countries and schools in the Associated Schools Projects have been increasing since 1970. The number of participating countries and schools are 122 and 3,178 respectively as of 1998. Democracy has also been a central theme in the 1995 UNESCO Conference on Civic Education for Central and Eastern European Countries.

Many empirical studies confirm that national commitment and political will and mobilization are imperative to attaining universal primary education and eliminating illiteracy, and educational assistance can be a stimulus or a catalyst to these efforts based on this premise. I argue that this experience is true also of democratization: the level of democratization will naturally depend on the magnitude of a country's efforts. Therefore, it is argued that educational assistance programs for democratization must be met with internal resources through the process of ownership of the recipient countries. For example, if assistance programs provide learning materials for democracy, the authors should be selected from the recipient countries. Otherwise, democratization will be supported neither by the government nor the general public.

However, the following should be stressed. Insofar as general education assistance is concerned, the international donor community should provide many assistance programs to the LLDCs that have suffered from devastating educational situations and a scarcity of basic resources due to political uncertainties, economic crises, and natural disasters. In these countries, the potential for educational assistance has a vital effect both on educational development and on building democracy.

In conclusion, educational assistance programs for democratization are only fully justified so far as there exist opportunities for the participation of local people in the creation of the programs. No educational assistance programs for democratization designed and implemented in one country can be used in a different country without substantial changes, because the effectiveness of these programs depends on economic, democratic, and educational levels in the target country. I argue that the issue of providing education programs for democratization is not something that concerns only developing and transitional countries. The experiences of education assistance programs might in turn have valuable effects in education for democratization in donor countries.

*The Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares in Article 26:  
'Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the  
elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory.'*

**Summary Table: Three Forms of Education Assistance Programs for Democratization**

Education Assistance Form	Main Aims	Examples of Assistance Programs
<p><b>General education assistance</b></p>	<p>To attain the universalization of primary education and the elimination of illiteracy</p>	<p>The donor community has provided educational assistance that utilizes a combination of the interrelated approaches of program and project assistance. These approaches include improving educational policies; constructing schools and educational institutions; improving teaching, curricula and educational materials; and using targeted approaches to increase education access for girls and other disadvantaged groups.</p> <p>Since the 1980s, structural adjustment assistance has been the main means of assistance in the education and other sectors.</p>
<p><b>Assistance for democracy education:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) to integrate the values and arts of democracy into the curriculum as basic dynamics;</li> <li>2) to teach knowledge of democracy through subjects such as development education;</li> <li>3) to manage schools in a democratic way.</li> </ol>	<p>To develop learners' participatory and democratic attitudes in order to help them to construct and maintain democratic societies by teaching the principles and values of democracy as a political system</p>	<p>Technical assistance for the following initiatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) permeating democratic principles across all standard school subjects, whether they are based on the natural sciences or the social sciences;</li> <li>2) basic knowledge of democracy and democratic growth through international and regional covenants such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the U.N. Charter, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Native People, etc. ;</li> <li>3) reforming conventional authoritarian schools by encouraging flexibility and autonomy in learning, power-sharing in school management, active student councils, and concern for equal rights among staff and students.</li> </ol>
<p><b>Assistance with educational efforts for democratic institution-building:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) assistance to governmental institutions such as the judiciary, legislative and executive branches;</li> <li>2) assistance to private institutions such as NGOs and the media.</li> </ol>	<p>To establish and strengthen democratic institutions, covering not only governmental but also private initiatives through the development of human resources in these institutions</p>	<p>Technical assistance for the following programs:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) - programs to train more competent lawyers, judges, prosecutors, and public defenders; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- establishment of judicial schools and judicial training centers;</li> <li>- development of legal education programs at the higher education level;</li> </ul> </li> <li>2) - training programs to improve advocacy skills and management; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- training to design and implement human rights education programs, voter education, political training, and democracy education for the general public and vulnerable groups.</li> </ul> </li> </ol>

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## Panelist

**Mr. John D. Sullivan**

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The Center for International Private Enterprise is an affiliate of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, established in 1983 to promote private enterprise and market-oriented reform worldwide. As a principal participant in the National Endowment for Democracy, CIPE supports strategies and techniques that address market-based democratic development. CIPE also receives support from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as private corporations and foundations. Since its inception, CIPE has supported more than 700 projects in 75 countries and has conducted management training programs for business associations and think tanks in Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the New Independent States. Together with the United States Information Agency, CIPE publishes *Economic Reform Today*, a quarterly magazine. CIPE can be reached at [www.cipe.org](http://www.cipe.org) or 202/721-9250 (fax).

**INTRODUCTION**

It is widely recognized that for democracy to be established it must fulfill the aspirations of people to freely elect their leaders. However, for democracy to endure it must also become a system of governance wherein individuals and organizations can participate in the day-to-day process of making governmental decisions. The subject of our panel today is “good governance” and how to work to ensure that developing countries feel a sense of ownership in establishing democratic governance.

Since the early 1980s, the world has witnessed an unprecedented trend towards democracy and market-based economies. Nonetheless, much work remains to be done to reinforce this progress and to prepare nations for the political and economic challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, including globalization. Contemporary history has shown that countries with democratic, market-based systems are best equipped to respond to these challenges. Specifically, there are three essential aspects of democracy that have been proven to be crucial to societal development.

- 1) A stable democratic system is the best guarantor of political stability, which is essential for long term economic growth.
- 2) Democratic practices such as transparency and accountability are essential for effective and responsive government and for efficient and prosperous economic activity. (The recent crises in Asia or Russia are cases in point.)
- 3) Sound legal and regulatory codes backed by the rule of law are essential for business to thrive within a market economy.

Since much of my presentation will be based on the partnerships our organization, the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), has established around the world, permit me to begin with a brief background description. The US Chamber of Commerce decided to establish CIPE, as part the National Endowment for Democracy’s effort to promote democratization and market-oriented reform worldwide. This decision received a considerable amount of debate within the US Chamber’s international policy committee and its Board of Directors. The deciding factor was the realization that it is in everyone’s long term interest to see the developing countries grow economically and socially and that for this to happen, business organizations had to become part of the effort.

For the last 17 years, CIPE has been involved in more than 600 projects in 70 countries and has conducted management training programs for business associations and think tanks in Asia, Africa, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and Eurasia. CIPE also maintains an active electronic and print communications program. Currently, CIPE has offices in Egypt, Kosovo, Montenegro, Romania, and Russia.

**FOSTERING DEVELOPING COUNTRY OWNERSHIP THROUGH PARTNERSHIP**

In choosing organizations with which to work in developing countries, there has to be some real care taken in

understanding the aims, purposes, and nature of the prospective partner organizations. For example, in our case, we are working with business associations, think tanks, foundations, and other non-governmental organizations. We have found that it is essential not to assume that, for example, because an organization is called a chamber of commerce that means it shares the same values as chambers in the United States, Europe, or Japan. Since this point is the major underlying factor in working with business-related NGOs, it is probably useful to provide an overview of the process of partnership development. The same process could apply with appropriate modifications to work in other sectors such as with labor unions or other civil society organizations.

One first step is to begin distinguishing between types of firms and the associations they form. For example, there is a common misconception that the business community or the private sector is a homogeneous monolith that together either supports (or opposes) certain policies or leaders. This is not the case. In fact, in most countries, there is not just one business community but several, each of which has different interests and objectives. In one nation's economy alone there can be the state sector, the private sector, and the informal sector. Even within the private sector, there might be those involved mostly in international trade and others engaged in producing solely for the domestic market. Clearly, these two groups will not always support the same policies nor will they each always favor market-oriented reform.

Casual empiricism points to the observation that firms built up behind protectionist trade barriers with strong links to and benefits from government tend to support the status quo and are quite often anti-democratic. Conversely, firms that have been locked out of governmental favors, the small entrepreneurs, and those engaged in international trade are quite often those that lead the demand for change. Because the business community is so diverse, it would be wiser to form partnerships with business associations, think tanks, foundations, and other business organizations that are formed on the basis of firms with a vested interest in an open economy and a democratic system.

Providing ODA support to the kinds of business organizations that are really committed to democratic governance can yield significant benefits. However, over the years, our organization has learned some valuable lessons that may be appropriate for others. One of the first lessons our organization learned is to require that the potential partner organization initiate the program ideas. There are two reasons for this approach. First, insisting that the potential partner generate the projects helps to ensure that the programs are indeed relevant and important in the recipient's country. Second, since one of the overall goals should be to build up the core competencies of the partner organization, it is vital that they work out the program of work. Naturally, a great deal of technical assistance should be provided in the process of program development, but the work must be done by the partner for the partner to benefit. The downside is that often the resulting product or program may not be as well designed or as elegant as if an international consult or donor did it. Yet, in the end, only those organizations which actually learn strategic planning, program development, and related management skills will be able to sustain the effort.

In our case, we also adopted some basic policies early on, which have been important in helping us to develop sound programs. We require some amount of matching funds (either in cash or in kind) from our partner organizations. This also helps to ensure local relevance and ownership.

In the area of management development, it is vital to ensure that all partners complete independent financial audits and strengthen their financial management controls. Often think tanks and other NGOs strongly object to this requirement as being too costly or, in their view, simply a reflection of the donor's own culture. It is essential to explain that good management systems are as vital to NGOs as they are to firms or to any other organization and that financial management is key to this process.

## **PROGRAMS TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE**

Overall, CIPE and its partners work to establish well-designed, cost-effective political and economic institutions that foster democratic governance and market-based economic activity, and that level the playing field for all citizens. The intellectual foundations for this work stem from the field of the New Institutional Economics developed by Ronald Coase and Douglass North, both of whom won the Nobel Prize for their work. In its simplest formulation, the institutional approach simply says that rules are important in determining outcomes. Put more elegantly, the success or failure of any effort to achieve long-lasting democratic transition depends on the design and functioning of the underlying

institutional framework.

In order to highlight the importance of institutions, let me point out two common myths about the relationship between the state and the market:

The first myth is the belief that once private enterprise constitutes a substantial portion of an economy that means that it is a market economy. History abounds with examples of where this has not been the case. The Philippines under Ferdinand Marcos and Indonesia under Soeharto were classic examples of economies that were private enterprise based capitalist systems, but not open market systems. Economists call this type of behavior rent seeking, the rest of us call it corruption and cronyism. Simply put, the greater the degree of systemic corruption in a society, the less the degree to which the economy functions on market principles. It should be emphasized that many different types of market economy are possible and there are real distinctions between the institutional set-ups in different systems. The common feature, however, is a competitive system where the rules are the same for all market participants.

The second myth is the belief that markets will spontaneously emerge if government stops intervening in the economy. This is far from true. The government must establish rules and laws that are consistent and fair, so that a strong market economy may emerge. Further, governmental institutions or self-regulatory organizations have key roles to play in ensuring that the rules are enforced. Credible and fair bank supervision is but one of the most obvious of these functions. Without binding rules and structures that govern all players, anarchy follows. Business then becomes nothing but “casino capitalism” where investments are only bets: bets that people will keep their word and that companies tell the truth; bets that workers will be paid; and bets that debts will be honored

Getting the relationship right between the governmental structures and the market institutions is really vital. Some of the key objectives in programs that we have supported or participated in can serve to illustrate the nature of the challenge.

- Promoting development of the legal and institutional structures necessary to establish and maintain open market-oriented economies.
- Increasing business participation in the democratic process.
- Supporting private voluntary business organizations and freedom of association.
- Building support for – and understanding of – the rights, freedoms, and obligations essential to a democratic private enterprise system.
- Enhancing business knowledge and strengthen the entrepreneurial culture of the private sector.
- Expanding access to business and economic information necessary for informed decision making.

Each year, CIPE and our partner institutions around the world work together to craft a strategy paper for the National Endowment. That strategy identifies the issues that business groups, think tanks and other partners in some 70 countries feel are priorities for their efforts to build democratic institutions and values in their countries. The following presents some program approaches drawn from the last several years as developed together with our partner organizations.

#### • **Combating corruption to support democratic values**

Business communities in developing countries are realizing that corruption is costing them money, and that they must do something to eliminate this problem. Corruption not only hurts the business community and the citizens of developing countries economically, but it has a destabilizing effect on democracy and the general well being of a nation. Combating corruption can serve as a lever or a tool for bringing about broader reforms and improving the functioning of governance.

The National Association of Entrepreneurs (ANDE), Ecuador created a research and advocacy program targeted at eliminating some of the main opportunities for corruption. ANDE’s focus has not been to blame past corruption on any one particular group but rather to initiate reforms that will change the direction of business and institute clean practices. Their studies showed that since the Republic of Ecuador was founded 167 years ago some 92,250 legal norms have been created of which 52,774 were in force in 1997. The sheer number of overlapping, unclear, and contradictory laws has created an environment of legal chaos and leaves the application and enforcement of laws to the discretion of bureaucrats. Since Ecuador is a civil code country (as opposed to a common law country), courts could

not reconcile law or create precedents. To address this issue, ANDE recommended creating a seven-member judicial committee empowered to codify and reconcile law. ANDE's advocacy campaign was able to secure inclusion of the committee into Ecuador's new constitution.

Another innovative program that illustrates a number of issues touching on governance, business, and corruption comes from the Entrepreneurship Development Foundation (EDF) of Azerbaijan. As a starting point, EDF carried out a survey of the obstacles facing private business and corruption came out as the top problem. The project is based on those survey results and is composed of four activities: the publication of special bulletins, creation of small business informational packets, corruption research, and polling. The special bulletins focus on topics relating to corruption and are distributed to both universities and policy makers. The corruption research initiative monitors articles in 24 newspapers for anti-corruption coverage, and an opinion poll will be conducted of the business community to keep informed of its needs. Two new components will be added: first, several part time Azerbaijani attorneys and businessmen will begin an in-depth analysis of 16 existing laws to identify the areas of undue discretionary power by government officials, often leading to corruption. Secondly, a series of 20 weekly economic training sessions for business journalists (emphasizing corruption issues) will be undertaken

- **Promoting sound corporate governance measures**

Another focal point of the strategy is the promotion of sound corporate governance principles. It is obviously related to anti-corruption issues since it attacks the supply side of the corruption relationship. Further, since the high-profile scandals in Russia and the Asian financial crises, corporate governance issues have surfaced as key reform issues in the developing countries and transitional economies. One of the lessons learned out of the crisis is that weak or ineffective corporate governance procedures can create huge potential liabilities for both individual firms and, collectively, for society. In this sense, corporate governance failures can potentially be as devastating as any other large economic shock. As M.R. Chatu Mongol Sonakul, the Governor of the Bank of Thailand observed at our recent Asian regional conference in Bangkok:

There is no doubt in my mind that for the Asian economic crisis to be solved in a sustainable and long-lasting fashion, the government and the corporate sector have to work together better. By this, I don't mean that not working together was the cause of the recent economic crisis. Probably it was the other way around, working far too well together and in collusion with each other. ... The Asian financial crisis showed that even strong economies lacking transparent control, responsible corporate boards, and shareholder rights can collapse quite quickly as investor's confidence erodes.

In the upcoming year, CIPE will support corporate governance programs in every region of the world. In Indonesia, for example, CIPE will support the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) in organizing a series of workshops outside Jakarta for businesspeople and practitioners to promote corporate governance reform. In Russia, CIPE and the Investor's Protection Agency are working to advocate for independent directors on boards and have joined with the OECD and the World Bank to host several educational programs on corporate governance principles for government and business leaders. Similar efforts in Romania and Colombia are targeted at developing national codes of corporate governance for implementation through the stock and securities exchanges.

- **Strengthening the role of women-owned businesses and women's business associations**

Women are playing increasingly important roles in business communities around the globe, and revenues from women-owned enterprises are boosting local and national economies. In recognition of this, CIPE works with a number of women's business associations, which are growing in both numbers and clout.

A good example is the National Association of Businesswomen (NABW) in Malawi. Over the last several years, NABW created a national call to action to redress the grievances experienced by women entrepreneurs. They held regional forums across the country featuring focus group meetings that identified the major issues facing women, including lack of access to credit and information. Based on these meetings, they developed a national agenda and advocated before government for legislative changes.



Building on the work of associations such as NABW, CIPE recently held two successful international women's conferences to support women's business associations and female entrepreneurs. The first one entitled, "Women: The Emerging Economic Force", took place in June in Washington D.C. The conference was attended by 174 participants from 46 countries. The second conference, a women's leadership training program for African business and professional women, was held in Chicago. Together with Eastman Kodak and more than a dozen US corporations, CIPE brought together African and American business women for a leadership training and business networking event.

- **Reforming institutional structures so that barriers to participation in the formal economy and democratic decision making are reduced**

Members of the informal sector are entrepreneurs who produce legitimate products without proper permits or legal status because they lack the resources to comply with burdensome and excessive rules and regulations necessary to become part of the formal economy. These entrepreneurs are locked out of the formal economy in low-income, low-growth business activities and out of the political process. A large and growing informal sector is an indication that institutions need to be reformed before democracy and market-oriented reforms can be consolidated and before economic growth can be sustained.

One of CIPE's first grants addressed the challenges that the informal sector presents to political and economic reform. The project, led by Hernando de Soto of the Institute for Liberty Democracy in Peru, contributed to path-breaking research on the barriers to formality. Incidentally, de Soto has researched the property rights regime in Japan as a model for harmonizing informal and formal property rights systems.

Recently, CIPE hosted a workshop on the informal sector at the National Endowment for Democracy's World Movement for Democracy in Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Prior to the workshop, a background paper was prepared which is currently available on CIPE's Web site – [www.cipe.org](http://www.cipe.org). At the workshop, some forty international participants discussed strategies to reduce barriers to political and economic participation and to create a level playing field accessible to all entrepreneurs including those of modest means. The workshop produced several interesting initiatives that CIPE will pursue. One of these initiatives is that CIPE will develop the methodology to measure the costs of doing business (transactions costs) in order to identify the obstacles that keep entrepreneurs from participating in the formal sector.

On an individual country level, CIPE will also be working with think tanks and associations to address the issue. For example, in Bulgaria the informal economy currently makes up between 50 and 60% of the country's GDP. The Centre for Social Practices (CSP) will investigate the informal sector through analysis of official data and detailed field-work in order to capture the attitudes and adaptive strategies of participants in the gray economy. Deregulation and administrative simplification programs will make this sector more effective and will increase public understanding of and appreciation for the role of the entrepreneur in generating stability and growth in Bulgaria.

## CONCLUSION

Issues such as combating corruption, fostering corporate governance, strengthening women's business associations and reducing barriers to formality have created new opportunities. Each serves as a focal point to push for market reforms and adoption of democratic practices. For example, sound corporate governance requires a framework of market institutions as well as sound business practices based on democratic principles. Similarly, ensuring that women and entrepreneurs of modest means have access to the business system as participants and leaders helps to ensure that an open market economy exists for all firms, not just a favored few.

Since President Ronald Reagan was the inspiration for much of the work that has been done by the National Endowment for Democracy and CIPE, it is appropriate to close with a quote from his speech to the members of the British Parliament at Westminster:

We who live in free market societies believe that growth, prosperity and ultimately human fulfillment are created from the bottom up, not from the government down. Only when the human spirit is allowed to invent and create, only when individuals are given a personal stake in deciding economic policies and benefiting from their success—only then

can societies remain economically alive, dynamic, progressive, and free. Trust the people. This is the one irrefutable lesson of the entire postwar period . . .

The work of building democratic governance in cooperation with the people of the developing countries and with their organizations is essentially just that, giving them a "personal stake" in participating in making decisions.

## 質疑応答

### Open Discussion

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

民主化を進めるためには法の支配の尊重、透明性、アカウンタビリティ、人権の尊重が重要であるというお話がありました。サリバン氏は民主化は企業にとっても重要である、なぜならば、社会と政治の安定の基盤であり、経済発展もそれがベースになるというお話でした。その反面、ジェンクス氏、ハディズ氏も述べられましたけれども、民主化の促進は確かに大事ですが、民主的な社会への移行期には必ずしも人々の国政への参加が伴わないということです。軍事政権に取って代わった新しいエリート層が台頭して権力を握り、自分たちの利益のために政治を行うことがあるわけです。私は民主主義の基本は、複数のグループが競い合うことにあると思います。日本やアメリカのような先進国においては、対立し、競争するグループが存在します。非民主的な政権から民主的な政権への移行のプロセスにおいて、民主主義がどの程度国民に利益をもたらすものであるのか、現実をふまえた議論をしていきたいと思います。多くの途上国において、国民が食料も十分になく、健康も損ねて貧しい恵まれない環境を強いられています。そうした社会も民主化を進めていかなければなりません。その過程の中で新しいエリート層が台頭し、一般の人たちのために働くのではなく自分たちの利益のために働くという由々しき現状があります。

**ジョン・サリバン(国際民間企業センター専務理事):**

インドネシアについては、まさにそうした状態があったと思います。選挙改革が進められておりますが、改革を本当に行っていけるかどうか疑問です。つまり大体50%か60%ぐらいの国民というのは零細企業に勤めており、改革の過程に参加することができません。大企業の資産の分割というところまで進めてよいのかどうかという問題があります。独裁政権 民主政権 独裁政権というサイクルが続いており、基本的な構造、あるいは意思決定のルールを変えていかなければなりません。透明性を必ず達成するようなルールがなければエリート層の中で資産の循環があるだけです。

**ブルース・ジェンクス(国連開発計画 資金・戦略的パートナーシップ局長):**

民主化と経済発展の関係は複雑で、各国でいろいろな経験があるのではないかと思います。一步前進、二歩後退もあるのではないかと。また飢饉のような問題が起こることもあると思います。しかし、最終的には良い方向に向かうと希望しています。アマルティア・センの民主主義と飢饉の関係に関する議論が示唆的です。民主化はどんなに困難でも、その国の国民によって開始されなければならないプロセスであり、多くの人たちが参加していかなければなりません。過去の例が証明していますが、民主化が貧困撲滅のための一番効果的な対策であることは明らかです。ただし、これも多くの例が示すように、両者が直線的

に改善していくことはありません。

**トゥン・サライ(カンボディア人権・開発協会理事長):**

権威主義的な政権の後、小さなエリート層のグループが台頭して権力を握るのですが、それをもって民主化が達成されたことにはなりません。しかし、ひとつの移行期ではあるわけです。つまり、コミュニティをつくり、連帯感を深めていくというひとつのプロセスがあり、その過程でNGOやその他のグループが役割を演ずることができるのではないかと。人々の間からリーダーが生まれ、公聴会を開催するなど草の根の人々の意見が議会に反映され、あるいは省庁の代表と対話することが可能になります。このようなプロセスを重ねていくことで、人々が権力を握ることができるのではないかと思います。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

民主化への過移においては政治的な空白の発生は許されません。しかし、デマを流すような扇情主義的な者や自分たちに利益を誘導するために人々を利用する者がおり、開発途上国の大きな問題ではないかと思えます。一部のエリートのみが権力を持っており、一般国民のエンパワメントには時間がかかります。こうした中でどのようにして、私たちは民主主義への移行を確実なものにし、本当に人々のためになるような民主主義を実現できるのかということが鍵になると思います。先ほどハディズ氏より、インドネシアでも時間がかかるとの発言がありました。民主的でない政権を打倒するのに、なぜ時間がかかるのでしょうか。

**ベディ・ハディズ(シンガポール国立大学社会学部講師):**

確かに移行期には問題が起こります。ですから、前進もあれば後退もあるのですが、私がこの目で見ただけを申し上げますと、時に間違った勝利気分が民主化の過程には起こるのです。つまり、自由選挙が行われることは良いのですが、選挙が行われたからといって、それで直ちに民主社会が実現するわけではないのです。

第2番目は、貧しい人の利益を民主化のプロセスの中でどのようにして守っていくかです。政治的な空白をつくらないで、どうやってそれを保障するのかについては今のところはっきりとした考えは見えてきておりません。しかし、インドネシアや他の開発途上国だけでなく、良い政策というのはいろいろな人の意見がぶつかり合い、競争し合った中から出てくるものであると思います。つまり、どのような政策であっても、それは権力と権力のぶつかり合いの中から出てくるものであり、競争で勝った者の利益を守るものが政策なのです。貧困層はそこからはじき出されてしまいます。従って、貧しい人も巻き込んでいかなければなりません。そのためには institution-building が必要です。インドネシアの新体制も含め、権威的な政権においては市民社会がきちんと制度化されてこなかったという経緯があります。制度・組織の能力を高めるためには国際的なトレーニングも必要であると思います。

民主国家においては、政治的なエリートをチェックするプロセスがあり、これはとても重要です。議会があったとしても、自分たち自身でいろいろな利権を分け合っている場合もあるわけですから。チェックは外部の組織によって可能になるかもしれません。また、企業にも果たすべき役割があると思います。多国籍企業が進出しグローバルな経済が実現すると、法に則ったルールを求める圧力が生まれてきます。しかし、インドネシアだけでなく南米でも長い間、多国籍企業は全体主義国家の下でも、とてもうまくやってきました。インドネシアでは、例えば破産法の実施に抵抗したのは企業だったという側面もあるわけです。

**藤田 幸久(民主党):**

このシンポジウムは途上国を対象としていますが、日本のような先進諸国においても民主化支援が必要だと読みかえるべきではないかと思います。日本のNGOで様々なアドボカシー活動にかかわっている多くの人たちの関心の焦点は物資の面での支援でした。日本ではアドボカシーにかかわっているNGOは少なく、NEDのように議会とのかかわりがある組織が存在しません。ですから、これまでは物資の面での支援を主体としてきたJICAが今回インドネシアタイプをとっているのをうれしく思います。日本のODAは、ほとんどが現政権に対するものであり、日本政府が民主化に向けて努力している国々の野党とかかわることはありませんでした。廣野先生は、喩えとして富士山を登るのにいろいろな道や方法があるように、民主化にも様々なアプローチがあると言いますが、日本はもう少し積極的な決断をして、はっきりとした政治的意思を打ち出していくべきではないかと思います。

**クリスチャン・モンソッド(元フィリピン選挙管理委員会委員長):**

私たちは、方法についても考えていかなければならないと思います。エリートたちだけが権力を握るというサイクルを壊し、情報技術(IT)を利用するという新しいやり方が必要です。そして、知識ベースの経済に移っていかねばなりません。伝統的な権力の源泉、構造を打ち破っていくことが必要だと思います。ITの時代において、新しい情報を提供し、知識を広めていくことが必要です。教育については、初等教育こそ多くの国で欠けていると思いますが、それだけではなく、コンピュータなどの技術面での教育も必要です。貧しい人たちが新しいエリート層になれるツールが必要なのです。権力ではなく、知識によってつくりあげられた新しいエリート層です。フィリピンではそのための様々な投資が行われております。

**梅内 拓生(東京大学大学院医学系研究科教授):**

民主主義にはたくさんのタイプがあると思います。例えば、古代ギリシャにも民主主義はありました。しかし、古代ギリシャでは奴隷制度のもとに、エリートがいました。一方、ヨーロッパやアメリカから出てきた民主主義は非常に良いものだと思いますが、近代民主主義にもやはり問題があります。長所があると同時に短所もあるのです。どのようなタイプの民主主義を皆さんが念頭においているのかを知りたいと思います。こうした話し合いを続ける上で、その点が大切だと思うからです。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

それは根本的な疑問だと思います。この後のセッションを通して、どのような民主主義が望ましいのかということに対する答えが出てくるだろうと思います。

## Second Session

“Cooperation with NGOs for promotion of free elections:  
Political participation-making democracy work”

Panelist

**Mr. Todung M. Lubis**

Chair, University Network for Free Elections (UNFREL), Indonesia

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**The Role of EMOs  
In  
Free Elections**

**By  
Todung Mulya Lubis**

**Background**

The first general election was held in 1995 under President Soekarno.

The so called "general elections" in 1971, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1992 and 1998 under President Soeharto.

The snap general election in 1999 under President Habibie.

## **General election under Habibie (1999)**

48 political parties participated

free and democratic

closely monitored by election monitoring organizations

(EMOs);

- National : KIPP, UNFREL and Rector Forum
- International : EU, ANFREL and Carter Center

## **Why EMOs Play Important Role in Free Election**

allegation of money politics ;

military support for the ruling party ;

the control of the press ;

the culture of fear ;

the less independence of election commission

## **The Origin of UNFREL**

UNFREL was created in December 1998 during the first National Meeting in Jakarta. UNFREL was the first university-based election-monitoring organization in Indonesia.

UNFREL had the mandate to monitor the 1999 general election from the voters' registration process through the votes-counting process

## **Major Achievement**

UNFREL has recruited, trained and organized at least 105,000 volunteers to monitor the election in 22 provinces in Indonesia.

UNFREL feels that this is a tremendous achievement given the short period of time available for UNFREL to organize its election-monitoring activities.



## Monitoring Voters' Registration

- A total of **11,197** volunteers monitored the voters' registration process.
- Problems in monitoring the voters' registration process :
  1. The Election Commission were late in announcing the places of registration causing significant delay in registering voters and cancellation of monitoring activity.
  2. Monitors were denied access by registration officials or security officers.
  3. In many areas, registration places simply did not exist, forcing volunteers to abandon plans to monitor the process.

## Monitoring Voters' Registration

Result of the monitoring of voters' registration:

1. 76.3% reported that registration officials did not perform well in registering voters.
2. 8.9% reported cases of intimidation against voters during registration.
3. 7.8% reported that no registration officers were available.
4. 3.5% reported that money politics occurred before and after registration.
5. 2% reported that the registration places were out-of-reach.

## Monitoring the Campaign Process

- A total of **26,567** volunteers monitored the campaign process which lasted from May to July 1999.
- The main problem faced by volunteers in monitoring the campaign process is **harassment** against them by security officials, party officials or supporters and by campaign participants in general. In one incident, an UNFREL volunteer was beaten by a party supporter while monitoring the campaign process in Surabaya, East Java.

## Monitoring the Campaign Process

Result of monitoring the campaign process:

1. 82% reported cases of small violations which included traffic violations, parading with motor vehicles, bringing children and etc.
2. Ideological violations occurred in 7.9% of cases reported. These violations included denigrating other parties or its leaders during campaign speeches.
3. 4.2% of reports described the occurrence of intimidation
4. Misusing government facilities for campaigning occurred in 2.5% of cases reported.
5. 3.4% reported cases of money politics or bribery.

## Monitoring Election Day

Problems in monitoring election day:

1. Many volunteers were denied access by polling station officials or security officials because they did not acquire the proper identification card issued by the Election Commission. These officials ignored the Commission's radiogram which had allowed observers to use their organization's identification card.
2. Many observers did not have a good understanding of the checklist form and were therefore unable to complete the form as expected. As a result, there were many errors, inconsistencies and loss information in their reports.

## Monitoring Election Day

Problems in monitoring election day:

3. There were many violations or problems that were not included in the checklist which made it difficult for observers to record it.
4. The requirement to send the checklist form rapidly to Jakarta caused many lost information or incomplete forms
5. In some areas, the voting process and the ensuing votes-count took longer time than expected, preventing the checklist to be completed as soon as possible and causing observer to spend more time and resources to complete their report.

## Monitoring Election Day

Problems in monitoring election day:

6. Technical problems such as poor facsimile quality in the provinces caused many forms to be not legible. Logistical problems also prevented kecamatan coordinators to send the forms in a rapid manner to the National Secretariat.
7. Many volunteers had to withdraw from monitoring election day because of logistical problems, especially in geographically-difficult provinces. For example, in some areas, adequate funds were not available to transport them to the polling station ahead of election day.

## Monitoring Election Day

No	Provincial Office	Recruited volunteers	Volunteers Deployed	%
1	Aceh	2,339	1,330	57
2	North Sumatra	8,836	4,414	50
3	West Sumatra	6,350	8,522	134
4	Riau	3,948	6,778	172
5	Jambi	4,715	2,888	61
6	South Sumatra	3,876	1,314	34
7	Lampung	2,004	1,114	56
8	Greater Jakarta	9,898	6,938	70
9	West Java	8,298	4,438	53
10	Central Java	5,949	4,306	72
11	Yogyakarta	1,904	896	47
12	East Java	11,790	6,910	59
13	Bali	1,629	784	48
14	West Nusatenggara	2,601	1,876	72
15	West Kalimantan	3,609	3,506	97
16	Central Kalimantan	845	810	96
17	South Kalimantan	5,527	2,900	52
18	North Sulawesi	3,215	2,234	69
19	Central Sulawesi	2,820	2,876	102
20	South Sulawesi	9,957	12,458	125
21	Southeast Sulawesi	4,319	3,992	92
22	Irian Jaya	1,320	886	67
	TOTAL	105,749	82,170	78

## Financing Monitoring Activities

UNFREL received funding from several donors to finance its election-monitoring activities:

DONOR	FUNDS RECEIVED	UNSPENT FUNDS
UNDP	Rp. 26,374,597,490	Rp. 3,443,217,468
USAID	Rp. 4,493,175,200	Rp. 3,193,900,528
Swedish Embassy	Rp. 121,415,389	Rp. 44,795,864

UNFREL has returned a sum of **Rp. 2,839,125,916** of unspent funds to USAID. UNFREL will return the balance of unspent funds to UNDP and Swedish Embassy before September 30, 1999.

## Relation with the Election Commission

- Delays in announcing its decisions and regulations often prevented EMOs, including UNFREL from working effectively. Example : delays in announcing polling station locations
- The Commissions often issued regulations that prevented EMOs from working effectively such as the accreditation requirements.
- At the end of the counting process, some commission members who belonged to Team 11 tried to use reports of election violation from EMOs to justify their decision of rejecting the election result. This has caused UNFREL to refrain from submitting its reports.

## **Relation with Political Parties**

- At the beginning, political parties appeared to be supportive of UNFREL's monitoring activities. However, political parties were mostly hostile to UNFREL's reports of violations performed by these parties. UNFREL's volunteers were also subjected to harassments by party officials and supporters while monitoring the campaign process.
- One example is the action taken by Partai Daulat Rakyat (PDR) which decided to file a lawsuit against UNFREL in South Kalimantan after the latter filed a report that the party has engaged in money politics during the campaign period.

## **Relations with the Military**

- UNFREL's relation with the military deteriorated sharply after six UNFREL volunteers in Aceh were harassed and beaten by military officers on May 29, 1999. The volunteers were caught in a sweeping operation after a short-out between the military and the pro-independence guerrilla. UNFREL has written a letter to General Wiranto, demanding an investigation into this matter. However, to date there has not been any response to the letter.

## Relation with the Media

- The media has generally been supportive of UNFREL by reporting on UNFREL's activities and findings.
- However, relation with the media was at its lowest when the media chose to attack EMOs for the huge amount of money they received from foreign donors. On-going reports on this issue has significantly marred the reputation of UNFREL and other EMOs.

## Conclusion

EMOs should broaden its role

in monitoring elections throughout the country ;

in organizing voters education ;

in building public opinion to support democratic election ;

in documenting and publishing the complete result of election.

Panelist

**Mr. Peter M. Manikas**

Regional Director of Asia Programs, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), USA

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**Introduction**

Elections are only one element of a democracy, but they are a critical element. In the older democracies, elections were the final step in a lengthy democratization process. Elections came after other aspects of democratization, such as the establishment of freedom of expression and assembly, had already occurred. This has not been the case with the democracies that have emerged during the past two decades. For them, "transition" or "founding" elections— were the first step; and, in many countries such elections are held before the basic institutions of the modern state and the rule of law have been established.

Domestic election monitoring groups frequently perform a critical role in transition elections. Often, in these situations the public's only experience has been with fraudulent elections and autocratic rule. The mere presence of domestic monitors helps to reassure a skeptical citizenry that their votes will, in fact, help to shape their nation's future.

**Early Monitoring Efforts**

Many countries have long permitted political party observers, or agents to observe the electoral process at the polling stations. Their role is principally to discourage misconduct and to protect the rights of the party or candidate that they represent.

The role of NGO's as observers or monitors of the electoral process is a more recent phenomenon. Their role in "founding elections", as well as in the elections that follow until democracy has been consolidated, has been critical in ensuring the integrity of the electoral process. Perhaps the first example of a large-scale domestic election observer effort occurred in the Philippines. The National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) was established in 1983, following the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aguino. NAMFREL fielded more than 200,000 poll watchers in the 1984 legislative elections and 500,000 in the 1986 presidential elections. NAMFREL's role in the 1986 elections was instrumental in persuading Filipinos and the international community that Corazon Aquino had won the election.

Other early domestic election monitoring efforts occurred in the Chilean plebiscite in 1988 and in Panama in 1989. In both instances domestic election monitoring played a key role in the eventual transitions to democracy in those countries.

**Domestic Election Eastern and Central Observer Groups in Europe, Africa And Asia**

In Europe and in Africa, domestic election monitoring groups emerged as the "third wave" of democratization swept across the globe. In Eastern Europe, domestic election observers have played important roles in several countries including Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, and Romania. In Africa, election-monitoring groups have emerged in Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, South Africa and Zambia, and many other nations as well.

In Asia, election observer groups have been important in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Malaysia, Nepal, Indonesia, South Korea and Thailand. In Asia, as elsewhere, election-monitoring organizations have been established in countries with widely different cultures, religious and political traditions and with differences in levels of socio – economic development.

Regional efforts to support domestic monitoring in Asia have also developed in recent years, such as through the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL).

In addition, domestic monitoring groups and their activities have become involved in efforts to support domestic elections throughout Asia by offering technical advice or sharing their experiences with colleagues elsewhere in the



region.

### **The Purpose of Domestic Elections Monitoring**

There are at least four broad purposes of domestic election monitoring:

1. It increases the transparency of the electoral process and by there enhances the public's confidence in the essential fairness of elections. This is particularly important in countries under going transitions from authoritarian rule and where new institutions of governance, such as election commissions, are untested.
2. It helps to decrease election – related fraud and misconduct, and in some instances election related violence.
3. It increases public participation in the election process-tens of thousand, and sometimes hundred of thousand of citizens may mobilized to observe elections and conduct other election-related activities.
4. If an election is found to be essentially fair by domestic election monitors, the likelihood that the loser will accept the results is increased; if large scale abuses, are disclosed, the revelations could help mobilize international and domestic support for reform.

### **What Observer Groups Do**

The role that domestic observer groups perform often is not limited to observing the conducting of the polls on Election Day. Many observer groups engage in civic and voter education efforts well prior election day. These activities help to inform potential voters about the election itself and provides information about the parties' manifestos. During the pre-election period, election monitoring organizations also review, and often attempt to reform, election laws and regulations, monitor voter registration, report on election related violence and intimidation, assess the fairness of media coverage and monitor compliance with campaign expenditure laws.

On Election Day domestic observers are present at the polling stations and later they observe the counting and tabulation of the ballots. During the post election period they report on the adjudication of post-election dispute, particularly its fairness and timeliness.

In short domestic election observers groups (like many international delegations) are increasingly viewing elections as a *process* not an *event*. The essential fairness of an election is not just what occurs on election day; an assessment of an election entails an examination of each stage of the process, from voter registration to the certification of candidate to the casting and counting of ballots and the processing of election complaints.

### **Methodology**

Observer groups vary in how they perform their tasks, but generally most observer groups:

1. Do not interfere in the electoral process. On Election Day, they are confined to observing and reporting; if misconduct is observed, it may be reported to election or law enforcement officials, but the observers does not intervene;
2. Act in impartial and independent manner; they do not in any manner act in a way that demonstrates a bias in favor of, or in oppositions to, any party or candidate;
3. Make a report on their findings and issue it publicly after the election has occurred; sometimes a series of reports are issued; for instance, after the balloting has occurred; after the count and after the seating of the newly elected officials has taken place.

### **Relationship with International Observers**

In some instances, domestic election observers have worked closely with international observers by briefing them when they arrive; sharing experiences and findings during the course of the observation; and de-briefing with international delegates after the observations have occurred, but before a statement has been issued. Often, international observers draw on the data gathered by domestic group, which have more comprehensive national networks and access to information at the regional and local levels.

Generally international observing should be viewed as supplementing the work of domestic observers. Domestic

Observations have several important advantages over international observation. For instance, domestic observers are more familiar with the country and its political environment, they are in a better position to observe the electoral process on a long-term basis and they can follow up on their findings by pressing for needed reforms. Domestic groups can also involve large numbers of citizens in the election process in ways on which international groups cannot. International observers, on the other hand, are often better situated to inform the international community about the development in the electoral process, and mobilize the international support for domestic actors if necessary.

### **The Role of the International Community in Funding and Co-ordination**

The international community can play a central role in supporting the work of domestic monitoring groups. Frequently, international donor support is essential because domestic sources of support are non-existent or politically inadvisable.

International donors should keep in mind that they can have the greatest impact if they get involved early in the process. It often takes several months, sometimes even one year, to organize a monitoring effort that will involve hundreds of thousand of citizens. Donors should also support the full range of activities that monitoring groups will be engaged in; from reform of the election laws to voter education, observing the negotiation process, and observing voting and the counting of ballots.

There are several important considerations that emerge in decisions on funding election observer groups. For instance, should funding be directed toward individual NGO's, or should it go to coalitions or "umbrella groups" or to both? Such decisions could affect the incentives individual NGO's have for cooperating with other groups.

Donors can perform an important role in helping to coordinate the work of monitoring groups and the activities of other funders. International donors should operate a transparent manner so that each donor is aware of what the others are doing. Donors can also assist NGO's in coordinating their election-related efforts to help ensure that the NGO's are not unnecessarily duplicating each others work. Some redundancy, however, is not always undesirable, and attempts to coordinate should not be overly restrictive.

In conclusion, domestic election observing is increasingly playing a critical role in the democratization process. It helps to ensure the integrity of the electoral process and enhance the public's confidence. It has important by-products as well. Election monitoring encourages and period a vehicle for public participation, and it helps to develop civic and political leadership. Domestic monitoring groups often transform themselves in the post-election period, and go on to undertake other civic activities, such as promoting civic education and working to enhance the transparency and accountability of government institutions.

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Panelist

**Ms. Atsuko Miwa**

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**Promoting Engendered Democracy**

Nearly three decades of efforts by international agencies and NGOs toward integrating women in the development process have made us realize that, without participation at all levels of the decision-making process, improvement of women's conditions – whether through collective sericulture or fish processing – will never be sustainable. This is because the basis of such betterment might be overturned one day due to a policy change that takes place outside of the sphere of women's involvement. A critical issue is whether women participate at the highest decision-making level as well as at the grass-roots level, and this constitutes an important process leading to their empowerment.

The same could be said of the democratization process and establishment of democratic institutions. It is essential that women, who form half of constituents, be involved in all related decision-making processes. In the case of democratization through a free and popular election, this specifically entails:

- a) Participation as voters to select representatives who listen to their voices and concerns, and
- b) Participation as representatives in assemblies to formulate legislation and policies that take into consideration women's, as well as men's, interests.

Complementary to these activities, it is also vital that women organize themselves to articulate their needs and concerns, and move to be legislators and public officials. To be effective in this, strengthening of women's leadership capabilities, as well as their planning and negotiation skills, are crucial.

Ensuring women's equitable integration in democratization in such a way is, first of all, a matter of achieving a just and fair democracy. It has also been argued that this process could bring about transformation in terms of both political agenda and approach, as seen in Nordic and other countries. In Brazil, such a process gave visibility to issues that had been considered non-existent or unimportant and brought issues such as domestic violence to the political agenda.<sup>1</sup>

However, even though involvement in political processes is increasingly perceived as one of the most important fields where women need to be integrated to fully participate in development, it remains an area which is overwhelmingly dominated by men. No country enjoys an equal political representation of women and men, and women on the average comprise only 13.9% of national parliaments worldwide as of September 2000.<sup>2</sup> Women are still largely invisible and their voices and concerns are rarely reflected in political decisions, which consequently hampers their empowerment in various fields.

This recognition, which coincides with a movement toward democratization and political transition witnessed in various parts of the world in the 1990s, led international agencies like UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women) to actively support women's full integration in the democratization and transition processes as a critical area of intervention. In most cases, local NGOs act as vehicles for such intervention with their hands-on experience and expertise in promoting participatory civic involvement in development.

One of UNIFEM's most important acts to support women's integration in democracy started in Cambodia when that country finally embarked on reconstruction after the Peace Accord of 1991. Prior to the general election of May 1993, UNIFEM supported Khemara, the first women's NGO in Cambodia, in its efforts toward women's full participation in the electoral process. During the pre-election period, a series of training courses was conducted for NGOs on gender

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<sup>1</sup> Jahan, Rounaq, "The Practice of Transformative Politics", in G.P. Sugang, (ed.), *Transforming Politics: Women's Experiences from the Asia-Pacific Region*, Center for Asia-Pacific Women in Politics, Manila, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women in National Parliaments*, 2000.

and ways to advocate women's interests in the electoral process, and the situation of Cambodian women was publicized through radio and a fact sheet, which posed the following questions:

Did you know that women in Cambodia:

- a) account for 60 percent of the total adult population over the age of 25?
- b) head 30 percent of all households?
- c) are 60% of the agricultural workforce?<sup>3</sup>

The campaign made women aware of their significant presence and contributions to the country's development and encouraged them to actively participate in the country's reconstruction and democratization processes.

Pre-electoral efforts to promote a gender-responsive electoral process culminated in a Women's Summit in Phnom Penh in March 1993, where more than 100 Cambodian women of various backgrounds gathered to identify the most critical issues for women that should be addressed in the election. The summit adopted a women's agenda that was subsequently submitted to political parties. Women then shared the outcome of the summit with other women of their districts in order to mobilize them. These interventions were instrumental in achieving the population's vigorous commitment to the election. Voter registration among the eligible population was reported as high as 96%,<sup>4</sup> and 90% of the registered voters actually cast their votes at the polling stations.<sup>5</sup>

Efforts continued after the election and women worked together to incorporate gender-responsive clauses in the new constitution. Through their participation in a UNTAC-organized workshop and lobbying of newly-elected assembly members, their opinions were put into the draft. These efforts successfully led to the new constitution which includes gender-sensitive articles, such as abolishment of all forms of discrimination against women, equal pay for equal work, and maternity leave with full pay. Khemara made further moves to strengthen the planning skills of key government ministries so that they may effectively formulate and implement gender-responsive policies. The Cambodian case is an example of intervention for women's integration in an election that developed into a broader range of activities for gender-responsive democratization, such as legal reform and development planning.

The experience and lessons learned in Cambodia led UNIFEM to assist the electoral processes in Brazil in 1993 and Fiji in 1998 through local women's groups. In Fiji's case, the percentage of women in parliament rose from 3% in 1994 to 11.3% in the 1998 election.<sup>6</sup> The lessons gained through assistance for women's active participation in elections are now being utilized in East Timor, where a popular election is scheduled in August 2001. Assistance is being planned to encourage women candidates to run for election and effectively conduct a campaign, as well as to increase women's awareness and promote their active participation as voters, through training of potential candidates and education for voters.

It is important to note that it might take some time before visible results and effective assistance toward women's participation in democracy are attained, especially when measured quantitatively, although we have some examples of remarkable progress as seen in the case of Fiji. We must keep in mind that this sort of intervention may not produce an output overnight, particularly because it involves change of awareness on the part of men as well as women. In Pakistan, when the first universal election in tribal areas was implemented in 1996, men's resistance to women's voter registration in their own names was so fierce that Aurat Foundation, a local women's NGO, had to call national and international media attention to the matter while requesting administrative support, including dispatch of guards to protect women who were registering.<sup>7</sup> In such cases, enduring strategies to convince men, as well as women, of the importance of women's participation in elections will be needed prior to women's active involvement in the electoral process.

As Senator Benedita da Silva of Brazil states, "Democracy is a matter of daily construction".<sup>8</sup> It can be achieved

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<sup>3</sup> UNIFEM, *Annual Report 1993*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> UNIFEM East and Southeast Asia, *Gender Issues in the 1993 Cambodian Election*, 1997.

<sup>6</sup> UNIFEM, *Annual Report 1998*.

<sup>7</sup> Aurat Foundation, *Aurat Quarterly Newsletter*, No.22.

<sup>8</sup> Brasileiro, A.M. (ed.), *Building Democracy with Women*, UNIFEM, 1996.

in a just and equitable manner only when women, who constitute half of the population, as well as other marginalized social groups participate in all the levels of decision-making that subsequently shapes their lives. UNDP's Human Development Report 1995 declares, "Human development, if not engendered, is endangered".<sup>9</sup> Democracy will be endangered also, if it is not engendered. Engendered democracy, which accommodates both difference and equality, will definitely be a key for creation of a civil society in the twenty-first century.

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<sup>9</sup> UNDP, *Human Development Report 1995*, Oxford University Press, 1995.

Panelist

## **Mr. Bengt Säve-Söderbergh**

Secretary-General, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance  
(International IDEA), Sweden

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### **Beyond elections: Lessons of a decade of democracy assistance and future prospects.<sup>1</sup>**

I would first like to congratulate you for organizing this important symposium at a very crucial moment. Great contributions made by Japanese overseas development assistance in various corners of the world are highly appreciated at the international level. The recent establishment of the Human Security Trust Fund at the initiative of Japan, for instance, demonstrates the importance that Japan places on the issue of *security of people* in addition to security of states. In this regard, the greater attention paid in the area of supporting and strengthening democratic institutions in Japanese development co-operation is also a most welcoming development. In my paper, I will try to describe how democracy and democratic institutions are crucial for peace and human security, and how partnership between governments, international organizations and NGOs are important in supporting democratization around the world.

#### **The Era of Elections**

In this last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century we have seen some remarkable developments. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the idea of one-party rule we saw an enormous wave of efforts towards transition to democracy. This last decade was a decade of elections. Measured in terms of the numbers of competitive elections for parliaments and for presidencies, our own compendium of statistics show the following: In the 1980s there were all in all 291 such elections. In the 1990s the global figure more than doubled to achieve a total number of 603. The differences between these two decades become even more striking when you look at specific regions. In Africa a total number of 29 competitive elections for presidencies and parliament were registered in the 1980s, whereas the figure for the 1990s was 160. In central and eastern Europe and the CIS (the rest of the former Soviet empire) only one competitive election took place in the 1980s as compared to 113 a decade later.

More remarkable is the recognition of democracy as the only feasible model of governance. Democracy is becoming a universal value. Today there is no general acceptance of the idea of the one-party state, even though it is still practiced in many countries. More states than ever before are democratic or have shown some commitment towards democratic processes. An important window of opportunity was opened, and the question is how we all are using this opportunity and what we can do to further the case for democracy in this new decade. The enemies of democracy at this time are not ideological.

#### **Conflicting trends**

At the same time we are witnessing some considerable doubts and concerns about how democracy functions in established democracies, how institutions of democracy may be affected in this world of globalization, and stronger inter-dependence. We see a gradual decrease in voter turnout in most parts of the world. A striking example is the USA, which ranks 139<sup>th</sup> in global statistics. We are also facing a crisis for political parties with rapidly decreasing membership all around the world. On the other hand, we see increasing numbers of people taking part in one-issue causes and organizations. These organizations have grown fast and today many of them operate at the international level. But political parties have a crucial role in representing the whole agenda and are thereby able to negotiate agreements and compromises. That role is fundamental and cannot be replaced by other organizations. Participation in general has been on the increase, however, this is not seen in some of traditional institutions of democracy. The waning interest in

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<sup>1</sup> Paper prepared on the basis of a speech given at the Danish Foreign Policy Society in Copenhagen, 9 November 2000.

participation in traditional institutions of democracy in the democratic world contrasts with the increasing demand for democracy in the countries transitioning from dictatorships or conflicts. Whereas political party membership is becoming more rare and voter turnout lower in first – world democracy, new democracies and countries in transition often embrace enthusiastically the right to vote and to be able to speak freely.

### **The challenge of transition**

What we see is two conflicting trends. In this paper, however, I want to focus on the specific problems facing countries seeking a transition from authoritarian government, dictatorship and one party rule towards democracy.

What is the case for democracy? Will we see a world of democracies in our lifetime or is there a risk of a major backlash? A simplistic notion was common some years ago that once you had carried out multi-party elections you would have democracy. Now we all know better. Is it now possible to mobilize a similar enthusiasm for democracy, a goal that cannot be reached on one specific day, but has to be nurtured and promoted for a long time over and over again.

Some ten years ago almost all of the Latin American countries had regained the right to vote in elections and many observers thought that the continent was safe for democracy. What we see today in Peru, Venezuela, Colombia and some other countries are illustrations that democracy is much more than elections, however free and fair. Are the developments in these countries exceptions or will they become a pattern?

In Africa, the CIS and some other parts of the world we also see a mixed pattern. There are countries where the introduction of multi-party elections seems to lead the way to further democratization. There are others, however, where those in power have learnt how to rig and manipulate not only the elections but also the whole set of institutions designed to serve democracy. The case of Zimbabwe is certainly one example, where an old president breaks most principles of the rule of law in order to cling to power and risk the future of his country, thereby causing damage to the whole region. All these cases certainly remind us that democracy ultimately is about values and culture as well as power. It is not an issue of methods alone.

So we are learning lessons. But before going into some specific issues related to this process, I want to touch on the fundamental question of why we should bother with democracy and how it is practiced or not practiced in countries beyond our own borders. I would like to do that under four headings:

- 1. Values**
- 2. The search for peace within countries**
- 3. Democratic peace between nations**
- 4. The promotion of development**

#### ***1. Values***

The traditional concept of democracy, and hence of democracy promotion, is based on a common set of shared values that constitute basic human rights and confer basic human dignities. These include the right for all people to have their say on issues of concern to them, to mobilize politically, to speak freely, and to be treated with dignity and respect. These are not values that are specific to one culture or another – they are universal values, reflecting basic human needs and human aspirations.

I have never accepted the arguments that some cultures – in Asia, for example – have a different set of values that includes a yearning for authoritarian rule and submission, and I don't think you will find too many Asians who do either. Don't forget, for instance, Amartya Sen's insightful statement that democracy *is* indeed a very old, traditional value in many parts of Asia, not least in his country India. Nonetheless, prior to the Asian economic crisis, the so-called 'Asian values' debate was used to argue, either directly or by implication, almost exactly this case.

While I believe the 'Asian values' debate was essentially spurious, it did reflect a very real concern that some societies were being force-fed 'Western' democratic values from the outside, rather than developing them in response to their own political culture. This enabled some unscrupulous politicians to manipulate the debate to argue that democracy is a value promoted by outsiders, and is therefore unsuited or alien to Asian cultures. We don't hear this argument much

these days, and I don't think it will return in the short run, but it does indicate the dangers of democracy being perceived as some kind of Western-values imperialism, rather than a genuine and universal human need.

That is why it is so important to give more prominence to the under-appreciated instrumental benefits of democracy—that is, the concrete benefits that democratic governance has been shown to bring in other key areas. In particular, there are two areas that research has shown have a clear link with democratic government.

## **2. *Peaceful management of conflicts within countries***

Let me turn to the first issue – the peaceful management of conflicts. As you know, most of today's violent conflicts are not the wars between contending states of former years, but take place within existing states. In fact, of the 101 armed conflicts that occurred during 1989-1996, only six were traditional inter-state conflicts. The remaining 95 took place within existing states. Only 1999 bucked this trend, as only 2 of 27 armed conflicts were internal. The majority of these were inextricably bound with the concepts of identity, nation and nationalism, whether we are talking about South Africa, Bosnia, Northern Ireland, Kosovo or Guatemala.

There are two reasons why democracy is particularly crucial in such situations. The first concerns the search for security and stability in societies divided along ethnic, religious or linguistic lines. Around the world, authoritarian rule is very often a cloak for ethnic domination by one group over others, as we have seen with Milosevic in Serbia; the apartheid regime in South Africa; the ruling junta in Burma; and elsewhere. Authoritarian or totalitarian systems simply do not have the institutions by which complex cultural differences can be peacefully expressed and resolved. They generally try to deal with such conflicts by ignoring or denying them; by suppressing them; or by attempting to eliminate them. While some conflicts can indeed be controlled in this way, albeit usually at severe cost, most deep-rooted conflicts can not. Authoritarian systems can present an illusion of short-term stability, but are unlikely to be sustainable over the long term.

Under democracy, by contrast, disputes arise, are processed, debated and reacted to, rather than being resolved definitively and permanently. All outcomes are temporary, as the loser today may be the winner tomorrow. Unlike other systems, democratic government permits grievances to be expressed openly and responded to. In short, democracy operates as a *conflict management system*. It is this ability to handle conflicts without having to suppress them or be engulfed by them which distinguishes democratic government from its major alternatives. This does not mean that democracy is perfect or that democratic governance will itself lead to peaceful outcomes. For example, premature elections which function more as an exit strategy for international involvement than as a free and fair contest for power are a recurrent problem. But while democracy is often messy, incremental, and difficult, it is also by far the best hope of building sustainable settlements to most of the conflicts being fought around the world today.

In this last decade we have seen the beginning of an understanding of democracy as a means for peaceful conflict management in societies that have suffered from deep rooted conflicts. Elections have become one part of international peace – making efforts in countries such as Cambodia, Mozambique and Bosnia. There are also some dramatic cases where premature elections have led to violent conflict instead of democracy. A major challenge remains, however, to create an understanding that elections cannot and should not be the exit strategy in a peace process but rather the beginning of a democratic process.

## **3. *Democratic peace between nations***

Things bring me to the third incremental benefit of democracy: the so-called 'democratic peace' proposition. Simply put, this proposition derives from the empirical fact that democratic countries, while not inherently pacific, are extremely unlikely to go to war with each other. In fact, according to some analyses, there are no recorded examples in the last 200 years of two democracies waging outright war upon each other. This is an extraordinary relationship given the bloody nature of the last century and the increasingly large number of democracies that now exist around the world. Despite this, it is almost impossible to find a clear case of international war between two genuine democracies, whether we are talking about the older established democracies of the West or the vigorous new democracies of the developing world. Authoritarian regimes fight with other authoritarian regimes, and democracies fight with authoritarian regimes,



but democracies simply do not go to war with each other.

Why are democracies extremely unlikely to fight each other? As Bruce Russett has argued, there are a number of explanations, but nearly all come down to the fact that democracies, by their nature, are built upon routines of discussion, debate and compromise. Just as democracy operates as a conflict management mechanism for domestic disputes that allows such disputes to be resolved peacefully, democracies tend to approach conflicts in a similar manner on the international scene. They have an in-built bias towards the need for public debate and public support for rulers' actions, because democracy, by its nature, reflects and respects the beliefs of ordinary citizens. As we all know, it is ordinary citizens, not the elite, who always suffer most in any conflict. While wars tend to be initiated by the rulers, it is usually the voiceless masses who have to do the actual fighting. When the masses have a voice, and a vote, they tend to avoid voting themselves into the role of cannon fodder.

In terms of both domestic and international conflict, then, there is a clear link between democratic practices and peace. This does not mean that all democracies will always be peaceful, or that every conflict can be negotiated. It does, however, mean that those of us in the international community who are genuinely interested in building a peaceful world need to think seriously about the role of promoting democracy as a key agent of stability and security. Clearly, the growing number of democracies around the world should mean a more peaceful world for all of us. Democracy should be recognized as the first resort in managing conflict in societies.

#### **4. *Democracy, poverty and development***

What about democracy and development, a theme very eloquently elaborated upon in the Partnership 2000 strategy? On this issue let me add this contribution by a famous Indian scholar. One of the most striking arguments, forcefully articulated by Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen, concerns the connection between democracy and development, and particularly the relationship between democracy and the occurrence of famines. Sen's work on the relationship between democracy and development has led to many fascinating discoveries, but this is one of the most powerful: democracies, even in very poor countries, do not experience famines. The food shortages that were a common crisis in pre-independence India under British rule, for example, disappeared with the arrival of genuine democracy, even though the overall supply of food did not change. India went from a country which routinely experienced debilitating famines to one in which famines do not occur. Why? Because of freedom of the press and accountability of political actors to the people under democratic rule. The advent of democracy meant that information about food shortages was publicized, and hence that governments could react swiftly to these shortages or suffer retribution from the voters.

Similarly, the worst famines experienced in the world today are in the most authoritarian countries – Sudan, North Korea – where basic freedoms are absent, the press is muzzled or non-existent, and where there is no accountability of governments to the population. In short, famines are the result of political failures, not of agricultural ones. This finding challenges our traditional mentality that the way to ease or avert such terrible events is to focus on food supply and distribution. While these are naturally crucial short-term responses, the longer-term response should be to promote meaningful political change. As Amartya Sen himself has observed, democracy is not just a luxury for affluent societies, as some development economists used to believe. On the contrary, it is a matter of life and death, and its influence in poorer countries is particularly powerful. This turns the old thinking on its head: far from being the preserve of the developed world, democracy needs to be seen as a precondition for sustainable development in even the poorest parts of the world. The linkage between poverty and democracy must be at the centre of our analysis, just as it has been elaborated in the Partnership 2000 strategy. Political participation is key to a strategy to fight poverty. A democracy singularly focussed on institutions, rules and procedures and unable to produce justice and tangible results will have great difficulties.

Let me now turn to some more specific issues related to what we have learnt and how we can change our focus ahead. Here I will present nine different lessons and prospects.

#### **Lessons learnt and future prospects**

1. The first lesson is simply to repeat that, in a historical context, we have seen some remarkable **progress** in a

short time. We have seen a universal breakthrough of the ideas of democracy and human rights. We have seen great progress in transparency and opening up of many societies for open and free dialogue that were previously closed. Modern information technology has also facilitated this achievement. We have seen willingness on the part of many institutions to provide electoral assistance and election observers, and several governments as well as international organizations are discussing and adopting visions and strategies for human rights and democracy.

2. Having said this I would like to move on with a quote from an article written by two of the most renowned international experts in the field of democracy and elections, Professors Jørgen Elklit and Palle Svendsen of Aarhus University. In an article devoted to the relationship between elections and democracy they said the following:

"It is not surprising that politicians and voters in formerly colonised countries or non-democratic countries – as well as individuals, countries, and international organisations that subscribe to democratic principles – take a great interest in elections and referendums. Yet this has contributed to the development of a distorted picture of the process of democratic transition: the poll itself has become the focus of attention, acquiring an importance that has no basis in either democratic theory or practical politics".

At first glance this observation may look very obvious and self-evident, but when we look at how democracy assistance has been practised and how resources have been used, we understand much more the reasons behind the statement by the two Danish professors. Other scholars and commentators have used the words "electocracy" as compared to real democracy to describe this phenomenon. The impression is created that democracy has been achieved when a first round of multi-party elections is carried out. For people who have not had previous experience with democracy, but who have high expectations about what democracy could and should bring about, there is a great danger of a backlash and a tendency to blame failures and shortcomings on democracy as such. This could also, at least in a medium-term perspective, make it more difficult to recreate the will and spirit necessary to fight for democracy in a real sense. I think that today we can see a number of such examples ten years after the first enthusiastic steps toward democracy. We know that democracy has to be approached as a long-term process and that elections are but one event in this process. We know of instant coffee but there is no such thing as instant democracy. What we need more of is a **change of perspective, patience and sustainability.**

3. **International observation missions** have become a regular feature of several international organizations, and substantial resources and energy have been devoted to this kind of activity. These missions have certainly been most useful in most cases, but there are some lessons to learn: most of them have had a short-term character focussed on election day, whereas those who want to rig or undermine the fairness of the electoral process have learnt to play their games much earlier in the electoral process or after the observation missions have left the country. In this connection it was interesting to note the recommendations of the EU observation team in Zimbabwe this year. They proposed that observation be undertaken over a much longer period that extends before and after the elections proper. It will be interesting how the EU will deal with this recommendation. In the case of Zimbabwe, we have certainly witnessed a large number of activities undertaken by President Mugabe, which involve breaking most of the rules and the practises of democracy. The election day, however, was more or less spared of these deeds. The second question is how these missions have been prepared for their tasks, how their objectives have been formulated, and how different missions at the same election have been coordinated. International IDEA had the privilege of organising an international conference two years ago to discuss these lessons at length. All major international organizations were represented. The report from this conference – available at your request – gives a lot of sound recommendations based on lessons learnt.
4. In some parts of the world there is a **common misperception** that democracy is a Western concept. This is unfortunate but it is a reality. It is self-evident that democracy must be owned and defended by the people themselves in each and every country. Democracy consists of a limited number of universal values and principles such as free and fair elections, respect for human rights, the existence of political parties and a free press. The

institutionalisation of these values and principles, however, must be home-grown and adapted to the specific history and culture of each society. You cannot build democratic institutions for people; they must be built with people. This is why democracy assistance must be based on a broad knowledge of the specific society. Local people local and regional organizations must be placed in the forefront and as partners. Another conclusion from this is that one must recognize that democracy assistance can only complement what is being done in the country in question. There are limits to what can be achieved from the outside. But, on the other hand, I am convinced that today the problem is not that too much assistance and cooperation is being offered from the international community. Much more is needed but through different and innovative approaches and methodologies.

5. The next point I will focus on is **political participation**. Voter turnout in elections is one obvious feature of participation, but only one. A vibrant democracy must be based on active participation between elections as well. An active civil society is crucial in this respect. I believe that one of the major threats to democracy in today's world comes from a lack of popular participation. Let me mention three areas that will need more and sustained attention in the future:
  - a) **Gender**: a good start has been made over the last decades but it is just the beginning. In terms of political participation and representation we still see a dominant pattern of "big men". The representation of women in parliaments globally stood at just 13.9% in the year 2000. There is a need to further exchange experiences in order to secure a more balanced representation.
  - b) **Democracy at the local level**. So far most democracy assistance has been focussed on the national level and too little attention has been paid to the local dimension. This part of the world together with a few countries such as India have had very interesting experiences with democracy at the local and regional levels. What I am talking about is not just just a question of decentralisation, it is about empowering people at the local level to discuss and make decisions about things close to their everyday lives. It is at the local level where people learn about democracy – rights and obligations as well as practices and culture.
  - c) The third issue I want to raise under the heading of participation is the role played by **political parties**. Whereas much attention has been given to various organizations, popular movements and what nowadays is called "civil society," the role and function of political parties need more attention. I do not know of any democracy without political parties, but the issue has sometimes been seen as too sensitive to touch from an international assistance perspective. I believe that the role and the function of political parties must be an integral part of the international democracy agenda. We are keen to give support to civil society organizations of different kinds in poor countries, but how should political parties be financed? Today we see at election time a great number of political parties popping up, often based on individuals, but without the resources and the capacity to play the different roles that we associate with political parties in a democracy. Without a proper financial base they may become the instruments of special financial interests, corruption and undemocratic practices rather than an expression of a democratic membership. This is a dilemma we certainly also see in so-called established democracies, but the problems become even more acute in a poor country in the process of transition. A lesson learnt is that this must be discussed more openly and hopefully addressed in a way that balances the principles at stake and the expressed sensitivities, real or perceived. Some individual donor countries have done so, but more has to be done and discussed with, hopefully, a broader recognition of the urgency of the issue.
6. A sixth lesson is that support for **building the institutions of democracy** must be done with a long-term perspective in mind following a process based on dialogue. We have been active in supporting elections, but what is at stake is the sustainability of institutions – financially, professionally and ethically. One such lesson we have learnt at IDEA involves dealing with a network of Electoral Management Bodies around the world. We have seen cases where the first and the second round of elections were to a large extent funded from abroad with technology and methodologies that are difficult to sustain without foreign assistance. Here we face a dilemma. We do not want to see externally funded elections in the long term, so we must find cheaper methods

without compromising democratic principles. Another lesson learnt is that the building of regional and more global networks between these institutions will assist them in their development of integrity and professionalism. As time goes by these electoral management bodies together could develop into very important guardians of democracy.

7. Going beyond building the institutions of democracy, we are facing the most essential and complex challenge of all: how to promote **a real culture of democracy**, of learning to win and to lose with grace, of trust, and of promoting the dialogue necessary to achieve the most essential objective of democracy – namely, the management of conflicts in a peaceful way with due respect for the right of others to have a different opinion. This certainly does not come automatically from institution-building, particularly in countries with a recent history of violent conflict. Some even say it is too difficult as the issue is closely related to the history and culture of each society. This may well be true but we also know that culture and behaviour change. There is no reason to rule out action if we want to see come democracy alive. There are practical tools at hand, and let me mention just one: the choice of **an electoral system**. Looking at a map of Africa you will see that most countries, which were previously under British rule, have adopted the "winner take all" system, whereas those with a French background adopted systems inspired by French experiences. I am quite sure that these choices were not made after an analysis of the real needs in each country. The reason for my mentioning this is that the design of an electoral system can be used more creatively. That is to say, a country in transition towards democracy in Africa after a deep-rooted conflict will most probably see an abundance of parties and interests facing each other in the contest for power. A winner-take-all system may reinforce the idea that an opposing group is more or less similar to an enemy, whereas a proportional electoral system will force parties to talk to each other and find compromises, thereby strengthening inclusivity.

In our development cooperation we must be ready for new and innovative ideas on how to address the issue of culture of democracy. At IDEA we have developed a methodology for **assessing the prospects** for democracy in a country, which focusses on the active participation of different organizations, individuals and other interests in that society with a view to promoting dialogue, arrival at a broader consensus on what is at stake for the nation, and agreement on the rules. If you have not agreed on the rules of the game, the contest for opinion and power will not enjoy a level playing ground. Within a short time we will introduce reports on two very important and challenging countries in difficult transition processes based on this methodology, namely Indonesia and Nigeria. This is but one example of how we must continue experimenting and daring to take risks in efforts to support democracy that go beyond elections.

8. Many **international organizations** are addressing democracy and what is sometimes called good governance. Some have concrete programmes and projects, and some are working more specifically at the normative level. They are both important, but today I would just like to say a few words about **the normative dimensions**, which are crucial to the acceptance of more concrete programmes of democracy assistance. As we all know the OSCE, the Council of Europe, as well as the EU have adopted quite far-reaching principles for membership. They have also taken upon themselves to actively promote democracy. This movement began to take present form about ten years ago. Similarly we have noted a radical change of the orientation of the Latin American regional organization, the OAS. Its role in observing the elections in Peru some months ago was very critical because of fraud and deficiencies. In recent years we have also seen the African regional organization OAU beginning to take a similar route. This was noticed in their dealing with the strange events surrounding the elections in Côte d'Ivoire just a few weeks ago. In Asia ASEAN has so far been much more cautious, but some discussion has been started. I mention these trends because I believe they are central to the future prospects of democracy as a universal norm. With its global membership, it will take time for the UN to be able to address democracy in a serious way. It is inspiring, however, to hear Secretary-General Kofi Annan addressing issues of democracy much more frequently than just a few years ago. In this connection I welcome the recent report by the Secretary-General entitled "Support to the UN System of the Efforts of Governments to Promote and Consolidate New and Restored Democracies". I am pleased to say that this report, which is to be discussed at

a special UN conference next month, quoted many of the recommendations IDEA presented to him a few months ago in a discussion paper called “Democracy and Global Cooperation at the UN”.

I believe a countries such as Japan, with its long tradition of supporting peace, have a very important role to play in these multilateral fora. The initiative of Japan to establish a Human Security Fund is deeply appreciated around the world. The focus on human security is very much in line with new thinking emerging in the international community. That democracy is essential for human security is a lesson I believe we have all learnt.

9. To end up this long list of lessons learnt from a decade of democracy assistance, I would just like to repeat the obvious: This is a new area for international cooperation and we are still in the beginning of **a long learning curve**. In this connection I would like to mention the challenges of the information revolution and how this will impact on democracy. Related to this is global and regional governance and its implications on democracy at the national level, an issue at stake in your recent referendum. We will need more consideration and analysis, we will need to sharpen our instruments, and we will need to be convinced that if we want to see real results we must have a long-term perspective. We must have patience but also dare to try new approaches.

## 質疑応答

### Open Discussion

**クリスチャン・モンソッド(元フィリピン選挙管理委員会委員長):**

選挙監視活動は非常に難しいプロセスです。選挙においては次のようなジレンマがあります。選挙管理委員会は、選挙を安全に実施するために、魅力のない候補を支持しているように見えるのです。逆に、この人には立候補してほしいと思う人が、「汚い」世界に入っていきたいために選挙に出てくれません。そうした問題をどのように解決するのかという課題があると思います。

**ベント・セーヴェ・セーデルベリ(民主主義・選挙支援国際研究所事務総長)**

今のお話は現在世界各国に見られることです。投票しない有権者が増え、政党参加への劇的な減少が見られます。それと同時に劇的に増加しているのは、特定の問題(シングル・イシュー)にかかわっている人たちの数です。全体的な政治への参加というレベルで見れば減っているわけではなく、参加の仕方が変わってきているのです。政党にとっての課題は、今までと違ったやり方をしてみることです。若い人たちが政党の従来活動を受け入れてくれないのです。今の政党は100年前に打ち立てられたシステムに従っています。また、政治家が悪いと言っても、その政治家は私たちが選んでいるのです。個人的なコメントですが、私たちは民主主義の権利ばかり主張しますが、責任という点も考えなければいけないと思います。

**ピーター・マニカス(全米民主研究所 アジア・プログラム地域ディレクター):**

ドナーが政党のキャパシティ・ビルディングを支援する際にもジレンマがあると思います。私たちはNGOの人たちとよく出会いますが、それはやはり政党に不満があるからです。政党は非民主主義的な活動をしていると不満を持っているのです。政党のキャパシティを確立し、自ら変革できるようにしていくことも大切です。

NGOは良い人たちの組織と見られる一方、政党は汚いと考えられがちです。しかしインドネシア、カンボディアなど東南アジア地域においては、文化として、組織として政党はまだ新しい存在です。ですから、すぐに何かが起こることを期待してはいけません。自分たち自身が政党の活動に加わろう、あるいは自分たちでつくろうと始めているところなのです。そういった動きがインドネシアだけでなくあちこちで見られると思います。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

多くの開発途上国では民主主義的な選挙は比較的新しい動きです。ですから、とにかく選ばれたいということで選挙に出る人が多く見られます。その候補者がどんな人なのかを国民が知るのには難しいと思います。アフリカのあるサブ・サハラの子国の議会メンバーから「候補者を事前審査する必要があるかもしれない」と言われたことがあります。ここで重要なのは、事前審査をするならどのような基準を設けるのかということです。政権党が勝手に基準を

決めてしまう危険があります。それにより、一部の候補者が排除されてしまうかもしれません。こういう体験がなかったかどうか、候補者になろうとする人の事前審査が行われている国があるのか、お聞きしたいと思います。

**トゥドゥン・ムリヤ・ルビス(インドネシア自由・公正な選挙のための大学ネットワーク代表):**

スハルト政権下でイデオロギーに関する事前審査がありました。当時は、国是であるパンチャシラという考え方が唯一のイデオロギーであり、これにすべてが従わなければならなかったのです。しかし行政による審査を通して、その人の能力を担保する必要はあるかもしれません。ただ、線を引き出すことが難しい。誰が事前審査をするのかということも問題になります。インドネシアの場合、選挙管理委員会をつくるプロセスもまだ完全には確立されていないのです。

**ピーター・マニカス(全米民主研究所 アジア・プログラム地域ディレクター):**

例えば象牙海岸の状況を見ると、仮に裁判所が事前審査を行うとしても難しい状況です。ある大統領選挙候補者は祖父が祖母がこの国で生まれていないという理由で失格となりました。戸籍など文書による証拠が何も残されていなかったことも問題が起こった原因でした。中立の組織が審査を行うのであればいいかもしれませんが、大変難しいと思います。

**クリスチャン・モンソッド(元フィリピン選挙管理委員会委員長):**

フィリピンの場合、議員任期を制限することを憲法で定めています。しかし、例えば妻や子供たちに一期務めてもらい、その後を自分が継ぐことが行われていますので、この制限もあまり効果がありませんでした。また、一般の人たちによく知られているからということで、有名人が選挙に立つこともあります。これに対し、フィリピン議会では政治広告を可能にする法律をつくり、無名の人たちも自分たちが何者であるかということを有権者に十分に知らせることができるようになりました。真実でない広告が行われるかもしれないという、ほかの国でも見られるような問題が出てくるかもしれない懸念はあります。私たちが取り組もうとしていることは、まず有権者教育です。これは時間がかかるプロセスです。より見識の高い有権者が育てば自然に問題も解決すると思います。

**カピ・チョンキッタウォーン(タイ・ジャーナリスト協会会長):**

タイの新しい憲法では、学位を持った人のみが立候補できるということが規定されています。皆さん驚かれるかもしれませんが、これは97年の憲法起草の段階で草の根レベルから出てきた意見を取り入れたものです。政治に参加する人は、最低限、大学の学位が必要であるという了解があったからです。大学卒業者は汚職に手を染めず、国益に反することもしないという保証はありませんが、

これがひとつの基準となりました。別の例として、タイには全国選挙管理委員会があり、国政レベルの選挙で候補者の経歴などを調査しています。候補者が何かいかわしいビジネスに参与していないかなどです。

学歴の問題は非常に差別的な部分もあると個人的には思います。特に女性の草の根レベルの人たちが政治に参加する上で差別的なものです。例えば農村地域のコミュニティのリーダーで、その地域のことをよく知っている人がいるとしても、選挙に出られない、政治に参加できないことは非常にまずいことです。こうした点は現在の憲法上の問題だと思えますが、いずれ改善されると思えます。

### 三輪 敦子(グローバル・リンク・マネージメント プロジェクト・マネージャー):

フィリピンでの事例をご紹介したいと思います。女性の政治への統合をはかる NGO がありますが、ここではリーダーを自分たちのグループから選んでいます。選択の基準ですが、まず人々の意見を聞く人であること、権威主義的でないやり方で仕事ができる人であること、三つ目に、いろいろな人に参加させる形で仕事を進め、意見を聞き、その人たちの懸念をアジェンダに組み込むというやり方をすることというものです。この三つの要件が女性団体のためのトレーニングコースの中でも強調されており、トレーニングを受けた女性を地方議会、国会に送りこもうとしているわけです。ただ、いったんそうした地位につくと、突然やり方を変える人がいますので、注意しなくてははいけません。

### ベント・セーヴェ・セーデルベリ(民主主義・選挙支援国際研究所事務総長):

候補者がクリーンかどうかということのもうひとつ別の側面なのですが、政党そのものが民主的かどうかという点も争点になります。インドの場合、選挙管理委員長は非常に有力な人物で、前回の総選挙の際、その委員長はすべての政党に対し、自分たちのリーダーが民主的に選ばれたことを文書で証明せよと言ったのです。彼の哲学によれば、各政党は民主主義を構成する一部であるからというのです。民主化に関する著名な政治学者によると、有権者は自立した主権者なのだからそうしたことは選挙管理委員会の仕事ではないと言っています。ある人に投票したいというのは、その人の自由であり、それを制限してはならないのです。

### ミシュリン・ボードリー-ソムシンスキー(カナダ国際開発庁シニア・アドバイザー):

人々は自由に自分たちの好きな候補者に投票すればいいということのようですが、世界には民族グループが紛争を展開している国もあります。多数派が少数派を支配した結果、平等なアクセス、サービス、リソース、民主化プロセスを得られず、常にマイノリティの地位に甘んじなくてはならないこともあります。このように民主化のプロセスに参加できずに周辺に追いやられた人たちもいるわけです。そういう人たちの問題はいかに解決するのでしょうか。特に紛争終結後の国々においては微妙な問題が起こります。例えば性急に選挙を実施すると、東欧でしばしばそういうことがありましたが、選出された人たちは得てして紛争当事者のリーダー的な人たちなので、選挙後もなかなか和解が実現しないのです。

### ベント・セーヴェ・セーデルベリ(民主主義・選挙支援国際研究所事務総長):

長い紛争をやっと終息させた、例えばバルカン半島の国々のような場合、性急に選挙に入ると、政党を結成した人たちが恐怖政治を展開するのです。民族紛争ではなく、お互いの恐怖心を煽る戦いになるわけです。そうならないようにするには、とても難しいのですが、あまり急がないことです。一部の政党には強制的にいろいろなグループから代表を送りこむやり方等手法はいろいろあるのですが、法律でそれを規定するのは難しいと思えます。**ピーター・マニカス(全米民主研究所 アジア・プログラム地域ディレクター):**

紛争後の状況においては、いつまでに選挙をやるといふ条件があるからこそ和平条約に合意するわけです。和平合意に至るために選挙を実施するという側面があり、その結果に基づき民主主義を維持しなければならないわけです。南アフリカの場合は、5年間かかってようやく合意が成立し、憲法ができたので比較的平和裡に問題を解決できたと思えます。

### 梅内 拓生(東京大学大学院医学系研究科教授):

セーデルベリさんに質問ですが、途上国によってはいろいろな選挙の伝統があり、政治レベルも違うと思うのですが。

### ベント・セーヴェ・セーデルベリ(民主主義・選挙支援国際研究所事務総長):

われわれの哲学から言えば、人々に対して比較できるような経験を与えることが重要だと思います。人々はその中から国の状況に合致したものを選択すれば良いのです。大事なのは指示をするのではなく、情報を与えるということです。例えば、私たちのホームページでは、有権者登録や選挙区運営の仕方の事例を紹介し、世界各国の選挙管理委員会が利用しています。

### クリスチャン・モンソッド(元フィリピン選挙管理委員会委員長):

ボードリーさんの懸念に対する解決策として、比例区選挙制度を利用することにより、例えば大体15万票くらいの票が集まればひとつの民族の利益が議会に反映するようになるのではないのでしょうか。少数意見を尊重する上では良い方法でないかと思えます。

### 廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):

自由選挙というのは、とても大きな意味を持っていると思いますが、少し心配もあります。有権者はきちんと情報を与えられていないのではないかと。もちろん選挙システムや、誰が候補者なのかということは知っていると思いますが、票を金で買ったり、選挙に金のかかる伝統があるところもあると思います。仮に自由選挙が行われても、それでは民主主義とは言えません。どのようにして、それを防ぐことができるのでしょうか。

### クリスチャン・モンソッド(元フィリピン選挙管理委員会委員長):

選挙資金をどのように調達するのは、新興政党にとって大きな問題です。政府が選挙資金を少数政党に提供し、それによって伝統的な大政党との差を補正するようにしている例もあります。

**ベント・セーヴェ・セーデルベリ(民主主義・選挙支援国際研究所事務総長):**

伝統的に政治は集会の開催により展開されてきましたが、今はマスメディアを使うことが多くなり、お金がかかるようになりました。メディアを多く使った者が成功するのです。私は政党の選挙資金調達に関してひとつのシステムだけを薦めることはできません。どの国でも選挙資金集めに関してどこまでが合法で、どこからが違法なのかについて議論があり、大きな問題になっています。責任と義務、あるいは権利と責任ということについて学校などでもっと教える必要があると思います。

**トゥダウン・ムリヤ・ルピス(インドネシア自由・公正な選挙のための大学ネットワーク代表):**

今のお話は少なくともインドネシアでは大きな問題です。選挙教育、市民社会の構築、その市民社会が全体のプロセスに参加すること、これが解決策となるのではないかと思います。

**ミシュリン・ボードリー・ソムシンスキー(カナダ国際開発庁シニア・アドバイザー):**

問題を考える上でひとつのファクターがここに現れてきていません。それはIT革命です。G8サミットでもITが強調されました。情報技術の役割が益々大きくなり、インターネットへのアクセスが益々広がるようになっています。先進国だけでなく途上国にも広がっています。先進国における情報革命は、民主主義のプロセスに参加するための新しい方法をつくりだしました。また、政治家に対し圧力も与えています。有権者教育でも、コミュニティの全員に情報を提供することができます。ですから、情報技術を民主化のプロセスを進めるもうひとつの重要な要素として考える必要があると思います。

**クリスチャン・モンソッド(元フィリピン選挙管理委員会委員長):**

フィリピンにおいてはテレビ局、あるいはラジオ局が無料で政見放送の時間を提供するようになっていますが、問題は政府が選挙資金の調達についてどのように考えているかです。

**カピ・チョンキッタウォーン(タイ・ジャーナリスト協会会長):**

タイの場合、次の選挙に37の政党が参加しますが、大政党のほうがお金を持っているので小さな政党は政見放送を行えないこととなります。一方、村のレベルではお金や魚などが賄賂に使われています。おそらく今後100年くらい経ってもこの状況は変わらないのではないかと思います。われわれはそうした買収行為をなくしたいと思っています。

**トゥン・サライ(カンボディア人権・開発協会理事長):**

開発途上国においては選挙で選ばれた政府よりも世銀の影響力のほうが大きい場合があります。選挙で選ばれた政府よりも国際金融機関のほうが力を持っているようなことがあるのです。

**ベント・セーヴェ・セーデルベリ(民主主義・選挙支援国際研究所事務総長):**

今のご指摘はグローバリゼーションにかかわると思います。資本が大きな役割を担うようになってきたということです。例えば、シアトルでのWTO総会で人々が抗議をしている姿が見られましたが、IT革命やグローバリゼーションの一面です。デジタル・ディバイド等のデメリットも含め、次の若い世代の人たちは、こうしたグローバリゼーションの問題にも対処していかななくてはならないと思います。



## Third Session

“Roles of media and trade unions”

Panelist

## **Ms. Micheline Beaudry-Somcynsky**

Senior Advisor, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Canada

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### **1. Introduction**

This presentation will focus on the role that institutions such as free and independent media and trade unions play in the democratization processes. The base for democracy is a strong civil society and democratic institutions with structures for good governance. Civil society in many developing countries is also questioning governance structures that are considered irrelevant and outdated. More ordinary people are pressuring governments to consult with them on policies and decisions on human rights and other matters that affect their lives. In addition, globalization, free trade, mass media and other social and economic pressures are further creating more complex situations around the world. While increasing number of developing countries are moving towards democracy and want to be part of the global process, there is still much that is needed to enhance this process. It is in this context that donor countries, including Canada provide technical and financial support to countries in their efforts to achieve democracy in areas such as free and fair elections, defense for human rights, labour relations, improving legislative, judiciary, and parliament systems, increasing political participation of women and other marginalized groups.

We have seen that even with this support, much is still needed. The recent assassination of the renowned journalist Carlos Cardoso in Mozambique is but one reminder.

Canadian support emphasize human rights, good governance and democratic development. One highlight of the Canadian Foreign Policy is that "the government regards respect for human rights not only as a fundamental value but also a crucial element in the development of stable, democratic and prosperous societies at peace with each other". CIDA and other government institutions such as the International Development and Research Center (IDRC) integrate these values in all their policies, and program priorities. For CIDA these values are identified as:

the **protection and promotion of human rights** by improving the capacity of organizations, institutions and processes;

- improving **democratic institutions and practices** in order to develop and sustain responsible governments;
- empowering **competence of public sector** by promoting effective, honest and accountable exercise of powers by government;
- strengthening **civil society policy role** by increasing popular participation in decision-making in society;
- help to **build political will of governments** in order to respect rights, rule democratically and govern effectively.

### **2. CIDA's Canadian Partnership Branch Contribution to Democratic processes**

Canadian Initiatives focus on capacity building of a variety of institutions engaged in democratic processes, particularly through the Canadian non-for-profit sectors. In addition, declining local government support for development programs and weak governments in many parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America have resulted in increased involvement of non-governmental organizations, and civil society bodies to fill this gap.

In many situations NGOs mobilize and organize marginalized and poor people, so that they can participate equally in the development process of their communities and countries. NGOs also use media such as television, print, news papers and to lesser extent the internet to promote democratic processes .

Equally, trade unions from donor countries and their significant partners in the South also play important role in these processes. They address key issues of labour, labour regulations, wages and employment.

In this context, Canadian Partnership Branch (CPB) administers CIDA's relationships with a wide range of Canadian and International organizations engaged in international development activities and maintains relationships with over 1,000 Canadian NGOs, non-governmental institutions, international partner organizations, and private sector firms.

CIDA and its partners annually implement over 1,500 projects and programs in every sector in over 100 developing countries.

In 1998-99, CIDA allocated a total amount of \$261 million to the Canadian Partnership Branch. Its NGO Division has received 47% or \$123 million. In the same year, \$24million or 9.4% out of that \$261 million was targeted to the sector on human rights, good governance and democratic development.

### 3. The Role of the Media:

“Instead of the “global village” has created a territory where some voices are heard a thousand times louder and more often than others. (a new communications technologies be used towards “democratization”)?” Elvira Truglia - Editor of the Magazine Interadio

Democracy building requires commitment by governments and participation by the people of these countries. People can be reached through such as mass media, television, radio, print and even electronic means which are independent and responsible.

Through the utilization of a free and independent media, public would receive reliable information, agencies could and do promote peace dialogue between parties in conflict, and provide a means to expose corruption, mismanagement and other injustices that may be hindering the democratization process.

Similarly, media also plays a crucial role in the promotion of human rights, democratization, good governance, women’s participation in decision making, protection of children’s rights, and election processes. It is important to ensure that media in all its forms, has the capacity and freedom to carry out their functions of providing information, reaching remote communities and engaging people in democratic processes of a country.

Many donor countries have committed to strengthening the capacity of media by providing support for skills, enhancement of local journalists, development of institutional capacity of all media related mechanisms. For instance, international development cooperations from Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Norway and Sweden funded a seminar attended by African journalists, media representatives, entrepreneur, and policy makers. Main goal of the seminar was to discuss constitutional, legal, political and human resources development. The outcome was the adoption of “declaration on promoting an independent and pluralistic African Press”.

Another CPB supported initiative on Media and democratic processes includes the work of *The Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS)*, a non-profit organization based in Vancouver, Canada. Its International Free Media Program, IMPACS delivers projects that fosters the development of free, critical and effective media worldwide, enhances the media’s role in the process of democratic development, good governance and public sector accountability and transparency.

IMPACS with co-funding from CIDA in the amount of \$100,000, held a symposium entitled “Open Markets, Open Media, Phase II” on trade and market liberalization and the media in the Asia Pacific regions, in Vancouver, November 19, 1997. 120 journalists, freedom for expression and human rights workers and representatives of media organizations from Asia Pacific regions participated in this symposium. The outcome was a report with series of recommendations that would facilitate development skills for journalist to cover trade negotiations and related issues.

This report also makes an appeal to governments, the private sector, media agencies including journalists to take action in the promotion of free and reliable media.

Canadian NGOs with CIDA support are also engaged in strengthening community radio stations in developing countries. Community stations are often used to educate the population, specially in rural areas where there is a little or no access to information.

For example, organizations such as Farm Radio Network and World Association on Community Radios (AMARC) used this means to reach out to and educate people in rural areas on HIV/AIDs and the fight against this virus. This mechanism was also used very successfully to increase literacy and democratic values in many societies.

At present, CPB contributes around \$162, 000 annually to AMARC projects which target capacity building of community radios in developing countries.

Through its international work AMARC has been successful in engaging local governments in using community

radio to promote health care. For instance, AMARC with its local partners in the Philippines received support from the Philippine government to implement a countrywide program on health and nutrition. The impact was far reaching especially in the reduction of malnutrition in children.

AMARC also is able to reach out people by providing information in print media. For instance, Women Network (IWN), is a trilingual publication of AMARC.

Topics include women in general, women who work in community radios in particular, respect for women's rights, poverty, health, education, media access and new technologies.

#### **4. Canadian Labor Congress:**

With regards to unions, the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) , a federation of approximately 80 Canadian trade unions representing over 2 million Canadian workers, and extensive network for delivery of labor education, advocacy and other services, is also working with similar movements in developing countries. Its mandate is to support the growth and advancement of democratic, independent labor movements in developing countries and countries in transition viewed as part of sustainable development strategies for national societies world wide.

The CLC's overseas initiatives include: programs on promoting child labor in India, strengthening the capacity of labor unions in Nigeria, promoting labor market reforms with focus on women in Russia, improving the working conditions of garment-producing women in Bangladesh.

Other key elements of CLC work which CIDA supports include the capacity development of trade union movements, building the policy and advocacy role of trade unions, strengthening democratic awareness and participation of labor in decision and policy making. For example, in Asia, CLC co-funded and participated in education conference on Industrial Relations, Labor Policies and Labor Legislation's in a Market Economy. CLC also provided funds to the Federation of Trade Union of Burma to conduct a workshop on developing a new labor law for a future democratic Burma (Myanmar). CLC also supported the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions on their special research program on social and economic policies. Similar activities are also undertaken by CLC in Africa and the Latin America. For the years 1999-2002 CIDA has allocated \$5.1 Million to CLC.

In conclusion, I would like to reinforce that supporting democracy, really means supporting capacity building of democratic institutions. Free and independent media is a necessary part of democracy. They are also necessary for ensuring that democratic processes are respected. It provides a means for free flow and exchange of information, and encourage full participation of the citizens.

NGOs have access to people where governments may not. They are embedded in the communities and can play a strong role in empowering individuals and societies. Media and unions also are clearly strong means to reach communities, governments and institutions in developing and maintaining democracy. Donors and local governments need to continue support and strengthen capacities of democratic institutions especially media, trade unions and civil society agencies.

Ladies and gentlemen, once again thank you.

Panelist

**Mr. Kavi Chongkittavorn**President, Thai Journalists Association, Thailand

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**The Role of the Media**

At this juncture, the Thai media is no longer talking about the quantity of press freedom. The priority is on the quality of professionalism and media governance. For the past seven decades, the Thai media has been struggling for press freedom against the authorities, which sought to control the freedom of expression. This was a daunting task in a country that witnessed 17 coups since 1932. Despite the ups and downs of Thai democracy, the country continues to enjoy one of the freest media in the region.

Public expectation of the Thai media is high these days. Since the economic and financial crisis of 1997, all aspects of Thai society have been affected by great changes. Economic and political reforms have strengthened good governance, transparency and accountability. Furthermore, these latest changes will also increase public participation in democracy. As you might be aware, Thailand is having a general election on 6 January 2001. This is an important election as it is the first under the new constitution, which has been called the “people’s constitution”. It was drafted with ideas from ordinary people and promulgated in 1997. In the past 67 years since Thailand changed from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional one, the military and dictators undemocratically drafted most of the country’s constitutions, a total of 17 in all.

The new constitution contains a total of 37 articles that guarantee individual rights in all areas including media freedom and freedom of expression. For the first time, the electronic media, which has been under the government’s thumb, has been liberalized. Now all the airwaves belong to the public. The constitution mandates the establishment of an independent body, known as the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), to oversee monitoring and allocation of the airwaves. I will focus on the electronic media later.

The current government has a policy that says: the public should know what the government knows. To demonstrate this policy, the government has been promoting the Information Act, which was promulgated three years ago. Thailand was the first country to enact such a law. Japan has its own version, a national information disclosure law, which was enacted last May. This information law has already transformed Thai society from a very strong culture of secrecy into a more open society. It is still difficult for government officials, who have been trained to maintain secrecy, to reveal information requested by the public. Around 800,000 persons have benefited from the information law, most of them using information obtained for personal affairs. The public needs to be informed that it has the right to obtain information that will help individuals take part in nation building.

In emerging democracies like Thailand, the media has important roles to play. Apart from the dissemination of truthful information and views, the public expects the media to promote democracy by publishing divergent views without favor and fear. Secondly, the media must fight corruption. Daily exposure of government wrongdoings and financial mismanagement including “tea-money” have become a strong feature of the Thai media. Some critics said that the Thai media has become too hostile towards the government in power.

Before the economic and financial crisis of 1997, the Thai media was critical of the ruling government. In general, Thai journalists did not trust the government. That was why whenever it was felt that opposition forces were gaining strength, the media would work to support them. Some Thai newspapers even wanted to topple the government. However, after the crisis, the Thai media has undergone great changes. A dozen papers were shut down because of financial mismanagement. Newspapers that have survived the crisis emerged with new owners and different editorial policies.

Proper media roles can be guaranteed if the media owners do not have ulterior motives. Therefore, the issue of media ownership is pivotal because it affects the media’s role in promoting democracy and civil society. Here, I would

like to further explore this new trend in the Thai media.

Who are the media owners in Thailand? One thing is obvious: no media owners in Thailand has a baseball team. In Japan, the Yomiuri Shimbun has the Giants, which are very popular. In Thailand, the media owners are men and women like you and me. Distinction must be made between pre-crisis and post-crisis media owners because they are very different.

Pre-crisis media owners were confined to investors who were former journalists. Most of them have fought for years against totalitarian governments. In the early 1970s, when dictators were toppled, these journalists ventured into business by publishing both Thai – and English – language newspapers. All the newspaper owners in Thailand were from the same generation. In fact, it was the most exciting time in Thai journalism. Before the 1997 crisis, this generation of owners was serious about professionalism and following a code of ethics. They were all for democracy. They could afford to because they were rich, powerful and successful. Journalists working for them were also young and restless – they received good salaries and all of them wanted to promote democracy and work around the clock. In the post - crisis era, the Thai media owners have come to be comprised of two groups of investors. The first group was made up of the same old investors and former journalists who could no longer balance their checks. During the booming economy, they were the bubble makers. Their companies beat up stories and hiked share prices. Suddenly, paradise was lost. It was a trying time: media owners and their journalists did not have the same financial resources, and they were not very straight or truthful with themselves. Apparently, some media owners, in order to survive, are more willing to compromise and to blend in. They were not as firm as they used to be. They were looking for more cash and advertisements. Then came the second type of owner – people who were businessmen and politicians. They injected much needed capital into dying newspapers. Foreign investors also put up money for ailing newspapers.

With this new pattern of ownership emerging during the post – crisis era, the outlook for the Thai media has also changed markedly. Suddenly, we have three types of media. The first type is pro-government media, which is something new. In the past, all media establishments, and particularly the printed media, were hostile to the government. Now these establishments are considered the mainstream media. A new anti-government media has also emerged. It runs sensationalized editorials front pages of its newspapers and attacks the government in every issue.

Let me move to the electronic media, which will play an enormous role in the election next year. In the past, when we referred to the Thai media, we referred to the print media because all the electronic media were controlled by the government. Therefore, the journalists fighting the government were confined to print journalists. However, with the new constitution guaranteeing the basic rights of broadcasters, these broadcasters are becoming more independent. At the moment, print journalists and broadcasters are working together to ensure that their constitutional rights will not be violated. As I mentioned earlier, with new ownership, the Thai media has come under close public scrutiny. For instance, a telecom tycoon, who leads a political party running in the upcoming election, bought an independent TV station. This was controversial as many critics alleged that the station was biased in reporting news related to the party.

I will end my presentation with two observations. First, one of the most dangerous trends in Thailand that has occurred following the crisis is that there are more unprofessional media owners. If media owners are gamblers or corrupt, one wonders if their newspapers can truthfully inform and educate the readers. Can corrupt newspaper owners, who make dubious deals with politicians or people in power, report on corruption and their power groups? They will probably focus only on their rivals. In Thailand, stories are being shaped not so much by reporters in the field but editors who work in media offices. We have a joke in Thailand: if a spokesman talks to ten journalists, tomorrow there will be eleven versions because an editor will have given his or her own version. I think, we need to imbed good governance among editors, who sometimes can be very ignorant of what is going on. A good media needs good publishers with fair minds. Otherwise, fairness will be difficult to achieve because we are talking about gray areas. And in Thailand, the gray areas can be very elastic and stretch a very long way.

Secondly, in Thailand, there is such a thing as the press culture of individual newspaper. Sometimes, a paper will tolerate certain activities or will be soft towards a certain business interest. Other papers have a reputation for independence. In the end, there must be a balance between business interests and public interests. Currently, the standard is different for each paper.

Panelist

**Ms. Kuniko Inoguchi**Professor, Faculty of Law, Sophia University, Japan

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**Points of Discussion****1. Introduction**

Advancing democracy is a long and complex process. It goes beyond strengthening the electoral process and includes all aspects of governance as well as the relationship between states and their citizens. The challenge for most developing countries today is not only to establish and maintain democracy in form, but also to achieve it in substance. This is a long-term process that must be nurtured within each society through participation, capacity-building, dissemination of information, sharing of norms, achievement of human security, and learning of non-violent means to resolve conflicts.

Sustainable democratic institutions and processes achieved through the consolidation of such endeavors and deep commitment are increasingly seen as effective tools for preventing violent conflicts, protecting human rights, fighting poverty and promoting development. There is an emerging link among peace, development and sustainable democracy, and thus support for democracy must focus on the sustainability of democratic institutions, processes and culture.

**2. Strategies for Supporting Sustainable Democracy**

Let us outline some of the key strategic elements necessary in helping foster sustainable democracy.

**a) local ownership and empowerment**

In order to be sustainable, democracy must come from within the country. It must be locally owned and home-grown, and thus democratization support must be designed to enhance local initiatives, facilitate dialogues, and empower local partners, while offering knowledge of similar endeavors in other countries and cultures. Institutions and experts offering democratization support in developing countries must embrace the concept of diversity, while forming a strategic partnership to promote transparency, impartiality, accountability, and efficiency as well as the norms, rules and guidelines that apply to multi-party pluralism and democratic processes.

While there are commonly accepted democratic values that form the basis for all democracies, the actual institutions, procedures and practices can vary depending on the society and its people. There is no one form of democracy that is universally appropriate, and a community is most likely to take best care of its democracy if a sense of local ownership and confidence is shared.

**b) interactive learning approach**

Democracy is a continuous learning process whereby people, governmental institutions, political parties, interest groups, media, and local communities make constant efforts to refine their functions. They learn from their own experience, through dialogues within and among nations, or simply watching how other countries perform. If you want others to learn from you, you must first learn from them. Learning is most effectively achieved if the process is interactive. Interactive learning between established democracies and nations in transition could provide the former with opportunities to appreciate the variety of cultural, historical, social, economic, and political circumstances from which different forms of democracy take root, while the latter could learn about rules and guidelines shared among successful democracies.

Since democracy is a continuous learning process, nations in transition should be encouraged not only on the basis of absolute level of achievement, but also on the degree and rate of change in pursuit of democracy.

**c) gender-sensitive support**

One of the integral elements of democracy is seen in its inclusionary nature. Thus it would be strategically relevant to focus on social groups traditionally left outside the mainstream of political participation and decision-making. Women and girls are, in general, a typical case in point. Democratization support should have gender-specific and gender-sensitive focus particularly in such areas as literacy and education, human development, political participation, and decision-making. Democratizing women could be one of the most practical ways of achieving sustainable democracy in society as a whole as they often exercise first-order influence on future citizens as mothers.

**d) enhancing multiplier effects**

As was said above, there is an emerging linkage between democracy and peace, or between democracy and development. Democratization support should be designed in such a way that the linkages are maximized and positive multiplier effects in areas such as peace-building, post-conflict reconstruction, poverty reduction, and environmental protection are effectively enhanced. Contemporary theories in international relations have pointed out that democracies seldom engage in military combat with each other. Also, including electoral system designs in peace treaties and packages is considered to be an important conflict-prevention measure. If people can see that democracy could nurture more stable peace and development, they are more likely to endure the complicated and long-term process of sustaining democracy.

**3. Capacity-Building by the Media and Trade Unions**

Development of independent media is an integral part of democratization. Independent media symbolize the freedom of speech and beliefs, and protect citizens' right to know. The media constitutes the core of capacity-building that supports long-term democratic participation and inclusion, and contributes to the resilience of democratic societies. While the traditional media such as newspapers and TVs are likely to remain most influential and important, we should not underestimate the impact of new communication/information technologies, such as fax machines and the Internet, on the dissemination of knowledge of and aspirations for democracy.

Trade unions are often the first major organized interest groups in nations in transition. They are also likely to provide a credible basis for political parties, and thus can play a major role in the democratization process. Moreover, trade unions can show that people can be proactive and protect their human rights, including their social and economic right to work without exploitation. By negotiating for higher wages and better working conditions, trade unions can enhance people's self-reliance and self-assertiveness, both of which are considered to be important in democracies.

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Panelist

## Mr. Hidekazu Yamaguchi

Executive Director, Japan International Labour Foundation (JILAF), Japan

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I am Hidekazu Yamaguchi, Executive Director of JILAF. Just for your information, the JILAF is an NGO, that was founded in 1989 by the National Center of Japanese Trade Unions (RENGO-JTUC) and is engaged in extending development assistance to free and democratic trade union movements in developing countries.

Today, I would like to present my personal opinions on the theme in question, that is, the role of trade unions in democratization.

When we dwell on this theme, we face such questions as: why should we address only trade unions when there are many other elements of civil society, and are there not other democratic organizations besides trade unions? I am going to refer, first of all, to the intimate relations between trade unionism and democracy, then explain why supporting trade unions is effective for democratization by enumerating various characteristics of trade unions in civil society. I will conclude my remarks by referring to several points that donors should bear in mind when they deal with trade unions in the context of democratization.

It goes without saying that democracy should be built upon democratic systems such as an electoral system, a multi-party system, a parliamentary system and separation of the three powers of administration, legislature and the judiciary. But democratization does not end there. Democracy will remain a pure fabrication were it not for the civil society that participates in democracy and actually makes it operate, making the best use of these democratic systems. Civil society can only exist if fundamental human rights are guaranteed. Of vital importance to trade unions, which constitute a part of civil society, are, above all, freedom of association and basic labor rights. There are developing countries and oppressive regimes where even such fundamental human rights such as freedom of association and freedom of expression are denied. And there are those, which put severe constraints on the activities of groups in civil society, including trade unions, even if such rights are enshrined in relevant laws. Just as **trade unions can not exist without democracy and fundamental human rights**, it is not too much to say that **the existence of free and democratic trade unions is a sort of social infrastructure indispensable to a democratic society**.

Now I would like to turn to the next point: when it comes to democratization, why it is useful for us to support trade unions in light of their characteristics in civil society. Different from other components of civil society, trade unions appeared on the scene as early as the Industrial Revolution and have contributed enormously to the establishment of freedom of association in modern society through their long history of struggle. They are internationally recognized as one of the pillars of the tripartite representation system of the ILO, which was created in 1919 and has the longest history of all of the specialized organizations of the United Nations system. In this sense, trade unions might be described as an extremely old form of **NGO or NPO**. One of the characteristics of trade unions is their **worldwide omnipresence, irrespective of political systems, degree of development, religion or race**. And in most of countries, trade unions constitute **the most non-exclusive and biggest grassroots organizations in civil society**. Especially, in developing countries, where the development of civil society leaves much to be desired, the role to be played by trade unions for the purpose of democratization is all the more important. The experience of developed countries shows that the capacity of unions for mobilization has a synergistic effect on the development of democracy. Moreover, workers join trade unions on their own free will and at the expense of paying membership fees in order to defend workers' rights. Such being the case, another characteristic is that **trade unionists have a clear consciousness of their mission and rights, and they speak out as representatives of fellow workers**. Furthermore, many unionists become political leaders in developing countries, and trade unions constitute **a source of political leaders**. They are sometimes called **"schools of democracy"**. This expression refers to democracy within trade unions.

The leadership of a trade union should be elected democratically by unionists and its strategy and tactics decided

by internal discussions. Thus unionists learn democracy spontaneously through practice. In addition, the functions of trade unions are to defend workers' rights, improve working conditions, and provide services to their members. It can safely be said that **trade unions are indispensable to the realization of economic and social democracy** in the sense that they try to elevate the living standards of members and their families, thereby bringing about social and economic stability. In other words, you can not heal people living in extreme poverty of starvation just by installing political democracy. In developing countries where the mal-distribution of wealth is so conspicuous, the existence of trade unions, which work to obtain a reasonable share of wealth in exchange for hard labor, is essential to social and economic democracy. If the social security system and the minimum wage system are introduced at the national level through the campaigns of trade unions, civil society groups as a whole (including those that do not necessarily belong to trade unions) can benefit from these systems. Furthermore, trade unions, together with other organizations in civil society, are keeping watch over cases of corruption and decay involving politicians and public servants. Nowadays, capacity building for trade unions in developing countries that will allow them to formulate policies is attracting attention in the labor world. This capacity involves advancement of the needs of civil society, formulation of policies based upon them, and presentation of policy-proposals before the government or political parties; thus the activities of trade unions go beyond mere wage struggle. Frankly speaking, trade unions used to be a single-issue organization in the past, just aiming at raising wages and improving working conditions. Nowadays, trade unions are speaking out on behalf of their fellow workers and citizens and are getting involved in various problems facing civil society – ranging from peace, disarmament, human rights, democracy, population, environment, women, HIV/AIDS, natural disaster, and international finance to corporate governance. In this respect, **trade unions are considerably different from so-called single-issue NGOs**. In addition, trade unions have national centers, which supervise their affiliated unions scattered all over the territory of a country, and these centers act as network hubs within countries. On the international level, there is an organization called the ICFTU that is based upon the principle of international solidarity. 219 national centers from 148 countries are affiliated with this international organization, representing 155 million workers. The ICFTU is strengthening its partnerships with various human rights organizations.

One of the characteristics of trade unions is that **they have internal and external mechanisms from which they can get support** when they are confronted with violations of workers' as well as human rights. These mechanisms are set in motion when the basic rights of workers are at stake or there is a need to support the process of democratization in particular countries. In view of the above-mentioned characteristics inherent in trade unions, they are destined, together with various components of civil society, to work actively for democratization.

As I pointed out above, it is meaningful to support trade unions in order to advance the democratization process of developing countries. However, I would like to put emphasis on some points that donors should bear in mind when they provide assistance to them.

1. According to the ILO World Labor Report 1997/1998, the rate of union membership has dropped sharply all over the world for the last 10 years, and in 48 countries out of 92, the rate has fallen down to less than 20%. It can not be said that this downfall is tantamount to a weakening of the functions of trade unions, but we should keep in mind the reality that this phenomenon has become a worldwide trend. The only exception is developing countries where democracy has been established or where industrialization is in full swing. Such being the case, whether trade unions can be a nucleus of democratization depends upon **union strength** in the developing country in question and their **capacity to build an effective partnership with other organizations in civil society**. We should be fully aware that trade unions cannot always spearhead the democratization movements of civil society.
2. Frankly speaking, not necessarily all trade unions in developing countries are democratic. As there are cases where union democracy does not function and bosses called labor aristocrats manage unions undemocratically without transparency and accountability, **it is necessary for donors to scrutinize the status of the trade union before deciding to render help**. Some developed countries support trade unions in developing countries that advocate protection of human rights under the cloak of trade unionism while having almost no members. It might happen that these so-called union leaders, who manage to find financial supporters, work against the

formation of a unified labor front. This will not lead to the advancement of the interests of ordinary workers nor to the promotion of democratic mass movements. In addition, attention should be paid to the fact that trade unions might be manipulated to act as an electorate for politically ambitious individuals.

3. **Favorable tripartite relations between government, employers and trade unions are a prerequisite for a sound social and economic democracy.** The governments of developing countries that put economic development before anything else tend to side with employers' organizations and have hostility toward trade unions that do not give in to them. This tendency became particularly marked after the end of the Cold War. It is the responsibility of the government to make a legal framework that protects basic labor rights. And trade unions can not exist without their counterpart in collective bargaining, namely employers' organizations. Therefore, building sound tripartite relations is a social safety device that lessens the mounting pressure of dissatisfaction. It is not appropriate for us to concentrate only on trade unions when we talk about support for democratization. Equally important is government's ratification of relevant ILO conventions and proper application of core international labor standards within the country. If employers refuse to recognize trade unions, the result will be frequent labor conflicts that will make stability hard to attain. Therefore, it is earnestly hoped that a reasonable education be given to employers' organizations. By the way, dialogue between trade unions and international financial organizations such as the IMF, World Bank, and WTO is being pursued nowadays. It should be borne in mind that such financial organizations are in a position to exercise pressure on the governments of developing countries so that they will be democratized and respect international labor standards.
4. It is of frequent occurrence, in developing countries, that **trade unions are deeply committed to a particular political party.** When developed countries undertake to support trade unions in developing countries, they should be fully aware that the governments in question might accuse them of interference in internal affairs. In order to avoid such accusations, when trying to extend democratization assistance to strengthen trade unions, **the most appropriate donors might be trade unions or union-related organizations and not the governments of developed countries.** In this regard, assistance should be in conformity with the needs of recipient trade unions and should contribute to their self-help efforts. We are of the opinion that we should refrain from unilaterally imposing our own values on them.
5. In Europe and in North America, the idea that trade unions are indispensable as a kind of social infrastructure in developing countries as well as in market-transition countries, and that the governments of developed countries should give a lending hand to them is firmly established. As for Japan, such a perception is not yet fully shared. Our Foundation conducted a survey in 1998 on development assistance to trade unions in developing countries. This survey found that trade unions or union-related organizations in Europe or North America account for 0.2% to 0.3% of the total amount of the ODA allocated by the respective countries, while that of the JILAF is almost one tenth of these figures. We are of the opinion that Japanese ODA directed toward strengthening trade unions in developing countries is not yet sufficient and should be increased.

I would like to conclude my talk by emphasizing once again the axiom that the development of civil society, including free and democratic trade unions, is indispensable to the process of democratization.

Thank you very much for your kind attention.

(Bold letters indicate areas emphasized by the author.)

## 質疑応答

### Open Discussion

**杉下 恒夫(茨城大学人文学部教授、国際協力事業団国際協力専門員):**

開発途上国におけるメディアとNGOの連携についてお話し下さい、

**ミシュリン・ボードリー・ソムシンスキー(カナダ国際開発庁シニア・アドバイザー):**

ある開発途上国のケースについてお話したいと思います。あるNGOは、ジャーナリストとの協力のもとに無線システムを導入し、コミュニティの開発のために活用しています。ベーシック・ヒューマン・ニーズに関する情報だけでなく、人々のエンパワーメントやその国の状況についての情報を普及しています。この無線システムは双方向なので、市民が自分の意見を表明することもできます。ですから、例えば辺境の地にある人たちでも政治に参加する可能性が出てくるのです。また、別のNGOはボランティアを使って、ジャーナリストのための保護活動を行っています。例えば、政府や軍の狙撃兵に狙われないようにするなどです。さらに、ジャーナリストのトレーニングも実施しています。開発途上国のジャーナリストをカナダに連れてきて、研修を実施するのです。カナダのジャーナリストの集会に参加させたり、より表現の自由が認められている開発途上国に連れて行くことにより、ジャーナリスト版南南協力も可能です。

**杉下 恒夫(茨城大学人文学部教授、国際協力事業団国際協力専門員):**

メディアの協力は時には、内政干渉の問題が起きてくると思うのですが、タイではどのように考えながら周辺国に対して協力しているのですか。

**カピ・チョンキッタウォーン(タイ・ジャーナリスト協会会長):**

メディア間協力は比較的新しい動きで、1998年のインドネシアの政変がきっかけです。その前は、長期間にわたり東南アジアのジャーナリストが迫害されていた状況があり、アメリカのメディアなどを使いながら、IFJ (International Federation of Journalists)などのレポーターが実態を明らかにし、抗議活動を展開しました。2年前に東南アジアのプレス・アライアンスができたので、今はわれわれだけで表現の自由を守ることができるようになりました。インドネシア、フィリピン、そしてタイが現在協力していますが、カンボディア、マレーシアなどにも参加を呼びかけています。お互いに支援し合えると思うのです。インドネシアは、タイの経験から情報開示法を学びました。日本は、われわれより後に情報公開法をつくりましたので、われわれは日本から学ぶことができなかったのです。タイにおいては非常に長い間、秘密主義が根強くあり、情報は公開されてきませんでした。ネパールはタイと同じように君主制を採用しており、王室についての情報は手に入らないという点で似ていますが、ネパールもタイの情報公開法を参考にしています。世銀

の研究によると、マスコミは貧困緩和や汚職撲滅において非常に重要な役割を果たしているということです。世銀としては、地元のジャーナリストのネットワークを利用したいわけですが、フィリピンのジャーナリストたちは、エストラダ大統領の国家予算の不正使用に関する汚職摘発に大変大きな役割を演じたと思います。彼らはこうした調査について非常に多くの経験を持っているので、そのスキルをぜひ教えてもらいたい。タイにおいても、やはりそのような調査の結果、エリート層が行っている不正を暴き、副首相の辞任にまで発展したことがありました。以前は、東南アジアのジャーナリストは、アメリカでトレーニングを受けましたが、今はマニラ、あるいはバンコクでトレーニングを受けるなど、地域ネットワークをつくりつつあります。例えば、タイのジャーナリストは、カンボディアのジャーナリストにアプローチするのに、歴史的事情のため従来大変慎重でしたが、この6カ月の間に6つのメディアをカンボディアにつくることに間接的に協力してきました。直接に協力すると、メディアに対する干渉であるというような批判が出てくる可能性があります。今までのところ、そのような声は聞いていません。

**杉下 恒夫(茨城大学人文学部教授、国際協力事業団国際協力専門員):**

われわれはメディアというと旧来の活字とテレビしか頭がないのですが、ITが今後大きな役割を果たすと思います。猪口先生は途上国におけるITの可能性についてどのようにお考えですか。

**猪口 邦子(上智大学法学部教授):**

インターネットには民主主義を促進する大きな可能性があると思います。ただし、気を付けなければならないのは、デジタル・ディバイドの問題です。ジェンダー、あるいは年齢によるディバイド、収入によるディバイドも心配しなければなりません。しかし、市民は自分たちでインターネットへのアクセスを切り開いていくと思います。それによって新しい可能性が開かれるでしょう。20世紀の間に、私たちは大きな進歩を遂げ、法の下での平等が確立されてきました。しかし、まだ個人間のキャパシティには大きなギャップがあります。キャパシティというのは基本的に、どのような情報を持っているかによって決まり、情報へのアクセスは、年齢、地位、あるいはジェンダーによって異なります。今後、インターネットによって大きな可能性が開かれ、情報へのアクセスにおいても公平さを確立できると思います。それは人とかかわり方を変えていくでしょう。国籍、年齢、あるいは地位に関係なく、人々を分断していた「階級」のようなものが打ち崩されていくと思うのです。その結果、直接民主主義が促進されるようになります。インターネットを使うことで、今まで主流派から取り残されていた人々たちや若い人たちがもっと政治にかかわることができるようになると思います。

**杉下 恒夫(茨城大学人文学部教授、国際協力事業団国際協力専門員):**

組合が存在しなからまったく機能しないという国も存在しているのでしょうか。それは組合の組織率と関係があるのですか。

**山口 英一(国際労働財団常務理事):**

個々の国の組合について、調査したわけではないので難しい問題だと思いますが、活動の内容を見ずに組織率だけで組合の機能が低下したのかどうか判断できないと思います。ILOの報告によると、一般的傾向としてはスペインやカナダを除き先進国では組織率が下がっています。アメリカのナショナル・センターのAFL-CIO(米労働総同盟・産業別組合会議)が組織率を上げるためにキャンペーンをやっているように、労組にとっては組織率の上昇が現在の急務になっております。

**ミシュリン・ボードリー・ソムシンスキー(カナダ国際開発庁シニア・アドバイザー):**

北の労働組合にとっては、南の労働組合との関係も活性化の要素になると思うのです。グローバル化においても話し合いを持つということは大きなインパクトがあります。パートナーシップでは、北から南へ与えるというだけではなくて、共通の問題について一緒に協力していくことが重要です。すべての労働者にとっての共通の問題についてです。北の企業が南に進出することにより、同じ会社で働いている人々の間で労働条件のハーモナイゼーションが問題となっています。南の組合と協力していくという点において、カナダの労働組合も助けられているのです。より良いかたちでグローバル化にかかわることができています。民主化のプロセスではこうしたことも大切なのです。もう一つの側面としては、NGO、労働組合、そして協同組合が民主化の取り組みの中で果たす役割はどのようなものかということです。グローバル化の波の中で労働組合のような組織についても、民主化のプロセスへの参加の機会が生まれてきていると言えます。

**猪口 邦子(上智大学法学部教授):**

山口さんにひとつ質問があります。少なくとも日本の労働組合はジェンダーの問題にあまり取り組んできませんでした。途上国を支援するに当たって、ジェンダーについての偏見をほかの国に輸出してはならないと思うのですが。

**山口 英一(国際労働財団常務理事):**

国際労働財団は、途上国の労組に対する協力を専門に行っているNGOで組合そのものではありませんが、例えば、途上国の若手リーダーを日本に招聘する場合、女性を入れてほしいという注文を絶えず相手国の労組に伝えており、年に2回は女性だけのチームをつくっております。現地プロジェクトについても、女性セミナーを開催したり、女性問題については非常に注意を払っております。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

ボードリーさんに質問なのですが、先ほど労働基準のコーディネーションを国を越えて実現しなくてはいいけないと言われました。WTQ(世界貿易機関)の中でも労働基準のための小委員会があります。そこで、二つほど問題が出てくると思います。まず第1に、もし特定の労働基準を

グローバルに標準化しようとし、これを途上国に押し付けることになった場合、途上国の労働者にとっては、労働条件が良くなり、賃金も上がるので良いことなのかもしれません。しかし、労働生産性が上がらない限り企業はそれだけの高い賃金を払いきれず、労働条件を良くすることもできないので、それは同時におそらく雇用の危機となり、失業の発生につながるでしょう。先進国において大企業が高い賃金を払えるのは生産性が高いからです。労働基準を標準化するという場合、特定のルールをそのまま押し付けることはできないと思います。そうではなく、むしろ人権に対する影響、つまり途上国において人権擁護上、労働基準にどのような問題があるのか、というほうに焦点を当てるべきではないかと思います。

2番目の点ですが、多国籍企業が、タイ、インドネシア、マレーシアなどの途上国で事業をすると、地元の小さい企業よりも高い賃金が払えるために、賃金格差ができてしまいます。労働基準を改善し、労働条件を良くし、賃金を高めるべきだと思いますが、その国の生産性との整合性が必要です。さもなければ進出企業が潰れるなど、途上国にとっては大変な事態になり、グローバルな競争力が持たなくなってしまいます。標準化をとて強調されていらっしやだったので、お聞きします。

**ミシュリン・ボードリー・ソムシンスキー(カナダ国際開発庁シニア・アドバイザー):**

今のご指摘と逆のことも言えると思うのです。つまり、国際基準がなければリスクの高い労働を途上国に輸出してしまうという問題です。例えばある国の法律の下では労働者の保護のためにできない、ないしは大気汚染など環境との関係からできない仕事を輸出してしまう危険性です。先進国の組合は、企業が途上国に悪影響をもたらさないようにする責任があると思います。それから、標準化と生産性のお話ですが、途上国においては労働生産性は低いかもしれません。しかし、労働組合は生産性を高める上でも手伝えることができると思います。また、もし一部の企業で高い賃金が支払われていれば、ほかの企業にも賃上げの圧力となります。地元の企業と言えども、グローバル市場の圧力から逃れることはできません。標準化ではなく、ハーモナイゼーションという言葉を使いたいと思います。労働慣行のハーモナイゼーション、途上国と先進国間のハーモナイゼーションです。良い面、悪い面、両方あると思いますが、カナダの労組が途上国の労組と一緒に組んで組合づくりを手伝い、ニーズに合うものをつくっていくのです。組合はそもそも労働者が自分たちの希望を表現し、自分たちの権利を守るためのツールですから、カナダの組合が、途上国の労働者に代わって何かを代弁し、企業に対して戦うのではなくて、あくまでも途上国の中で自ら条件を良くするためのツールとして利用すべきです。

**梅内 拓生(東京大学大学院医学系研究科教授):**

カピさんへの質問です。日本では長い間、メディアにたくさんタブーがありました。しかし、バブルが弾けて経済が低迷し始めた90年代の初めからジャーナリストの態度が変わってきたと思います。タイにはどのようなタブーがあり、どのような態度の変化があったのでしょうか。

**カピ・チョンキッタウォーン(タイ・ジャーナリスト協会会長):**

タイにもたくさんのタブーがあります。まず王室を批判してはならない。次に、仏教の僧侶の問題です。ここ2年間、いろいろなスキャンダルが仏教の僧侶を巡って出てきております。これもまた今までタブー視されていた問題です。もうひとつは、法廷の判決に対する報道です。しかし経済危機の後、マスコミの果たす役割は随分と変わりました。現在タイのメディアは、専門性を高めようとしています。これにはまだ問題もあります。ある政治家が、パースデー・パーティーを有名なゴルフコースで行いました。67人のジャーナリストが招待され、そのうちの何人かは10年ぐらいその政治家とゴルフをやってきた人たちでした。ジャーナリスト協会の会長として私は、タイのジャーナリストは、政治家とゴルフをしないようにと言いました。しかし私は批判されました。ジャーナリストは政治家から情報を引き出すには時にゴルフもやらなければいけないと言われたのです。

**ミシュリン・ボードリー-ソムシンスキー(カナダ国際開発庁シニア・アドバイザー):**

ジャーナリストの仕事には情報技術も大きな影響を与えるのではないのでしょうか。ラテンアメリカには非常に検閲の厳しい国があります。そのような国のジャーナリストは、自国で公表できないようなニュースをインターネットを使ってほかの国に公表しています。身体的な脅威にさらされないという利点があり、これもひとつの変化ではないかと思えます。

**カピ・チョンキッタウォーン(タイ・ジャーナリスト協会会長):**

メディアと情報技術の発展には非常に緊密な関係があります。1992年以前、現在の政治改革が行われる前ですが、携帯電話がとても重要な意味を持ちました。今ではインターネットが使われるようになり、ウェブサイトもあります。

**クリスチャン・モンソッド(元フィリピン選挙管理委員会委員長):**

活字メディアの変化の方が放送メディアと比べて大きかったということでしょうか。インターネット、電話やファックスにより、様相が変わってきています。活字メ

ディアが事実の報道であるならば、おそらく放送の方は感情の普及に貢献することができるのではないかと思います。カピさんは活字メディアの人ですが、これから先、どのような変化が起こると思いますか。

**カピ・チョンキッタウォーン(タイ・ジャーナリスト協会会長):**

活字メディアは放送メディアを補完すると思います。いつも情報を放送から得られるとは限りませんので、新聞を使うことができるのはよいことです。私の新聞社は、テレビやラジオ放送なども傘下に含めるようになりましたので非常に多様化しました。「トライメディア」と言っています。

**カール・ガーシュマン(全米民主主義財団理事長):**

山口さんに二つ質問があります。労働組合の組織率が下がったと言われ、その理由のひとつは旧社会主義ブロックの組合が解散されたからだということでした。旧ソビエト連邦には本当の意味での労働組合はあったのでしょうか。その人たちは労働組合のメンバーと言えたのでしょうか。2番目の質問ですが、組合は民主主義の学校だという例として、ザンビアのチルバという指導者をあげられましたが、この人は民主的な行動を取ったと言えるのでしょうか。

**山口 英一(国際労働財団常務理事):**

まず、旧ソ連東欧の労組が真の意味での労組かどうかという質問に対しては、われわれは、自由で民主的な労組のみを本来の意味での労組と考えております。これらの組織はわれわれの思っているような労組ではないということは明らかだと思います。それから、ザンビアのチルバ大統領につきましては、彼が民主主義の学校の模範例であると言っているわけではありません。大統領に就くまでの間は、複数政党制を導入しようという志に燃えてチャレンジしたわけですが、その後、カウンダ副大統領を外して政権に座り続けようとしたことは、労組出身の政治家としてとても褒められることではないと思います。

**杉下 恒夫(茨城大学人文学部教授、国際協力事業団国際協力専門員):**

民主化支援は、これから日本の国際協力の大きな柱になってくると思いますし、そうしなければならないテーマだと思います。

## Fourth Session

“Overview of ODA-NGO collaboration in assisting democratization process in developing countries”

Panelist

**Ms. Patricia K. Buckles**

Mission Director/Philippines, United States Agency for International Development  
(USAID), USA

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On behalf of the United States Agency for International Development, I would like to thank the Japan International Cooperation Agency and the National Endowment for Democracy for inviting me to participate in this symposium. Yesterday's session was provocative and enlightening and I am honored to have the opportunity to learn from the insights of the distinguished experts from here and abroad.

Building democracy and strengthening governance are key strategies of USAID in promoting sustainable development. I would like to limit my presentation today to a brief summary of USAID's policies on assistance in democracy building, their context, our program goals and objectives, approach to program design, and the design process involved.

**POLICY:**

USAID's policy on assistance in the democracy sector is based on the proposition that freedom, human rights, and accountable government are legitimate aspirations for all states and all sectors of society in those states.

**HISTORICAL CONTEXT:**

USAID's emphasis on democratic institution building has ebbed and flowed since 1961, when the agency was founded.

- Democracy building was an integral part of USAID programming as early as the beginning of our assistance under the Alliance for Progress initiatives in the 1960's.
- In the 1970's, USAID focussed on poverty alleviation through participatory local institutions with emphasis on rural development and the rights of marginal populations. And human rights performance became a consideration in allocating foreign assistance.
- The 1980's saw new developments in administration of justice initiatives.
- The beginning of the 1990's and fall of the Berlin Wall ushered in a new era of highly innovative programs taking advantage of the crumbling of highly centralized authoritarian controls. The opportunities created by the transition were matched with new challenges rising from the resurfacing of old religious, regional, and ethnic enmities released when the centralized controls were dismantled.
- The new democracy programs were considered vital for addressing two levels of security concerns shared by the United States as well as other nations:
  - (1) At the local level, programs were considered critical for institutionalizing community participation as a means to achieving accountable, transparent governance that gives citizens greater control over their lives.
  - (2) At the international level, programs were deemed important for the security of all nations, recognizing that narco-terrorism, ethnic warfare, uncontrolled migration, and religious intolerance threaten the very notion of a world community and international peace.
- In January 1994, USAID issued a policy statement entitled "Strategies for Social Development," which underscored the integral relationship between economic and political development.

**GOALS AND OBJECTIVES:**

USAID's strategic objective is the transition to and consolidation of democratic regimes throughout the world. This objective is achieved through the establishment of:

- democratic institutions;



- free and open markets;
- an informed and educated populace;
- a vibrant civic society; and
- a relationship between state and society that encourages pluralism, inclusion, and peaceful conflict resolution.

USAID recognizes that the path to democracy will vary, based on the diversity of historical, social, and cultural realities of different nations. But our policy takes as a given that all sustainable democracies share certain fundamental characteristics, including:

- respect for human and civil rights;
- peaceful competition for political power;
- free and fair elections;
- accountable government; and
- an environment that encourages participation by all sectors of the population.

### **APPROACH:**

There are three general categories of countries which receive USAID democracy assistance, the kind of assistance varying in accordance with their distinct needs:

- Sustainable development partners where USAID has permanent field missions;
- Countries emerging from humanitarian crisis or protracted conflicts -- such programs are usually initiated through fast response programs initiated by USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives.
- Where the United States has a strong foreign policy interest in promoting democracy.

Programs are designed based on a needs assessment and usually focus on a limited number of objectives. Operational principles guiding the development of all programs include:

- They take into account the political situation in a country and they involve other US agencies, including the Department of State, other donor agencies, and private sector partners.
- They seek to ensure ownership by requiring consultation with local groups in strategic planning, design, implementation, and evaluation.
- They involve experts with experience in a wide range of democratic practices, rather than exclusively relying on U.S. nationals or U.S. models or practices.
- They are timely and responsive to opportunities on the ground.
- Program implementation usually involves US PVOs, local NGOs, educational institutions, and professional and academic associations.
- They utilize capacity building approaches that emphasize sustainability and local empowerment over attainment of short-term performance targets.

### **PROGRAM DESIGN**

A sector assessment determines the specific content of programs. Emphasis is placed on providing short-term assistance that supports an on-going transition process and on longer term assistance that focuses on developing or strengthening sustainable democratic initiatives -- both governmental and non-governmental.

Programs are designed based on the specific country situation with past development program experience providing considerable guidance on best-practices. USAID has developed guidelines for strategic plans that follow a general analytic framework involving four broad areas of inquiry:

- First, analysts determine if the basic elements of a democratic political culture -- including respect for fundamental human rights, political space for independent groups, freedom of the press, and broad comprehension regarding the roles of political competition -- are in place. If not, USAID support might appropriately be directed toward human rights groups and other NGOs promoting democratic change, including labor unions and the independent media.
- Second, analysts determine if the basic institutions necessary for democratic governance are in place. If not,

USAID considers support for developing constitutional frameworks, competitive and meaningful electoral processes, and legislative and judicial institutions necessary for the adoption and enforcement for laws and policies.

-- Third, analysts determine if there is a system of effective and transparent public institutions and public officials accountable to the citizenry. If not, USAID considers the reform of the governance infrastructure in accordance with democratic norms.

-- Finally, analysts determine if the non-governmental sector has the capacity to engage in meaningful public policy review and to monitor effectively the activities of government institutions. If not, USAID considers supporting the development of an independent media, civic groups, mechanisms for civil society participation in government policy and decision-making and establishment of cross border and cross-sectoral networks of NGOs.

In designing programs, USAID relies on: US government personnel familiar with the specific political environment of the country and USAID Washington-based technical experts and PVO/NGOs and contractors with whom USAID has on-going relationships.

In addition, USAID seeks a broad donor consensus on democratization principles, priorities, and programs to maintain consistent pressure for reform, to assure adequate levels of donor support, and to encourage complementarity and economies of scale among donor programs.

### **EVALUATION:**

USAID recognizes that democracy building is inherently a long-term cumulative process, in which results may not be discernable immediately, nor may a specific cause and effect relationship be clear. Moreover, changes in perceptions and attitudes may be difficult to achieve.

These caveats notwithstanding, USAID reviews programs to determine whether they have met their original specific objectives, whether they were carried out in an efficient and professional manner, and whether they had unanticipated positive or negative effects.

As appropriate, the following types of questions are asked in evaluations:

-- Are basic laws relating to human rights being enforced? Has there been a significant reduction in the overall rate of human rights abuses in the country?

-- Is the electoral process honest, as judged by all parties or by experienced international observers? Are election laws the product of consensus? Are they fairly and universally enforced?

-- Do the institutions of a civic society take an increasingly active role in decision-making? Do they measurably influence policy outcomes? Do they involve broad sectors of society, including disenfranchised groups such as women, minorities, and indigenous peoples? Are mechanisms that mandate pluralism and protect minority opinions in place and functional?

-- Do the institutions exist at both the national and the local levels that are accountable, transparent, and accessible? Are institutions structured to provide individuals with access and recourse?

-- Is there evidence that the rule of law is increasingly respected and that disputes are resolved without violence? Are gender-inequitable laws being changed so that women share the same rights under the law as men? Do institutions and processes exist that provide democratic education?

In one final note, the political process, by definition, is never complete; even long established democracies continuously reinvent themselves. However, democratization is ultimately an internally driven process. Sustainable democracy is a fact when indigenous forces within a society can maintain and strengthen democracy without external support. USAID's programs will aim at this outcome.

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Panelist

**Mr. Michiya Kumaoka**

President, Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC), Japan

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**The Experiences of NGOs and their Perspective on Support of Democratization  
– Cambodia and Other Case Studies**

**1. Foreword**

For the last twenty years, the JVC has undertaken activities as an “on-location” style NGO providing assistance ranging from emergency relief to restoration and international cooperation to nations and regions around the world suffering from conflict or poverty, including Cambodia and other Southeast Asian nations, Palestine, and African nations such as Somalia, Ethiopia and South Africa. We have learned that the internally-driven formation of a civil society and democratization as well as international support therefore are, albeit time-consuming and low-profile processes, both important and effective, particularly during the stages of restoration and conciliation following hostilities in order to prevent further strife (including recurrence).

Nevertheless, international aid from public bodies, including those of Japan, mainly focused on economic restoration and economic cooperation from the 1980s to the mid-1990s. In many cases, however, cooperation for economic development under the circumstances of a “developmental dictatorship” has exacerbated the disparity between rich and poor and has frequently resulted in either making for greater difficulties and complexities rather than resolving issues related to war and poverty, or in simply postponing their resolution to a future date. The introduction and dissemination of a market economy will not, as is believed in certain quarters, automatically lead to the birth of social democratization. The following thus explores the lessons that can be learned from the example of Cambodia.

**2. Case Study of Cambodia (from an NGO perspective)**

**Historical background (since its independence from France in 1953)**

Period of relative peace under a monarchy system (1953 – 1970) led by King Sihanouk as head of state. At the end of a relatively peaceful 17-year period, the government became heavily skewed to the right and King Sihanouk was deposed after a coup d'état led by General Lon Nol.

Period of civil war under a republican system (1970-1975). President Lon Nol. Defeated after five years of intense fighting between the Khmer Rouge and the Cambodian Communist Party (supporting Pol Pot). Air raids by the United States.

Communist period of purging and slaughter (1975-1979). Prime Minister Pol Pot. During a rule of just three years and eight months, 1.7 million people were killed or died from overwork, starvation, or other causes.

From this point on, I would like to examine Cambodian society from 1979 onwards, with a focus on two eras which are also discussed in greater detail further on this paper: the People's Republic of Kampuchea Era (1979 -1991) in paragraph and the Era of a Reborn Kingdom of Cambodia. (1993 – present) in paragraph .

Period of socialist government in the Soviet/Vietnamese style, aiming for restoration (1979-1991). The People's Republic of Kampuchea had Hen Samlin as its first head of state. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hun Sen, became Prime Minister. Isolation from Western international society. Refusal of the West to provide any development aid or trade whatsoever, based on claims that the government was a “puppet administration”. No seat in the United Nations.

October 1991 – signing of the Cambodian Peace Accord (Paris). Transitional rule and general election were implemented by UNTAC (1993). Resistance and disruption of the election by the Khmer Rouge. (The Paris peace accord was followed by the birth of local Cambodian NGOs, such as Khemara and ADHOC).

Parliament launched based on the results of the general election in May 1993 (the first party was the monarchist faction) and a constitution executed. The country was reborn as the Kingdom of Cambodia (led by King Sihanouk). (This coalition government of all government parties started with the unusual system of two prime ministers: the first was Prince Ranariddh and the second was Hun Sen). The country has been following a turbulent course to this day.

### **Main Incidents during this Period**

International observers played an active role during the 1993 general elections. Cambodians and local NGOs were also involved in education regarding human rights and voter education, as well as election monitoring. (On the negative side) over 500 people were killed as a result of inter-party fighting and the repression of critical reporters and human rights activists. No suspects were even arrested for crimes on the part of those in authority (culture infused with violence and impunity).

In the wake of the new administration, there was a boom in aid and investment, including international cooperation. The boom did not take root, however, due to the country's inability to process incoming aid and serious corruption issues. In 1995, former Finance Minister Sam Rainsy and others formed an opposition party. Trade unions were formed against a backdrop of appalling working conditions in foreign-owned textile and clothing factories.

In July 1997, the Second Prime Minister ousted the First Prime Minister (by a coup d'état). Supporters of Prince Ranariddh (in the FUNCINPEC party) were attacked and either left the country or surrendered to the Cambodian People's Party. During this year, the fragile Cambodian economy and society were shaken by the Asian economic and financial crises.

In 1998, after the return of Ranariddh to Cambodia, the second general election was held. (In the space of about a year before and after the general election, more than 100 people were murdered for political reasons, but no arrests were made.)

Based on the efforts of the Cambodian government, the Cambodian people, and NGOs (several international observation teams were also dispatched), the general election itself produced "acceptable" results particularly in the processes of casting and tallying votes. Several months of political chaos followed the announcement of the results (the Cambodian People's Party received the most votes).

## **2.1. Two Eras and Systems since 1979**

### **A. The People's Republic of Kampuchea Era (1979 -1991)**

Government: Soviet/Vietnamese style socialism. A member of the Eastern bloc which included the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Single-party dictatorship (in essence, an administration bent on "survival" after the destruction of the Pol Pot era). Continuation of civil war.

Economy: Centrally planned economy. Aid only from the Eastern bloc. Re-start from "zero/minus." Per capita GNP of no more than \$50 – 100. The world's poorest nation during the first half of the 1980s, and poverty was universal in the country. Rights to own and use property could not be bought or sold, but mutual assistance proved to be effective. This resulted in zero production for landless farmers, while small farmers were able to support themselves. (Cases of phenomena, such as the sale of infants and daughters, were also extremely rare.)

Society: The philosophy and system of "mutual assistance" existed in agricultural cooperatives and other forms. (The traditional creed of "helping each other" combined with the socialist thought of "unity" to create a blend of "samaki"). The establishment of NGOs made up of Cambodians themselves was prohibited. As the only representatives of the Western side of international society, international (primarily Western) NGOs provided restoration cooperation as well as advice for maintaining peace. Support was given for the advent of local Cambodian NGOs from 1990 to 1991.

(A new government was born after the UNTAC-supervised general election [1993]).

## **B. Era of a Reborn Kingdom of Cambodia. (1993 – present).**

**Government:** Multi-party system. Coalition governments formed after both general elections. (In essence, the Cambodian People's Party has a strong influence even in administrative matters.) A case of the rule of "the strong" (politicians, military persons, etc.) rather than the rule of law.

**Economy:** The rapid introduction of a "survival of the fittest" style market economy created an enormous disparity between rich and poor. The local economy has been unable to get up and running, and the inflow of foreign capital (from Taiwan, China, Thailand, Malaysia, etc.) has been intricately linked with politics. The trading of land became possible, leading to a rapid increase in landless farmers, which make up at least 16% of the farming population.

**Society:** Apart from a small segment of society, the "mutual assistance" system is in ruin. (There has been a leap in the sale of infants and daughters). "Economic development" is proceeding for the benefit of only a handful of those with power, and without a safety net. Use of violence (political violence/murder; dispersion of weapons as well as rampant crime that threatens public order). Labor movements have also commenced in protest of appalling working conditions in clothing factories and other exploitative foreign capital ventures. Cambodian NGOs in such areas as human rights, development, democratization and welfare have emerged, and international NGOs are providing lateral support. Although very much a mixed bag in terms of quality and size, there are currently more than 200 active Cambodian NGOs in operation.

### **2.2. NGO Experiences and Lessons/Proposals**

The Cambodian International NGO Forum (initially launched in 1986 with its secretariat situated at OXFAM in UK; its present secretariat is located in Phnom Penh under the name of the Cambodian NGO Forum) is a gathering of NGOs involved in aid and development that are working independently within Cambodia. Overall, it has provided advice to the governments of the world and international society regarding peace in Cambodia during the civil war of the 1980s. Normally, international NGOs work closely with local NGOs and CBOs, but throughout the 1980s, the government system of the time did not allow NGOs to be established. At the stage when peace was being realized in 1990-1991, this Forum assisted in creating the women's development NGO, Khemara (representative: Sochua Lelpe), and the human rights and development NGO, ADHOC (representative: Thun Saray).

Members of the Cambodian Human Rights Research Institute (representative: Kassie Neou), ADHOC, and other Cambodian NGOs used the occasion of the first general election as an opportunity to collaborate with the United Nations and international society in providing education for voters and public servants (including police officers and military personnel), and in the areas of election implementation and monitoring. In Cambodia, where political violence by those with power is rampant, these activities (which involved considerable risk to the lives of those involved) are to be highly commended and respected as the foundation for building a democratic society.

In July 1997, certain areas were torn by civil war (violence and fighting prompted by the ousting of the First Prime Minister by the Second Prime Minister). Persecution of FUNCINPEC by the stronger party (Hun Sen's People's Party). Murder, arrests, torture, etc. were common. Under these circumstances, Cambodia once again became isolated from international society, while democratization and human rights were forced back a few paces. Nonetheless, just as things seemed to be irretrievably deteriorating, the aforementioned local Cambodian NGOs provided arbitration and mediation between the two factions and succeeded in partial cessation of hostilities. The NGOs also worked to protect those who had been arrested.

In alliance with the aforementioned Cambodian NGO Forum, three delegations have been sent to Cambodia by the Cambodian Civilian Forum (Japan) (secretariat: JVC) from Japan between August 1997 and the second general election in 1998. Accompanied by Cambodian human rights NGOs, talks were held with the Cambodian government (People's Party executives), each political party, the Ministry of Defense, the military, the Ministry of Home Affairs and senior members of the police force. These talks sought: (1) guaranteed human rights for those arrested during the civil strife; (2) the investigation of, and arrest of suspects in, political murder and violence; and (3) coordination with the international society and cooperation with (local and international) NGOs. From the same standpoint (collaboration with and prominence of Cambodian NGOs in the democratization process), the Cambodian Civilian Forum was involved in

election monitoring as a representative of the private sector at the time of the second general election in July 1998 based on the wishes of COMFREL. They actually participated in the election monitoring group from ANFREL (Asian Network for Free Election; secretariat – Bangkok) and were responsible for monitoring in the province of Takeo. (On the political front, there will be elections in Kumu (a grouping of villages) in 2001, and a third general election in 2003.)

Proposals - General Views: International society should provide cooperation with a mind to the following points:

- 1) The issue of human rights and democratization can be approached externally by two approaches: either "criticism and proselytizing" or "patience and engagement." Either way, the establishing and division of roles is required. The use of an externally initiated and pressured approach with military threats and criticism will certainly only result in no more than temporary and superficial improvements. A more acceptable approach would consist of various forms of external assistance that take the direction of greater guarantees for the safety of local people and NGOs as well as expanded rights of both involvement and speech.
- 2) While the development of a legal system and other legal matters is important, it is vital that support is provided at the same time for the human rights and democratization activities already in progress by local people and NGOs to ensure an environment in which they can conduct their activities with peace of mind. The United Nations, governments, and international NGOs must provide active assistance for human rights and democratization seminars and election monitoring by local NGOs.  
Nonetheless, local NGOs, including those in Cambodia, adapt and utilize approaches that are well established in local traditions and value systems, such as Buddhism and community elders. While "human rights" are said to be a universal concept arising from Western European politics, society, and culture, this local approach is truly something to be respected and studied by people from other countries, such as those from Europe, the United States, Japan, and organization of the United Nations.
- 3) In the majority of cases (particularly under circumstances of a developmental dictatorship), simply introducing a market economy and providing economic development cooperation with little awareness of social development exacerbates the existing disparity between rich and poor, and, in a political sense, only creates a larger gap in the balance of power between the strong and the weak. Although perhaps an extreme view, a radical change in concept—in which the precept of the cooperation framework is on social and human development—must take place, with economic development positioned as one means to this end (the issue of conducting international cooperation externally).

Proposals – Specific Views: Aid would best be provided in the following specific fields and perspectives.

- 1) During the clash of the two factions in 1997, Cambodian human rights NGOs and others were effective in providing mediation and working for the protection of those arrested. A major reason for this is that since 1992-3, Cambodian NGOs were able to hold discussions with regional military and police executives, regular soldiers, and police officers with whom they had become acquainted through Public Servant Seminars relating to human rights and elections. These activities are important. The path of influence is expanded from local NGOs to central and regional government.
- 2) References to election monitoring are frequently limited to around the time of actual voting and vote counting. The issues of human rights and democratization, however, can only be grasped through long-standing and broad-ranging involvement. Based on the autonomy of local NGOs, long-term observers—even if only a few—should be dispatched.
- 3) Ensuring that local authorities (politicians, military and police executives, etc.) know that international society and outside parties have a constant interest in democratization and are watching helps to suppress abuses of power and also provides support for local activities (by opposition parties, the media, and human rights NGOs) and for the average citizen.

Panelist

**Mr. Kassie Neou**Executive Director, Cambodian Institute of Human Rights (CIHR), Cambodia

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**From chaos towards order**

Cambodia must be one of the most challenging of countries to be emerging as a democracy. We have suffered what was perhaps the largest internecine tragedy ever seen by a single country, which was followed by a huge international effort based on the Paris Peace Accords of 1991, these accords later heralded in the United Nations Transitional Authority for Cambodia in 1993. Since then we have had two national elections in 1993 and 1998. Democracy exists on Cambodia. We do have a functioning National Assembly, and other institutions provided by our Constitution.

However, we still have the questions: Where are we, exactly, as an emerging democracy? Where are we going, and what is the impact of external support through overseas development assistance?

Well let me answer the last question first. Without Japan in particular and the combined contributions of the entire international community, in all likelihood we would never have had our elections in 1998. If they had been canceled or organized only with domestic sources of revenue, I can categorically say we could not have come close to reaching internationally accepted standards, and therefore we could well have lost the chance for democracy. I thank Japan for giving us that chance. I was the Vice-Chairman of the National Election Commission, and I believe that we could not have fulfilled the task without your funding and resources.

Those elections, for many reasons, may not have been free, fair, and credible to the degree that most of us would desire, but given the circumstances, no one should under-estimate the significance of the fact that they did happen with well over 90% of electorate voting. Despite the violent suppression of post-election protests, the elections did eventually lead to a new coalition government, an officially recognized opposition party for the first time, and a potential extra member of the constitutional checks-and-balances system in the form of a second chamber, a Senate. And with all of these, we have obtained relative peace. I can say with certainty that these are the products of official development assistance. Democracy has survived.

**Invigorating civil society**

International assistance did much more than help democracy to survive. The aid took many different forms, such as direct bi-lateral aid, indirect support through NGOs, and a multinational trust fund administered by the UNDP. All of this spawned a remarkable effort to hold the elections on time and to prepare the voters as best as possible in order to exercise their democratic rights without fear or favor. In this sense, aid developed the institutional capacity not just of institutions such as the NEC, but also of the many NGOs involved. Civil society is very much the beneficiary, with a vibrant and consolidated local and international NGO community, plus the active voluntary (or mainly voluntary) participation of more than 100,000 ordinary citizens as election officials and neutral domestic observers. Positive engagement between the international community (nations, blocs of nations, and agencies), local and international NGOs, and the mass media brought good results.

**Cultivating political will**

So yes, our democracy is surviving. Civil society (in the form of NGOs) and the resurgence of Buddhism are gaining strength. We are going forward even if progress is slow, irregular, and fragile, and we do seem to be on the right path. The decisive factor remains, as ever, political will. Are the people in power fully committed to democracy? Here again the same extensive partnership serves to encourage political will.

Elections take place infrequently, and in the years in between all other structures and processes need to be sustained. The same democratic messages to key players need to come constantly and from many directions – from television, from radio, from newspapers and neighbors. These messages extend well beyond political and civic rights, which are inextricably linked with economic, social, and cultural rights and with human development. Therefore, all forms of official development assistance, regardless of the manner of delivery or the service or project supported, represent opportunities to sustain the will for positive change. None of us, not least of all human rights organizations, can operate in isolation. We are inter-connected and we are stronger for it, especially in the face of reluctant or recalcitrant authorities. People in authority can be brought on board when there is dialogue, mutual respect, and shared benefits.

At this point, I wish to alert my international friends to the dangers of disengagement, of sanctions imposed to force governments to moderate policies. Sanctions are crude weapons and their effectiveness is questionable. I have said to donors, how can you expect to be listened to if you are not here to present your case before the target audience? And remember, sanctions invariably harm the poor, so the cycle of poverty goes on, adversely affecting education, health, development, etc. Poverty marginalizes a very large share of the population in a poor country like Cambodia. When that happens, hopes are dashed that the grass-roots level will be stimulated to act, and without active citizen participation, democracy in its simplest form is deterred.

### **Leading from the outside**

International friends, stay engaged! Also, please, most importantly:

- 1 *Consider rebuilding fractured communities as a **long-term effort** by the international community in **partnership** with national governments and civic organizations. It is not something you achieve in a one - year ministerial budget, or even in one term of office.*
- 2 *Support efforts to rebuild developing countries psychologically through creation or re-creation of 'checks and balances' in a healthy society.*
- 3 *Support concrete reconciliation efforts and confidence-building.*
- 4 *Engage the top leaders, also encourage intervention by **senior** foreign and international officials.*
- 5 *Share practical information – it is surprising how little material on experiences elsewhere is available in Cambodia.*
- 6 *Apply traditional diplomatic tools, preferably collectively, where appropriate.*
- 7 *Developed nations should make human rights and democracy an integral factor in determining policy for all official development assistance projects.*

### **Leading from the inside**

Finally, NGOs can play several important roles in representing the best interests of society, but again different approaches can be accommodated and they must be varied and flexible.

- 1 *As an **advocate** calling for fundamental change. Cambodian society has evolved in such a way that uncivilized attitudes and behavior have become the norm. There is a climate of impunity. We have to raise the consciousness of each individual to know real right from wrong.*
- 2 *As a **catalyst** of change – to depoliticize society. "There is more to life than politics". Civic NGOs can encourage greater appreciation of other things in life.*
- 3 *As a **bridge or facilitator** between government and the people, building on mutual trust to influence government to be more caring while, at the same time, building confidence in the people that change can take place.*
- 4 *As a responsible **partner** between government, opposing parties, and ordinary people – and at times as a conduit for the international community. As a partner, we must be independent, trusted, and respected.*
- 5 *As a **moderator**, so disputes and differences are settled systematically by consensus and democratic methods, without politics intervening.*
- 6 *As an **educator** stimulating expression, ideas, and enterprises, while building individual and group self-confidence. This will allow people **to** take more responsibility in their own lives, and will lead them to actual*



*empowerment, then....*

- 7 *As a **participant** in the task of rebuilding fractured communities – implementation of real grassroots projects that begin to make life better for everyone, not just the rich and powerful.*

Panelist

## **Mr. Takayuki Sahara**

Senior Assistant to the Managing Director of Regional Department I,  
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Japan

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### **JICA's Assistance for Democratic Reform and Good Governance**

#### **1. Approach**

Wider participation by the general public in the political as well as socio-economic development processes constitutes a precondition for effective and sustainable development. A JICA study group on "peacebuilding", established in October 1999, stressed the importance of democratic reform and good governance; it also proposed 6 priority areas, among which three have been actively promoted.

- (1) to encourage the general public to participate in national and local political processes, most typically the conduct of fair and transparent elections, thus strengthening the legitimacy of government institutions,
- (2) to encourage the rule of law and to strengthen the legal system, most typically to help strengthen the capacity of lawyers (as in the case of East Timor lawyers' training) and police administration in various countries.
- (3) To encourage accountable and competent civil service, most typically to improve public service to better meet the client's needs through technical capacity-building.

Three other areas which JICA is exploring practical means of interventions are:

- (1) to encourage the prevention of corruption,
- (2) to shift resources from military-related areas to development,
- (3) to protect human rights and minimize handicaps arising from differences in gender, ethnicity, religion, social and economic status.

#### **2. Example**

Among the recent cases of JICA's assistance for democratic reform and good governance, support for the general election in Indonesia is one of the most salient cases, both in terms of its importance in influencing the wellbeing of more than 200 million people as well as of its significance in promoting collaboration with local NGOs to achieve the purposes of the election.



#### **Experiencing fair and democratic Voting after three decades**

The general election in Indonesia on June 7, 1999, was a major milestone for political reform launched by the Habibie Government. The Election was held in a democratic manner and implemented freely and fairly. Taking into account Japan's long-standing friendship with Indonesia and the importance of Indonesia's political and economic stability both for Japan and many other countries, the Government of Japan (GOJ) provided comprehensive support to

the Government of Indonesia to help it realize the general election, and JICA played an important part in this support.

Financially, the GOJ provided US\$ 34.45 million in grants through the UNDP's electoral technical assistance program, the largest single contribution received by the UNDP from an international donor. These grants were used mainly to assist electoral logistics and monitoring as well as services.

Donner	US\$
Australia (A\$ 14.2)	9,025,600
Canada (C\$ 1.8m)	1,224,451
EC (Euro 7m)	7,499,999
Gamany (DM 1.86m)	1,010,026
Japan	34,450,000
Norway	976,121
UK	3,053,937
Others	3,015,765
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>60,255,899</b>

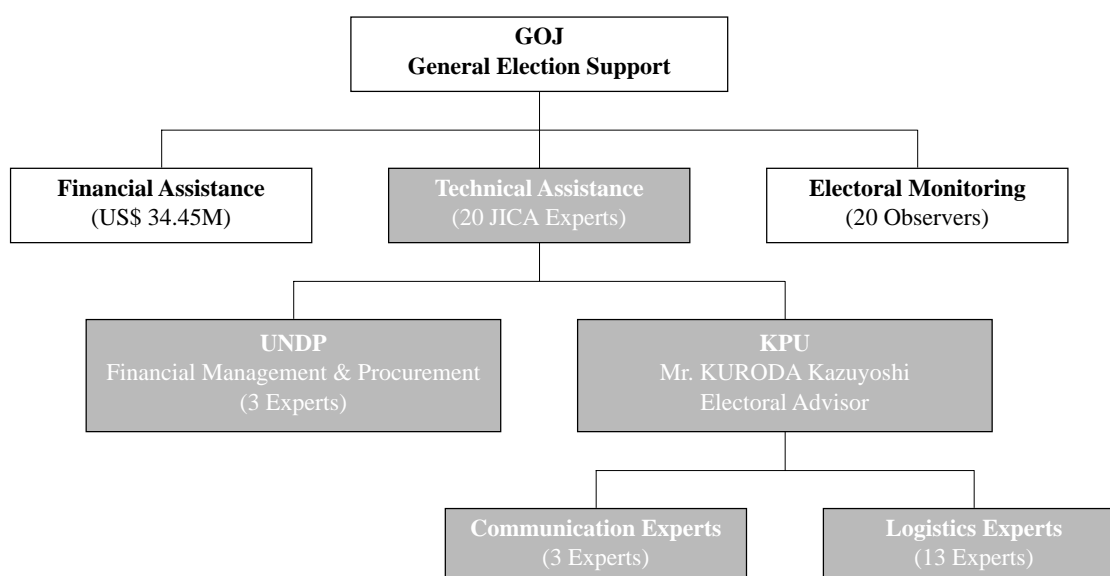
\*Taken from p.4 of the 9<sup>th</sup> Edition of UNDP Election Update

### **Financial Assistance of the GOJ through the UNDP**

Technically, the GOJ provided assistance by sending 20 experts through JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) to both the KPU (Indonesia's authority for implementing the general election) and the UNDP for electoral technical assistance. In addition, the GOJ also provided 20 observers to participate in election monitoring to help secure fairness and cleanliness.

### **3. Comprehensive Intervention of JICA's Technical Assistance**

To support the electoral process in Indonesia, JICA's technical assistance covered the major stages of the electoral process: "before and after the election", and "from within and from outside the KPU". The 20 electoral experts provided by JICA were distributed to the UNDP (3 experts) and the KPU (17 experts). The three experts assigned to the UNDP observed procurement aspects of the UNDP's electoral technical assistance program, conducted appraisals of NGO proposals, and conducted financial auditing and evaluation. This was to help assure that the resources being delivered to the KPU were within the rules and regulations of the UNDP with regard to transparency and accountability.



### **Assistance from the GOJ and JICA**

The seventeen experts assigned to the KPU were led by Mr. KURODA Kazuyoshi, who has long experience in supporting the electoral process in many countries. The experts were composed of 6 electoral experts who had experience in electoral process; 7 former JOCV (Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers) who were previously assigned for several years in rural areas in Indonesia; and 3 computer experts. The first 13 experts advised the delivery of electoral goods, and 3 experts supported the establishment of vote counting and tabulation systems and the operation and management of computer and communication facilities at the Joint Operation Media Center (JOMC) and KPU. Both of these institutions made efforts to publicize the preparations for and the result of the election at as early stage as possible to keep the general public informed. This was considered critically important to make the general election fair and transparent.



**JICA monitored the progress of preparations for the general election and advised measures to be taken.**



**JICA's advisory team in a regular meeting.**



**Assisting in the setup and updating of data at the Joint Media Operation Center**

#### **4. Recap**

JICA's support for Indonesia's general election was a case of collaboration with local NGOs and the UNDP, through which collaboration with other international donors was achieved. The incumbent president of the UNDP at his inauguration interview referred to this collaboration as one of the most salient success of multi-bi collaboration. In addition, this was a case of ODA-NGO collaboration and of pre-and post-election collaboration with the Indonesian Election Management Team. Through this support JICA has assisted the Indonesian people in holding a fair and transparent election, and thus prevented the eruption of possible disputes and political violence.

This was one typical case of JICA's cooperation at work in building up trust in elections as an democratic institution, and in democratic reform and good governance.

**5. Other Intervention**

Beside support for the general election, JICA provides support for democratic reform and good governance in various forms. JICA's most prevalent activities in this regard are in the building up of an accountable and competent civil service, especially in terms of technical competence. Through such assistance, public institutions are providing better health service to mothers and children, cleaner water to citizens, and better science education in primary and secondary schools. Establishing a more effective and efficient civil service constitutes the essential ingredients of democratic reform and good governance.

## 質疑応答

### Open Discussion

#### 菅原 秀(ワールド・ビュー・ライツ):

ノルウェーに本拠を置いているワールド・ビュー・ライツ(World View Rights)という団体の日本代表をしております。

先日、ブラジルのサンパウロでワールド・ブロック・ムーブメント・オブ・デモクラシーという会合に参加しました。その際、特にアジアの多くのNGOの方々から「日本の人権団体と交流をしたい。アジアの団体を助ける人権団体を紹介してくれないだろうか」と言われました。私にはアジアの人権問題を全体的に扱う活動をする余力はありません。日本ではアドボカシー活動をしている団体は、今のところ政府の援助も、民間の助成団体の援助も受けることができません。基本的に政治的な活動はだめなのです。人権アドボカシーを専門にしている団体はおそらく日本にはないのです。その話をしたところ、外国のNGOの人たちは非常にかがかりました。私はこの問題を受け止め、各国の人権を応援する団体を日本でつくっていかなくてはならないと思いました。世界中の人が日本人に期待しています。外務省と助成団体とNGOが協力していくことで、アジアのNGOをアドボカシーの面からも支援することは可能だと思います。

#### 稲垣国際協力事業団国際協力専門員:

バックルスさんに二つ質問があります。USAIDがどのように民主化を進めてきたのか、具体的なことを伺いたいのですが、例えば中央アジアではどのような仕事をしているのでしょうか。1995年から98年までのお話をされましたが、中央アジアにとっても政治的・経済的に大変難しい時期であったと思います。

2番目の質問ですが、NGOをそれぞれの国でどのように立ち上げたのですか。例えば日本でも、ODAを通じて経済改革、人権、環境面で協力を進めたいと思っていますが、能力のあるNGOが少ないのです。

#### パトリシア・バックルス(米国国際開発庁フィリピン事務所長):

中央アジアの諸国は1997年の12月に独立を宣言したばかりでしたが、既にしっかりした物理的なインフラがありました。旧ソビエトはインフラをつくるという点では非常に長けていましたから、通信ラインもあり、電話線もきちんと敷設され、またメディアも発達していました。非常に高い教育レベルが実現しており、識字率も高く、そういう意味ではプラス面が多かったのです。NGOは官製のもので、われわれのNGOとはかなり性格が違っていました。ロシアの「インテリヘンシア」というNGOは、政府以外の組織と一緒に仕事をした経験がありました。NGOとの協力に際し、USAIDはまず、どこが一番適切な分野かを選択しました。彼らの経験のあるところに目標を絞り込んで援助をし、アメリカのNGOなどの経験も伝えました。共通の問題を識別し、教育、環境、あるいは彼らが歴史的に経験を持っている分野を中心にトレーニングを行

いました。その後、アドボカシーのトレーニングも行い、NGOがさまざまな勧告を行い、政策の立案にまでつながるようにしていこうとしました。

メディアはとても重要な分野です。アメリカの二つのNGOがドキュメンタリーの制作など、客観的なジャーナリズムの育成を行っています。中央アジアの国々ではジャーナリズムはもともと政府のプロパガンダ機関でしたので、客観的な報道ができるようにトレーニングをしたわけです。技術的な分野では、例えばテレビ局などに対する機器の提供を行いました。ニュースは新聞よりもテレビで知るからです。テレビ局は国家の独占状態だったのですが、政策アドバイスを行うようなプログラムづくりのための技術協力も行いました。

まず何よりも、外国に旅行できるようなチャンスを与えることが重要でした。タジキスタンのジャーナリストは外国に出たことがないので、1年間に延べ2,000回の取材旅行を計画しました。1カ月～数週間の期間で、環境、医療、家族計画、母子健康、都市問題がテーマになりました。いろいろな国を訪問することにより、ニュースソースとのつながりができました。3年目には東欧を訪問しました。同じプログラムを東欧のほうでも、中央アジアの3年前にスタートしており、その経験を中央アジアに生かしたのです。

#### トゥドゥン・ムリヤ・ルビス(インドネシア自由・公正な選挙のための大学ネットワーク代表):

日本政府、日本のNGOはもっとアジアにおいて積極的な役割を果たすべきだったと思います。30年間人権擁護活動をやってきた経験から見て、日本のNGOはネットワークが少ないのではないかと思います。どうやったら日本のNGOをもっと活性化させることができるのでしょうか。

インドネシアで先日開かれたASEANピープルズ・コンフェレンスにおいて、アジアの人権メカニズムをつくらうという話が出ました。アジアの国々で、人権憲章のようなものを作るべきだということを考えています。JICAはカンボディア、インドネシアなどで選挙を支援しております。人権分野において、日本政府またはNGOがもっと積極的な役割を果たすべきではないでしょうか。

#### 佐原 隆幸(国際協力事業団アジア第一部調査役):

日本のNGOはもっと積極的な役割を果たすことができるだろうと思います。特に東ティモールの場合、日本のNGOの数はどんどん増えています。また、日本のODAに何ができるかということですが、ひとつの例として、法律の専門家の派遣、研修という協力があります。JICAのインドネシア事務所は、東ティモールのNGOからアイデアをもらい、2～3カ月間インドネシアでセミナーを開催し、東ティモールの判事など法律家を研修しようということになりました。同様のことが、このほかの分野でもあり得ると思います。

**熊岡 路矢(日本国際ボランティアセンター代表):**

緊急援助や開発協力という現場型のNGOが次のステップとして、民主化、人権、市民社会の問題をどう取り込んでいくかが課題です。人権NGOについては、個々の国、地域の問題に則して動いているNGOはそれなりにあると思いますが、人権問題、市民社会、民主化などの問題に関する広い意味でのアドボカシーに進もうとすると、ODAとの接点がないことも含めて、全体の問題に取り組めるような質と規模のNGOまたはNGOグループがまだ出ていないのが現状です。この課題に対する答えはひとつであり、どんなに苦しくても地域別、国別に活動しているNGOや、われわれのように開発協力型NGOなども含めて、あらためてネットワークを形成し、取り組みを強めていく以外に方法はありません。

**クリスチャン・モンソッド(元フィリピン選挙管理委員会委員長):**

これは定義の問題かもしれませんが、NGOの話をする場合、私たちはいわゆる仲介をする機関を連想します。フィリピンでは、ようやくプライベートセクターの仲介をするNGOが出てきています。私も改革に携わっておりますが、例えば、農業従事者など、一番周辺に追いやられている人たちを対象としています。ドナー機関、国際機関

では具体的にこういったやり方でこのようにキャパシティ・ビルディングに携わろうとしているのでしょうか。一番底辺にいる人たちにどのような支援をしようとしているのでしょうか。

**佐原 隆幸(国際協力事業団アジア第一部調査役):**

最近の例をひとつ紹介します。JICAは開発福祉支援事業をここ数年来実施しており、特にアジア経済危機の後、拡大しています。これは一番底辺の人たちをターゲットにしている事業です。例えば、清潔な飲料水を200ドルないしはそれ以下の所得の人たちのために提供しています。現地のNGOの人たちと一緒に、一つのプロセスを浸透させ、定着したら次第に撤退していくのです。これは現地のNGOが中心にやっている事業で、JICAは現地の人に必要な物資を提供し、自分たちでシステムを管理する能力を育成するためのキャパシティビルディングに対する協力をしております。

**ミシュリン・ボードリー-ソムシンスキー(カナダ国際開発庁シニア・アドバイザー):**

NGOと政府の関係、NGOとODAの関係、NGOと国際社会、国内の社会とNGOの関係などについて、パネリストの方々は最も重要な点について議論しました。

## Discussion (wrap up )



## 総括ディスカッション

### Discussion (wrap up)

#### 廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):

過去ではなく、未来に目を向け、われわれはこれから何をすべきなのかということについて考えたいと思います。途上国においては様々な制約条件がありますが、それを踏まえて民主化のために今後何ができるのでしょうか。途上国自らができること、同時に国際社会が何を協力できるのかということについて、これから考えていきたいと思っています。

#### 猪口 邦子(上智大学法学部教授):

まず最初に、ODAは今、逆風にさらされていますが、途上国に持続可能な民主主義的をいかに実現するかという課題について話し合う場を提供するという大胆なイニシアティブを取り、この会議を主催した外務省、JICAを評価したいと思います。民主化支援はわれわれ日本国民にとっても重要な分野であり、この分野にコミットを続け、ODAをそのための外交政策の柱とするのはとても重要なことです。従来型のODAの供給の仕方を続けていけば、納税者の間でも「援助疲れ」が起きてしまうでしょう。ODAを使ってほかの国の人たちの民主化の自助努力を支援しているということが目に見えれば、日本国民にもそれをサポートする世論が出てくると思います。

もう一点強調したいのは、民主化支援には他の分野との連携が必要ということです。例えば、民主主義と紛争予防、民主主義と貧困、民主主義と情報技術、民主主義とジェンダー、民主主義と環境対策などです。選挙の支援も必要ですが、単にそれだけで終わってはいけなくと思います。今後、ローカルなパートナーとの連携をつくることも重要になっていきます。

第3に、民主化支援における戦略的な側面についても今後取り組まなければならないと思います。日本の民主主義にもいろいろな問題がありますので、お互いに学ぶという姿勢が必要です。また、ジェンダーに配慮したイニシアティブなど、従来、主流から外れていた人々にも戦略的に関与していく必要があります。

最後に、民主化には、例えば平和構築、貧困撲滅、またジェンダー問題などにも好影響を及ぼすいわゆる波及効果が期待されます。これが実現できれば、人々は民主主義を維持するための負担を担う用意ができると思います。人間のあらゆる活動はお互い関連し合っていますので、総合的で包括的なアプローチをいかにとるかが課題だと思います。

#### カール・ガーシュマン(全米民主主義財団理事長):

ジェンクス氏が何回かアマルティア・センの言葉に言及しています。「民主的な国家においては飢餓はない」という言葉ですが、全体主義的な政府の問題について指摘しておきたい。例えば1930年代のウクライナ、そして今の北朝鮮の飢餓においては、そもそも政府が原因をつくっているのです。これは政府がその国民に対して非常に残虐な姿勢を取っているためです。われわれがこれら

の政府に対して、より民主化し、多元主義と人権擁護に対してさらにオープンになってくれることを望む大きな理由です。

さて、民主主義とは何かという基本的な問題提起がありました。私たちは今後民主化を進めるに当たり、基本的にどのようなコンセプトを念頭に置かなくてはいけないのか。民主化のプロセスというのはステップ・バイ・ステップです。独裁主義から突然自由民主主義は実現しません。どのような国であろうと、独裁的な国であろうと、ある程度民主的な考えを持つ社会であったとしても、民主主義のコンセプトを導入することからスタートするのです。選挙による民主主義は、リベラルデモクラシーではないにしても、独裁主義よりははるかに良いものです。政治学的に言うと、いかにして選挙による民主主義から、本当の意味での自由主義的な民主主義を実現するかが重要です。例えば権威主義をやっと排除した国においては、強力なメディアはなく、市民社会は弱く、法による統治もなく、汚職が蔓延し金権政治が横行しているという問題があります。こうした問題に対応しながら、いかに選挙による民主主義を本当の意味での自由主義的な民主主義に移行させるのか。何世代にもわたる長期的な仕事になるかもしれません。ロシアのような国は今まさに移行期です。今述べたような欠陥があるからだめだというのではありません。権威主義的な体制から選挙民主主義に移ったことについては賞賛します。しかし、まだその先があることも認識しなくてはなりません。選挙民主主義から自由主義的な民主主義に移るには包括的なアプローチが必要です。その際、市民社会はとても重要であり、モニターとしての役割を果たします。

しかし市民社会だけでは民主的な体制はできません。政党、選挙、そして市場経済、それも活況を呈した市場経済が必要です。労働組合も必要です。政府は良い経済政策が実施できるような政府でなければなりません。市場経済が効率的に機能するように能力のある効率的な官僚制度も必要です。アカウントビリティのある、透明性のある、市民のアクセスのある独立した司法、法による支配、強力なメディア、女性の関与、参加等あらゆる要素が必要です。これらすべてが相まって民主化が進むのです。したがって、いろいろなアプローチをとることが重要だと思います。民主主義は多元主義です。いろいろなアイデアの実験を伴います。政府、NGO、政党、労働組合、企業、独立したメディア、機関が一緒にこのプロセスを進めなくてはなりません。また資金面のサポートも必要です。資金は慎重に提供しなければならず、使い道についてはモニタリングが不可欠です。ネットワークづくりも大事です。単に先進国と途上国間のネットワークだけではなく、途上国間同士のネットワークも必要です。

最後に、国際的な協力が必要です。民主化はひとつの国や文化圏が、単独でできることではありません。われわれ

は運命共同体です。一緒になって何ができるかを考えなくてはなりません。私たちは文化的な背景も伝統も異なりますが、世界人権宣言にうたわれているような共通の価値を基礎として共通の目標に向けて努力できると思います。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

4つのポイントが強調されました。ひとつは民主主義が普遍的な価値ということ、2つ目は、1国だけではだめであり国際社会で取り組んでいかなければならないこと、3番目はステップ・バイ・ステップのアプローチであること、最後にさまざまな関係者がパートナーシップをつくり、多元的なアプローチが必要ということでした。

**トゥドゥン・ムリヤ・ルピス(インドネシア自由・公正な選挙のための大学ネットワーク代表):**

今後どのように開発途上国における民主化を支援していけばよいかということに関し、非常に重要なテーマが提示されました。インドネシアにおいては民主化のプロセスは始まったばかりで、非常に脆弱であり、政党や選挙管理委員会がまだきちんと機能しておりません。金権政治が広まっております。この間、いろいろ変化も起こりました。例えば、報道の自由、人権の尊重、あるいは市民社会の形成などです。

しかし、民主化のプロセスにおいても、市民間の紛争や対立という問題が起こるのです。ジャワ島などでは内国避難民が100万人近くにのぼります。また、民主化のプロセスが始まったからといって、東ティモールの独立要求をストップさせることにはなりません。経済が改善するわけでもありません。人々が辛抱しきれなくなるのではないかと少し心配しています。政府が腐敗、汚職を撲滅する意志が必要です。そうでないと、国民は民主主義が本当に必要なのかと思い始めるのではないかと心配です。インドネシアは民主化に向かない、その準備ができていない、つまり民主主義や人権よりも経済のほうが大事だと思い始めているのではないか。そのような発言が巷で聞かれます。自由よりもお金、パンのほうが大事だということです。スハルト政権のほうがワヒド政権よりも良かったということを言っているのです。こうした考え方は間違っていますが、この人たちの欲求不満を理解しなければなりません。私はステップ・バイ・ステップ・アプローチに賛成ですが、この先に成果が生まれることを希望しています。民主化のプロセスの中で、民主主義を守っていくという姿勢が必要です。

その意味で、政府と市民社会の間の協力が必要です。これについてODA、あるいはNGOはどのような支援が可能でしょうか。ひとつは、民主的な機構はほとんどの途上国にもありますが、もっとそれを強化しなければいけないと思います。選挙管理委員会をつくり、選挙監視を強化しなければいけない。第2番目に、司法制度、人権擁護委員会のような機関が重要です。人権擁護委員会はインドネシア、フィリピン、タイにはありますが、ASEANのすべての国にあるというわけではありません。この分野で焦点を絞った活動ができるのではないかと思います。第3番目に紛争解決です。紛争地域で、平和的な解決のための活動が期待されます。第4番目に報道の自由の確立です。開発途上国の中には報道の自由を獲得した国もあります

が、まだ脆弱です。この分野でわれわれは活動ができるのではないか。報道の自由のない民主主義はあり得ないからです。

最後に、こうした協力のほかに、経済開発も進めていかなければなりません。理論的には経済開発が結果として民主主義に結びつくということではありませんが、民主的な移行をしている国々に対して投資することはさらに民主化を推し進めることにつながるという観点からです。民主化のプロセスでは経済援助とともに外国投資の誘致が重要ではないかと思います。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

ルピス氏によると、ステップ・バイ・ステップのプロセスは大事だが、それは後戻りしないようなステップでなければならないということでした。また報道の自由、自由で責任あるメディアや外国投資の重要性を強調されました。

**クリスチャン・モンソッド(元フィリピン選挙管理委員会委員長):**

私たちに必要なのは新しいパラダイムづくりではないかと思えます。いろいろな問題を古い方法で是正しようとしているように思うからです。多くの人を動員し、もっと信頼しなければなりません。民主主義は大きな可能性を一般の人々の中から引き出すものですから、ほんの一握りのノーベル賞受賞者が出ることよりも重要です。

検討すべきいくつかの課題があるかと思えます。ひとつは開発途上国における初等教育の重要性です。ハードとソフトの両方が必要です。小学校には教科書もないのです。10人あるいは20人の子供たちが1冊の教科書を使っていることがしばしばあります。

次に、新しいパラダイム・シフトはエンパワメントがベースになります。人々に力を与え、力のある組織・制度をつくっていくのです。そのためには情報が必要であり、情報こそ力です。従って、教育システムにおいては次のような支援が必要です。例えば、単なるカリキュラムだけではなく、コンピュータやテレビを村落地域に供与するのです。貧しい社会では成人でも読み書きのできない人がおり、インフォーマルな教育が必要です。このように初等教育を情報化時代に合ったものにしなければいけません。

さらに、私たちは民主化や規制緩和などを口にしますが、その最終的な目的は消費者を守るということです。最も質の良いものを安く提供するという点について、消費者グループはまだアドボカシーの段階で遅れています。彼らに対する支援が必要ですし、そのための独立した規制当局、より良い規制が必要です。それは市場をコントロールするためではなく、より良く機能させるために必要なのです。

最後に、国づくりの一番良い方法はセクターを越えた官民の交流だと思えます。例えば、NGOの代表が官の仕事をするようになると裏切りだと思える傾向が一般的にあります。豊かな才能を官僚機構の中で生かすことができるという面もあるので、ぜひそれは奨励すべきだと思います。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

途上国における民主化においてわれわれがもっと注目しなくてはならない分野についてのお話でした。国際社

会が、教育改革等の分野でどのようなサポートをしなくてはならないのか、細かい点についてお話をいただきました。

**キャシー・ノウ(カンボディア人権協会専務理事):**

これまでのお話が私にとってどのような意味を持ち、国に帰るに際し、何を持ち帰ったら良いのかについて話したいと思います。この1日半に及ぶディスカッションを通じて、私たちは民主主義はたしかに存在するのだということを知りました。日本やカンボディアでは、それぞれに違ったかたちではありますが民主主義は存在します。選挙の話も随分ありました。自由で公正な選挙なくして民主主義はあり得ません。そうした制度だけでなく、透明性やアカウンタビリティ、インタラクティブな学習、そして多様なアプローチが必要という点も強調され、これらも重要です。

また、エンパワーメント、キャパシティ・ビルディングという言葉も出ました。私が思うに、誰をエンパワーするのかでそれらには二つの方向があります。普通の人々なのか、それとも権力の座にある人々なのか。キャパシティ・ビルディングした結果、支配者のキャパシティも構築されてしまい、彼らはそれを乱用し、経済開発によってもたらされるいろいろな利益を自分たちのものにしてしまうケースもあります。

一方、物事がうまく機能するためにはオーナーシップ、協力、対話、パートナーシップ、信頼醸成、相互理解、そして何と言っても教育が大事です。カンボディアの場合、まず政府の人間を教育し、その後に一般の人たちの教育を行うべきだと思います。私が政府の仕事をするようになったのは教育を受けたからです。政府の中でのいろいろな人たちと常に対話をすれば、様々なことが学べます。

最後に選挙についてです。1998年、総選挙の際に日本は1,300万ドルを拠出してくれました。私は全国選挙委員会の副委員長ですが、次回の選挙もよろしくお願ひします。次回は総選挙ではなく地方選挙になりますが、2,600万ドルが不足しております。インドネシアほどの額ではありません。地方選挙なので国際社会からの援助の対象になりませんが、そうと知りつつもドナー国の方々に、この選挙は総選挙以上に重要なものであることを認識していただきたいのです。地方選挙は私たちにとって大きな転換期になります。この先向かう方向が正しいものか、間違ったものになるかを決める選挙になります。特に地方分権という意味ではとても重要な選挙になるでしょう。次回の選挙では、超党派の候補や女性候補にぜひ立候補してほしいと願っています。とくに、女性は全人口の6割を占めていますので、女性候補を歓迎したい。また、選挙管理委員会自体の改革も必要だと考えています。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

選挙、エンパワーメント、キャパシティ・ビルディングなどの民主化における重要なコンセプトや問題を再提起し、意味を明らかにして頂きました。

**ベント・セーヴェ・セーデルベリ(民主主義・選挙支援国際研究所事務総長):**

昨日、私は選挙支援に関わる10年にわたる経験についてお話をしました。今日は4つの点について話したいと思

います。まずは視点を変える必要性、2番目は学習、3番目は国際または地域的な社会の民主化、最後に日本の役割についてです。

まず最初に視点を変えるという意味で2点申し上げます。民主主義というのは、単に私たちがここで話し合った価値観だけのことではありません。それも重要ではありますが、民主主義なくして持続可能な平和もありません。また社会的、経済的發展もあり得ません。この点については既に詳しく述べられています。もうひとつの側面として多くの方が言われているように、選挙は単に民主主義のひとつの側面に過ぎないということです。民主主義をプロセスとして、文化として考えるべきなのです。とても難しい、チャレンジの多いプロセスですが。

2番目は学習です。この言葉をいかに具現化するのが問題です。私たちは人々に対していろいろと比較する機会を提供すべきです。例えばキャパシティ・ビルディングが重要ということだけでなく、いかにすべきか、何がうまくいき、何がうまくいかないのかを学ばなくてはなりません。さて、この関連で申し上げたいのは、2001年に私たちは大きなシンポジウムを企画しております。テーマは民主主義とIT革命というものです。いろいろなテーマを取り上げる予定ですが、詳細について知りたい方は私たちのホームページをご覧ください。

3つ目は地域、国際的な次元の民主化です。国連はあらゆる国を代表している機関ですが、国連が最前線に立つことはありません。むしろ、今注目を浴びるのは地域レベルでの活動です。私はヨーロッパの人間ですので、EU、OSCE(欧州安全保障協力機構)が何をしているかということを目の当たりにしてきました。南米においてもOAS(米州機構)がいろいろなことを行っています。ペルーの選挙においても、OASが非常に積極的に公正な選挙の原則を貫き通そうとしました。アジアにおいてはASEANがありますが慎重です。いろいろな会合が行われていますが、できればもっと積極的になってほしいと思います。こうした中で国連の果たすべき役割は何でしょうか。国連事務総長が民主主義について話す機会が増えていきます。私たちはミレニアム・サミットにおいてディスカッション・ペーパーを提出しました。うれしいことに、事務総長はわれわれのディスカッション・ペーパーの内容を採択してくれました。国連も民主化支援でもっと積極的になってほしいと思います。

4番目に日本の役割ですが、今回のシンポジウム開催はもっと日本が積極的に取り組もうとする姿勢の現れだと思います。それぞれ違った伝統、文化があります。私が代表する国際機関では国ごとにいろいろなアプローチが取られています。民主主義の時代にあって、私たちは日本ともこれまで以上に知識を共有したいと思っています。日本には平和を推進してきた長い伝統があります。また、日本は人間の安全保障の面でもイニシアティブを取っています。これも民主主義と緊密な関係にあります。私たちはぜひ日本との関係をもっと強化していきたいと思ひますし、私たちの機関の中でもっと日本に活躍していただきたいと思ひます。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

確かにもっと日本が積極的な役割を果たして、途上国

における民主主義や良い統治に対する支援を進めなければならぬと思います。

それでは、フロアの方からのコメントをお受けしたいと思います。

**オブザーバー：**

非常に意義深いシンポジウムだったと思うのですが、残念ながらひとつだけすぼりと抜け落ちている論点があると思います。実際に日本人が開発途上国の民主化支援にどのように関わっていくのかということについて、何ら議論がされていなかったということが残念です。外務省、JICA、総理府を含めて、日本の政府機関は日本人を適正に活用しているとは思えません。例えば、昨年の東ティモールの住民投票では6人の日本人が国連ボランティアとして派遣され、約2ヵ月間仕事をしました。日本人にも非常に有意義な経験と知識を持ち、働ける若い人がいるのです。そのような人たちをどんどんこれから活用していただきたいのです。シンポジウムやお話はもうよいのです。民主化支援でこれからどんどん顔の見える援助をしてください。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授)：**

力強い言葉で本当に若い方々がおおいにそのような方向で活動していただくことを期待します。

**菅原 秀(ワールド・ビュー・ライツ)：**

私は民主主義のアドボケーターとして仕事をしております。総括セッションのテーマは、将来何ができるかということだったと思います。二つ言いたいことがあります。まず、日本政府のODA政策は政府対政府の政策に絞られすぎているように思います。例えば、NGOの声がなかなか日本政府には届きにくいのです。ひとつ提案があるのですが、情報ネットワークを日本とアジアのNGOの間に張り巡らせたらよいのではないのでしょうか。市民が参加することになりますので、これはODAのお金を使う上で重要な意味を持つと思います。

次に、ODA予算を縮小しようとしている動きがあり、よくない知らせです。しかし、これを機会にこれまでのやり方を転換しようではありませんか。ODAの予算をカットするならそれでいいですよということです。なぜならば、民主化支援にはさほどお金がいらぬからです。例えばキャシー・ノウさんが先ほど述べられましたが、途上国の人々は決してお金がほしいと言っているのではなく、モラル・サポートや情報が必要なのです。つまり、日本の経験から学びたい、そのための技術、アイデアを提供してくださいということです。ODAをぜひこの分野に振り向けたらどうかと思うのです。非常にコスト効率良く、民主主義を支援することができるでしょう。そうすることにより日本のODAはこれまでよりずっと改善するのではないかと思います。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授)：**

日本では2,500人以上の人たちが青年海外協力隊に参加しているわけですが、砂漠や山岳地帯など厳しいところに行き活動しています。途上国に行くと、このような人々をよく見ます。とても一生懸命仕事をしています。その国の市民にも感謝されています。先ほど若い人に活躍の場を与えてほしいという話がありましたが、青年海外協力隊のような存在があるということをおし上げておき

たいと思います。

**カール・ガーシュマン(全米民主主義財団理事長)：**

先ほど若い方が言われた若者の活動ということに関連してですが、ワールド・ムーブメント・フォー・デモクラシーという会議がありました。その中の若者のミーティングで、若い人たちの国際的なネットワークをどのようにつくるかがテーマになりました。民主主義をどうやって進めていくかについて議論しました。会場にも若い方がいますが、このネットワークにぜひ参加していただきたいと思います。

**トゥドゥン・ムリヤ・ルビス(インドネシア自由・公正な選挙のための大学ネットワーク代表)：**

東ティモールの人権擁護委員会のメンバーとして現地を何度も訪れました。その際、若い日本人の方に東ティモール、西ティモールでもお会いしましたが、先ほど申し上げたとおり、人権擁護関係の活動をアジアの途上国で行っている日本のNGOは少ないのです。いったいどうすれば日本のNGOに参加してもらえるのでしょうか。

**ベント・セーヴェ・セーデルベリ(民主主義・選挙支援国際研究所事務総長)：**

ごく簡単に若い人たちの果たす役割についてお話ししたいと思います。現在、民主主義を構築する中で二つのトレンドがあります。一方では、移行国などで自分たちの命をかけて投票権を何とか確保しようとしているグループがあります。われわれはそうした努力に対して大変な敬意を払っています。他方、既に確立されている民主主義国家において、徐々に投票率が下がっているという傾向があり、政治に参加する人、政党に加わる人が少なくなっています。一方、シングル・イシューの問題に取り組む人やNGOに入る人が非常に増えています。民主主義全体を見た場合、政党は不可欠であり、こうした動向に対して何かをしなくてはなりません。私たちは1年半前に30歳未満の若者を100人ほど世界各地から招待しました。ここに二つのお互いに対立し合うトレンドがあり、あなたならどうすべきだと思いますかということをお題に2日半かけて自分たちの考え方について書いてもらいました。時間がありませんので、内容については全部申し上げられません。ホームページを見ていただければそのレポートは全部載っています。日本人を含め世界各地の若者がどのようなことを書いたかご覧になってください。

**猪口 邦子(上智大学法学部教授)：**

先ほどの方の意見では、日本の若い人は民主化支援にいろいろな力を持っているのに日本政府は十分にそのような力を活用していないのではないかと、ということでした。その不満に対するパネリストたちの答えは、政府が活用してくれないのであれば、即、国際社会と自分が連携して、自分の才能を刻一刻生かしていったらどうかというものでした。つまり、自分の才能を自分の国が活用してくれないのであれば、国際的なネットワークを通じて、活用してくれるところとまずタイアップして自分の時間を浪費しないことが大事だと私は思うのです。なぜなら人生は限られおり、時代が良くなるまで待つことはできないからです。そうして活動しているうちに、政府も理解してくれるようになり、関心を抱いてくれるようにもなる。そ

のようなかたちで皆が変わっていくのです。政府の立場と個人の立場の大きな違いは、政府は動くのに少し時間がかかるということです。どのような職業、年齢、立場であれ、個人であればすぐ動くことができ、自分のパートナーを国内でなければ世界に見つけることができるのです。ガーシュマンさんはあなたの能力を今すぐ活用する場が世界にありますと言っているわけです。そのような活動をする中で、なるほど日本の社会もそのような方向に行き始めたのだということで政府もメッセージを受け取り、必ずや良心をもって対応してくれると思います。この間に時間差があり、その間は個人ががんばって活動しなければなりません。

**キャシー・ノウ(カンボディア人権協会専務理事):**

カンボディアにおける日本のボランティアの方々は、非常に効率的、かつ効果的な活動をしていると思います。猪口先生が言われたとおり、もし日本政府が機会を提供してくれないのであれば、IDEAでもどこでもよいですからほかのところで機会を求めべきだと思います。私たちはお金はありませんが、活躍の場はあります。ボランティアの方々を歓迎したいと思います。先進国も途上国もお互い同士学べ合えます。

**藤田 幸久(民主党):**

将来に向けていくつか考えていただきたいことがあります。ガーシュマンさんが言われた自由主義的民主主義についてです。そのためには信頼醸成、和解、また民主主義教育が重要だと思います。これらをぜひ、民主化のプロセスの中で念頭においていただきたいと思います。それから、あまり多くのNGOがアドボカシーに関与していないということの関連で、日本ではそもそも信頼醸成の分野に携わっているNGOが非常に少ないと思います。NGOの強化が必要です。3番目の点ですが、外務省の方でも日本、外国のNGOの中でアドボカシー、信頼醸成に携わっているNGOに対する援助を考えてほしいと思います。その際、助成活動の結果について報告する義務をなくしてほしいと思います。アドボカシーは一定の期間の中で成果がでるようなものではありません。

**廣野 良吉(成蹊大学名誉教授・帝京大学教授):**

ありがとうございました。

最後に私から総括ディスカッションのモデレーターとしてのまとめをさせていただきたいと思います(次頁 Summary of Symposium 参照)。

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## Summary of Symposium

**presented by Prof. Ryokichi Hirono, Moderator at Concluding Session of the Symposium**

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The International Symposium on “the Roles of ODA and NGOs in Supporting and Strengthening Democratic Institutions in Developing Countries” held on 6-7 December 2000 was organized by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in cooperation with the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) in Tokyo. The objectives of the Symposium were to enhance understanding of major issues of democratization in developing countries and seek realistic approaches consistent with the aspirations of the people. In addition, the Symposium sought to strengthen the partnership between governments and NGOs both in donor and partner countries. Over 120 participants assembled from both Japan and abroad, coming from academia, NGOs, trade unions, private sector and aid agencies.

The participants had a stimulating and useful discussion based upon their own perceptions and experiences concerning democratization in developing countries in Asia. The discussion focused on issues relating to (1) Democracy and ownership: toward enhancement of own initiatives; (2) Cooperation with NGOs for promotion of free elections: Political participation-making democracy work; (3) Roles of media and trade unions; (4) ODA-NGO collaboration in assisting democratization process in developing countries.

Through frank discussion, participants have deepened understanding on a number of issues faced by the developing countries in their efforts toward democratization, while sharing the values of democracy and good governance in relation to development. They have recognized the different approaches to democratization based on the diversity of historical, social and cultural realities of different societies. There was a general consensus among participants on the critical importance of the indigenous efforts and external support to democratization in developing countries for the respect for human rights and rule of law, people participation in political decision-making process including free and fair elections and accountable and efficient government. In this connection enhanced efforts for capacity building in developing countries and close collaboration among different partners, in particular the partnership between governments and NGOs were emphasized, and high expectations were expressed for Japan’s continued efforts for the promotion of democracy and good governance in developing countries.

Finally, but not the least, the participants, while appreciating JICA for holding this symposium, recommended to undertake comparative studies on democratization in developing countries and organize a regional seminar in Asia.

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## Closing Address

**by Mr. Yushu Takashima, Vice-President,  
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)**

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Mr. Yutaka Iimura, Director-General of the Economic Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Carl Gershman, President of the National Endowment for Democracy, distinguished participants of the symposium, invited guests, ladies and gentlemen,

It is my great honor to say a few words at the end of the Symposium “the Roles of ODA and NGOs in Supporting and Strengthening Democratic Institutions in Developing Countries”.

First of all, I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to all the participants attending here today for their strenuous efforts which have led to lively discussions during the symposium. I also would like to extend my special thanks to the moderators of the symposium for their excellent guidance and coordination in each session of the discussions. I would also like to express my deep appreciation for the valuable support and cooperation for this symposium from NGO side.

During the last two days, we mainly focused on discussing four critical issues regarding democracy and ownership, cooperation with NGOs for promotion of free elections, roles of media and trade union, ODA-NGO collaboration in assisting democratization process in developing countries.

In order to share experiences and views on these issues, we had in total 20 presentations on various aspects of the issues. All these presentations provided us with very useful information and keen insights for deepening our understanding of these issues. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all the panelists for their special contribution to the symposium. I am very pleased to mention that there were 22 participants and approximately 120 invited guests in the symposium.

I believe that all these contributors and joint efforts among donors and NGOs have made this symposium successful. On behalf of JICA, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the participating organizations for their collaboration with us.

It is my sincere hope that the fruits of this symposium will facilitate supporting and strengthening democratic institutions in developing countries, with the partnership among developing countries, donors and NGOs.

Finally, I wish you a pleasant journey to your home with fond memories of your stay in Tokyo.

Thank you.

## Profile(略歴)

### Mr. Carl S. Gershman

President, National Endowment for Democracy (NED), USA

**Year of Birth:** 1943

**Professional Career:** Present Post (1984-)

Senior Counselor to the United States Representative to the United Nations (1981-1984)

**Education:** M.Ed., Harvard Graduate School of Education (1968)

### Mr. Yutaka Iimura

Director-General, Economic Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

**Year of Birth:** 1946

**Professional Career:** Present Post (1999-)

Deputy Director-General of European and Oceanian Affairs Bureau (1997-1999)

Minister of the Embassy of Japan in France (1995-1997)

Minister of the Embassy of Japan in the U.S.A. (1992-1995)

Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1969)

**Education:** the University of Tokyo

### Mr. Ryokichi Hirono

Professor Emeritus of Seikei University, Professor of Teikyo University, Japan

**Year of Birth:** 1931

**Professional Career:** Visiting Professor, GRIPs (2000-)

Professor, Teikyo University (1999-)

Professor Emeritus, Seikei University (1998-)

Professor, Seikei University (1970-1998)

**Education:** The University of Chicago, Graduate Division of Social Science, Department of Economics

### Mr. Bruce Jenks

Director, Bureau for Resources and Strategic Partners, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

**Professional Career:** Director, Bureau for Resources and Strategic Partners, United Nations Development Programme (2000-)

Deputy Director of the Bureau for Resources, Planning and Management and Director of Strategic Planning (1997-1999)

Director of the United Nations Office In Brussels and UNDP Representative to the European Union( 1995-1997)

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全米民主主義財団( NED )理事長

1943 年生まれ

主な経歴：米国国連代表部上級顧問( 1981-1984 )

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学歴：ハーバード大学大学院教育学修士( 1968 )

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外務省経済協力局長

1946 年生まれ。

主な経歴：1969 年外務省入省。在アメリカ合衆国日本国大使館公使( 1992-1995 )、在フランス日本国大使館公使( 1995-1997 )、欧亜局審議官( 1997-1999 )、1999 年より現職。

学歴：東京大学教養学部教養学科中退( 1969 )

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主な経歴：成蹊大学経済学部教授( 1970-1998 )、同名誉教授( 1998- )、帝京大学大学院教授( 1999- )、政策研究大学院客員教授( 2000- )

学歴：シカゴ大学大学院経済学研究科修士( 1956 )

### ブルース・ジェンクス

国連開発計画( UNDP )資金・戦略的パートナーシップ局長

主な経歴：国連ブリュッセル事務所長兼 UNDP 欧州連合代表( 1995-1997 )

資金企画管理局次長兼戦略企画課長( 1997-1999 )

2000 年より現職

学歴：英国オックスフォード大学にて国際関係論博士号取得( 1982 )

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主な経歴：マードック大学( オーストラリア )アジア研究セ



**Professional Career:** Research Fellow, Asia Research Center, Murdoch University, Australia  
 Director, Society for Political & Economic Studies, Jakarta  
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**Professional Career:** First Representative, Committee for Free and Fair Elections in Cambodia (COMFREL) (1998-)  
 President of ADHOC (1992-)  
**Education:** Study Economic Science in the Faculty of Law in Phnom Penh (1971-75)

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 Assistant Professor, Institute of Education, University of Tsukuba (1991-1996)  
 Visiting Professor, George Washington University, USA (1989-1991)  
 Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok (1983-1989)  
 National Institute of Special Education (1978-1983)

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**Professional Career:** Present Post (1991-)  
 The Washington office director of the Institute for Contemporary Studies and its International Center for Economic Growth  
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Former Chairman of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC), Senior Consultant and Director of Benpres Corporation, Philippines  
**Year of Birth:** 1936  
**Professional Career:** Senior Consultant and Director of various businesses  
 Member of FACT-FINDING COMMISSION ON THE DECEMBER 1989 COUP ATTEMPT (1989-1991)  
 Chairman, Commission on Elections (1985-1991)  
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 1951年生まれ  
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 カンボディア自由選挙委員会第一代表(1998-)  
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 ユネスコアジア・太平洋地域教育事務所勤務(1983-1989)  
 ジョージ・ワシントン大学客員教授(1989-1991)  
 筑波大学教育学系講師(1991-1996)  
 1996年より現職。  
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 1948年生まれ  
 主な経歴: 現代研究所、経済成長国際センターワシントン事務所長  
 1991年より現職。  
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ベンプレス・コーポレーション他多数企業の上級顧問兼役員  
 1936年生まれ  
 主な経歴: フィリピン選挙管理委員会委員長(1985-1991)  
 1989年12月クーデター未遂事件調査委員会委員(1989-1991)  
 学歴: ペンシルベニア大学経済学修士

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インドネシア自由・公正な選挙のための大学ネットワーク

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**Professional Career:** Chairperson of International Crisis Group (ICG) Indonesian Foundation (2000)  
Vice Chairman of Indonesian Advocates Association (IKADIN) (1999-)

**Education:** Boalt Law School, University of California, Berkeley (SJD, 1990)

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**Year of Birth:** 1946

**Professional Career:** Senior Associate, National Democratic Institute (1995-)  
Senior Fellow, International Human Rights Law Institute, DePaul University College of Law (1994-95)  
Consultant to the chairman, UN Commission of Experts for the former Yugoslavia (1993-95)

**Education:** JD, DePaul University College of Law (1977)

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Project Manager, Global Link Management Inc., Japan

**Professional Career:** Have been involved in planning and management of development projects /programmes, with special focus on gender, at International Bureau of the Japanese Red Cross, Asia and Pacific Regional Office in Bangkok of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), and Global Link Management, Inc., Part-time lecturer of Ryukoku University.

**Education:** MA (Gender and Development) of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, UK.

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Secretary-General, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), Sweden

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**Professional Career:** Present Post (1995-)  
Ambassador at the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1991-1995)  
Deputy Minister for International Development Co-operation of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1985-1991)

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**Professional Career:** Present Post (2000-)

Director of Editorial (1999-2000)

Deputy Editor of News Analysis Department, Yomiuri Head

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ルピス、サントサ及びマウラナ法律事務所上級パートナー  
インドネシア大学法学部特別講師

1949年生まれ

主な経歴：インドネシア弁護士協会 (IKADIN) 副会長 (1999-)  
国際危機グループ (ICG) インドネシア財団会長 (2000)

学歴：カリフォルニア大学バークレー校ボールドト法学大学院にて博士号取得 (1990)

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デポール大学法学部国際人権法研究所・主任特別研究員 (1994-1995)

全米民主研究所・主任研究者 (1995-)

学歴：デポール大学大学院にて法学博士号取得 (1977)

**三輪 敦子**

主な経歴：日本赤十字社外事部、国連女性開発基金 (ユニフェム) アジア太平洋地域バンコク事務所プログラム担当官を経て、グローバル・リンクマネジメント (株) プロジェクト・マネージャー。龍谷大学非常勤講師。

学歴：サセックス大学開発問題研究所修士 (ジェンダーと開発)

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民主主義・選挙支援国際研究所 (International IDEA) 事務総長  
1940年生まれ

主な経歴：スウェーデン外務省国際開発協力担当次官 (1985-1991)

スウェーデン外務省大使 (1991-1995)

1995年より現職

学歴：ストックホルム大学経済学部大学院経営学修士 (MBA)

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主な経歴：読売新聞シドニー支局長 (1984-1989)

読売新聞東京本社解説部次長 (1989-1999)

読売新聞東京本社編集局専任部長 (1999-2000)

2000年4月より現職

Office Tokyo (1989-1999)  
Yomiuri Shinbun Sydney Bureau Chief (1984-1989)

**Education:** B.A in law Keio University (1967)

**Ms. Micheline Beaudry-Somcynsky**

Senior Advisor, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Canada

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**Professional Career:** Assigned to JICA as part of the First Personnel Exchange Program between CIDA and JICA (1992-1996)  
Posted to Senegal (1977-1980) and Indonesia (1984-1987)

**Education:** Master's Degree in Psycholinguistics at Ottawa University (1972)

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President, Thai Journalists Association, Thailand

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**Professional Career:** Executive Editor (1996-)  
Special Assistant to Secretary General of ASEAN, Jakarta (1994-96)  
Foreign News Editor, The Nation (1993-)

**Education:** MA, Kobe University, Japan

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**Year of Birth:** 1952

**Professional Career:** Present Post (1990-)  
Visiting Fellow, Department of Political Science, Australian national University (1986)  
Visiting Fellows, the Center for International Relations, Harvard University (1983-1984)

**Education:** Ph.D. in Yale University

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**Professional Career:** Present Post (1999-)  
seconded to the Ministry of Construction. Senior Researcher, General Affairs Department, Japan Highway Public Corporation (1995)  
Minister, Embassy of Japan in Argentina (1994)  
Minister-Counsellor, Embassy of Japan in Sweden (1993)  
entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1972)

**Education:** the University of Tokyo, Faculty of Liberal Arts, Course of Liberal Arts (1972)

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学 歴：慶應義塾大学法学部(1967)

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カナダ国際開発庁(CIDA)上級顧問

1949年生まれ

主な経歴：CIDAセネガル事務所(1977-1980)、インドネシア事務所(1984-1987)にて勤務。  
第1 CIDA-JICA 人的交流プログラムの一環として JICA に出向(1992-1996)

学 歴：オタワ大学大学院心理言語学修士(1972)

**カビ・チョンキッタウオーン**

タイ・ジャーナリスト協会会長、「ネーション」紙編集主幹  
1954年生まれ

主な経歴：「ネーション」紙・海外ニュース担当編集者(1993-1994)  
アセアン事務局長(ジャカルタ)特別顧問(1994-1996)  
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学 歴：神戸大学大学院文学修士

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上智大学法学部教授

1952年生まれ

主な経歴：ハーバード大学国際問題研究所客員研究員(1983-1984)  
国立オーストラリア大学政治学部客員研究員(1986)  
1990年より現職。

学 歴：エール大学大学院にて博士号取得(1982)

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国際労働財団(JILAF)常務理事

1948年生まれ

主な経歴：外務省入省(1972)  
在スウェーデン日本国大使館公使参事官(1993)  
在アルゼンティン日本国大使館公使(1995)  
建設省出向、日本道路公団総務部付調査役(1997)  
1999年より現職

学 歴：東京大学教養学部教養学科(1972)

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米国国際開発庁(USAID)フィリピン事務所長

1950年生まれ

**Year of Birth:** 1950

**Professional Career:** Director of USAID Mission for the Philippines  
Mission Director in Central Asia (1994 – 98)  
Worked in Zimbabwe (1989-1993), Washington (1986-1988), Grenada (1984-1985), El Salvador (1981-1983)

**Education:** M. A., Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government

**Mr. Michiya Kumaoka**

President, Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC), Japan

**Year of Birth:** 1947

**Professional Career:** Elected President of JVC (1995)  
Secretary General of People's Forum on Cambodia (1993)  
JVC Representative for Vietnam (Hanoi, Heiphong, HCM) (1990-1992)  
JVC Representative for Cambodia (Phnom Penh Office) (1985-1988)  
Secretary General of JVC (Japan), Desk for Thailand (1983-1985)  
UNHCR Camp Administrator in Singapore (1981-1982)  
Establishment of JVC in Bangkok (1980)

**Mr. Kassie Neou**

Executive Director, Cambodian Institute of Human Rights (CIHR), Cambodia

**Year of Birth:** 1945

**Professional Career:** Vice-Chairman of NEC (1998-)  
Executive Director of CIHR (1993-)  
Human Rights consultant to the UN Center for Human Rights  
**Education:** University of Phnom Penh Teacher Training College

**Mr. Takayuki Sahara**

Senior Assistant to the Managing Director of Regional Department I, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Japan

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**Professional Career:** Present Post (2000-)  
Deputy Resident Representative, JICA Indonesia (1998-2000)  
Senior Advisor in Evaluation (1996-1998)  
**Education:** Ph.D. (Economic and Social Studies) of the Institute of Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester, UK

**主な経歴:** エル・サルバドル(1981-1983)、グレナダ(1984-1985)、ワシントン(1986-88)、ジンバブエ(1989-1993)にて勤務。中央アジア事務所長(1994-1998)、1998年より現職。

**学歴:** ハーバード大学ケネディ行政学大学院修士

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日本国際ボランティアセンター(JVC)代表  
1947年生まれ。

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UNHCR シンガポール職員(1981-1982)  
JVC 事務局長・タイ担当等(1983-1985)  
JVC カンボジア代表(プノンペン駐在)(1985-1988)  
JVC ベトナム代表(ハノイ駐在)(1990-1992)  
「カンボジア市民フォーラム」事務局長(1993)  
1995年より現職。

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カンボディア選挙管理委員会(NEC)副委員長、カンボディア人権協会(CIHR)代表

1945年生まれ

**主な経歴:** カンボディア人権協会代表(1993-)  
カンボディア選挙管理委員会副委員長(1998-)  
国連人権センター人権顧問  
**学歴:** プノンペン大学教員養成所

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国際協力事業団(JICA)アジア一部調査役

1953年生まれ

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インドネシア事務所次長(1998-2000)  
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**学歴:** マンチェスター大学開発政策・管理研究所にて開発行政学博士号取得