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## Success Stories and Failed States in the Developing World

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Aspects of society and ways of thinking have been changing in a number of ways. I am interested in considering whether these changes are clichés; that is, whether anything is really changing. In my field of expertise which is development studies, there are fundamental changes going on in developing countries. It is necessary to think in detail about such changes; when one considers next year's re-launching of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

When asked about the fruits of development cooperation of the last several decades, many people are probably likely to answer extremely pessimistically. Certainly, the examples of failure are too numerous to count. Evaluation activities are steadily becoming a major industry, and Official Development Assistance (ODA) has perhaps become the most prominent target of this industry. However, in reality, the world has experienced four waves of great success. The first wave was the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICS). In the latter half of the 1970s, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, amongst others, powerfully burst into the awareness of the OECD countries. For instance, France labeled the capitalism of these countries as "Capitalisme Sauvage" and began to insist on greater regulation of their exports and finance.

The second wave was from the latter half of the 1980s to around the middle of the 1990s. The leading actors were the countries of Southeast Asia. As made famous by the World Bank's study, it was called the 'East Asian Miracle,' which is still fresh in the memory. The third wave was from the middle of the 1990s taking place in China. Continuing from it, the 4<sup>th</sup> wave has been from 2000 in India. Through this fourth wave, in the future, more than half the population of the developing world will be able, through their own efforts, to solve their own development problems. Although there remains considerable poverty, and the terrible extent of environmental destruction remains hidden from view, these internal contradictions should be solvable by their own efforts.

These are entirely Asian dramas. What a contrast from 1964, when Gunnar Myrdal published *Asian Dramas*. In this famous book, Myrdal observed that because in Asia poverty were so extreme that the rural poor did not have power to complain about their situation, and development was hopeless. This 'hopeless Asia' now leads the vanguard of the development drama, and today, Asia is greatly changing not only the economic map, but the political map as well. Looked at from the viewpoint of these successful waves of development, speculating where the next, 5<sup>th</sup> wave will be is a point of great interest. Where does everyone think it will be?

Conversely, the failures of development are also important reality. In particular, where state

governance became so brittle, it created the so-called 'failed states' that emerged throughout the 1990s, thrusting a new set of tasks before the international community, and creating a new focus for action. Today, from the northeast to central parts of the Eurasian landmass, heading south through the Middle East and then further south into Africa, a large part of the world is in an unstable region. It could be said that a great turbulent zone in the world is being formed. The main reason for this is that, within this region, there are growing numbers of fragile states, some of which are failing, and even failed.

Within this huge region, let's look at the area with the greatest number of failing states, Africa. In 1960, seventeen countries became independent in a single stroke. 1960 therefore became known as the year of Africa. If these countries are compared with the whole of the then-developing countries of East Asia, the African states' income per capita was nearly 20% higher in 1960. In the 1960s, these developing states together formed the UN's first '10-year development targets,' and achieved 5% annual rates of growth. Problems began since the 1970s. Following independence, under second and third-generation leaders, initiatives for political and economic reform were not effective. Indeed, the character of many of these leaders was often questionable. Against this background, the world was rocked by the first oil shock, with a great number of these African countries designated as 'Most Seriously Affected Countries' (MSACs) by the United Nations. The plight of these countries was such that they even came to be known as the Fourth World.

Furthermore, the 1980s was the lost decade of development. Aimed at the rebuilding of finance, the structural adjustment policies of the IMF and the World Bank weakened the social infrastructure of these African countries. It was in this state of affairs that the Cold War ended, sending severe tectonic shocks through the geopolitical structure of the world. It was no longer necessary for the United States and the Soviet Union to try and pull the African countries into their own camps. In Europe, based around the reunification of Germany, a new era began in which the countries of Europe had no alternative but to put all their efforts into the construction of a new European order and a system for domestic stability. Within countries, identity problems emerged around factors like race and religion, leading to political strife and the sudden outbreak of civil war in many countries. Although peace processes followed these civil wars, in a lot of cases, peacebuilding was left unfinished. In this manner, a group of failed states were created.

Even in countries outside of Africa, through civil war and regional conflict, countries emerged with weakened structures of state governance. Looking at the whole international community, as many as 90 countries are in this situation. It has already reached the stage where these countries cannot make do with the classical forms of international cooperation with the international community. There is no alternative but to take a comprehensive approach to politics, public order, culture, society and economics. Moreover, an integrated approach must be putting together urgent humanitarian aid, medium-term peacebuilding and long-term development. On the positive side, knowledge about these issues within the international community is increasing, but it remains too weak. Perhaps the international community has no alternative but to grope in the dark. This is also the reality in the on-going drama of development in the world community.

**(This is the English translation of an article written by Mr. TAKAHASHI Kazuo, Visiting Professor of International Christian University, which originally appeared on the BBS "Giron-Hyakushutsu" of GFJ on 20 June and 13 August, 2007)**