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Your Excellency Mr. Essy, Chairman of the African Union,  
Your Excellency Madame Ginwala, Speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of South Africa,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great honour and pleasure for me to address the "Symposium on Sustainable Development and Governance in Africa", co-hosted by two distinguished organisations, namely, the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) and the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA). Through my long-time personal involvement in Africa, I have been convinced that governance is the most important theme for the future of Africa. I therefore believe that this Symposium is opportune as the African leaders themselves stressed the significance of governance in the "New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)."

Three years and seven months have already passed since I visited South Africa the last time to make a keynote speech titled "Partnership between Japan and Africa towards the Twenty-first Century." At the time, passion for designing strategies for a better twenty-first century was felt globally as we were entering into the new millennium.

In this speech, I expressed my respect for the new Africa on the way to self-reliance and noted the importance for nation building of national education, health, environment and equality in international relations, citing the memory of my father who had paid an official visit to this Continent as a member of the House of Representatives of Japan in 1959. I also illustrated the lonely effort by Japan, in its firm belief that all the nations of the world be treated equally, for making racial equality one of the new pillars of world governance at the Versailles Peace Conference after the First World War.

Then serving as Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister of Japan, I could not unfortunately predict the fundamental questions that the September 11 attacks would raise on the concepts of the state or of international relations.

1.        SEPTEMBER 11 AND THE STATE

(Traditional Theory of the State)

September 11 last year has gravely shaken our basic notion of the state. Before, we assumed that the state consisted of three elements, i.e. the power, the space called territory and the people called citizens. I shivered with great shock and rage to see despicable massive killing committed by an entity, not a state, without any of these elements, making weapons out of civilian aircraft with innocent ordinary people aboard to target non-government establishments with innocent ordinary people working inside. I am saddened to have to offer my renewed condolences to three thousand forty-eight victims, deceased or missing, coming from all the continents of the world, including twenty-four Japanese.

In the midst of my profound anger, it occurred to me that these attacks also signified the end of monopoly on the apparatus of force, which had been the most salient characteristic of the power of the state. I thought that, if this was the case, it would be appropriate to begin my address on governance today with how to define the state, which is responsible for governance.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, known as Father of the African independence struggle, wrote in his memoir of the era, "I wonder which independence strife I am engaged in, for the Asante Empire or for the British Gold Coast?" His predicament points to the essence of the state. Many kingdoms in Africa, despite their past prosperity, were confronted with abrupt discontinuation in time and history of political, economic and social evolution due to the invasion by external powers. This was an unfortunate beginning of the impediment to governance in Africa today. I am fully aware that one must not ask "if" on history. Nevertheless, I cannot help asking an "if" question. IF the history had allowed the continuation of the process of boiling down or fomenting a sense of unity or loyalty with regard to the three elements of the state, the power, territory and citizens, wouldn't African nation building after independence have been smoother? Wouldn't such a continued process have served as a basis for national development in the emerging African countries? This in turn would have prevented purposeless civil wars, senseless dictatorships and meaningless corruption. Regrettably, the history was not kind enough to bless Africa with such fortune. I am optimistic, however, that the changed global environment will at long last bring about new circumstances in Africa. Please let me try to elaborate.

(Farewell to the Preoccupation with the Notion of the State based on the Peace of Westphalia model)

As a law student at the time of the African independence struggle, I learned that the conceptual objective of independence was self-determination of peoples. This is obviously linked to Dr. Nkrumah's predicament. He had to eventually decide that, in reality, there could be independence only for the British Gold Coast. The "nation of the people" was not a model applicable to nation building in new African states.

Looking at this situation, I cannot but think that there may have been too strong a preoccupation in

the world as a whole after Europe had become a dominant player in the eighteenth century. The preoccupation was that a state must be the so-called “nation state”, namely, the state of the people based on the model of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. One should not deny the importance of the Peace of Westphalia, which was a turning point. It signified the shift from international relations based on the double power structure of the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor to those based on the states composed of peoples. However, it is doubtful if this model can be universally adopted.

Each state has its unique history and consequent evolution that must be weighed. As I stated earlier, such evolution was interrupted in Africa by external powers. The subsequent forcible outflow of human resources, which is said to have amounted even to tens of millions, merits deepest sympathy. Coupled with the wanton demarcation of borders by the colonising powers, it was a complication for African nation building. Such historical burdens seem to have extorted more energy than necessary for generating national unity in many African countries that became independent around the year 1960.

Having said this, I would like to commend the decision by the African leaders at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). They were brave enough even in the face of the difficulties of the time to accept the existing demarcation as the starting point of their endeavour in order to avoid confusion. In addition to the above-mentioned disadvantage imposed by history, the circumstances for Africa worsened because of the surrogate conflicts of the cold war after 1960 and of not-so-adept market access competition for primary products.

Now that more than forty years have passed since the birth of new states, a renewed and grand chance for Africa has arrived.

First, the many centuries of external intervention in the Continent are coming to a close as a result of the end of the cold war in 1989.

Second, an objective analysis can finally be made of the gap between “self-determination of the peoples”, the slogan of independence, and the different “realities” of African countries. At the risk of stereotyping, I would say that heavy emphasis on an artificial unity resulted from the excessive pursuit of the Westphalia-type nation state after independence. At present, thanks to social and economic permeation on a mutual basis, socio-economic planning within one single nation may be becoming obsolete, as regional cooperation in such fora as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) deepens.

Assuming that there indeed is a change, a hope is born for new steps forward overcoming the historical disadvantage of Africa. I am compelled to consider such a hope as one of the driving forces for the creation of the African Union (AU). I would like to pay tribute to the success of the very first summit, and to wish further evolution of the Union under the eminent leadership of Chairman Essy.

## 2. ADMINISTRATORS AND CITIZENS

(Ordinary People in the Street)

One must identify who are responsible for economic and social planning in the new chapter of the African history.

Nation building in Japan has since ancient times been based on human resources development, because the country has practically no natural resources. I would like to ask for your indulgence and go far back into the Japanese history to introduce three governance-related episodes.

Approximately one thousand five hundred years ago, when the Ancient Kingdom of Ghana was about to prosper, Emperor Nintoku was ruling Japan. One day, as he oversaw the capital from the donjon of his palace, he realised that no smoke was emitted from his subjects' homes. Fearing that they were too poor even to make fire for food preparation, he issued an edict to suspend tax collection for the next three years. His gracious action resulted in revitalisation of the economic life of the people. It is said that the Emperor expressed his belief that only by enriching the subjects could he be enriched himself since Heaven allowed emperors to rule for the protection of people.

Such philosophy was codified in the first written constitution of Japan in 604, where one can find provisions stipulating the need for due consideration to appeals from the impoverished and the prohibition of unpaid mobilisation of the people for public works during farming seasons.

On the relations between the military class and the civilians, Lord Takahiro Niwa, who governed an area named Nihon-Matsu, had the following inscribed on the large stone at the gate of his castle to admonish junior warriors:

Your fief, your rice is  
The people's sweat, the people's labour  
Easy to oppress them  
Yet impossible to deceive Heaven

The members of the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) sent for the first time to South Africa from this month hold Lord Niwa's teaching at heart, as the JOCV training institute is located in Nihon-Matsu.

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I am certain that one can find such stories of good governance by administrators on any continent. In Africa, for instance, the fair taxation system, effective maintenance of public order and equitable participation by women in commerce in the thirteenth and fourteenth century Mali Empire is well known. Governance therefore appears to mean tangible actions that enable the ordinary people to keep their dreams and hopes and to fulfil their life, which in turn will contribute to national development.

In the concrete terms of today's world, it is to give the sense of security that there is peace and safety in the society and that no one is arrested and nothing is confiscated without violation of law. This is the bare minimum for enabling ordinary people in the street to have dreams and hopes. They can

predict what may happen not only tomorrow but also next year, invest in child education or financial activities and pay due attention to health or to their partners.

With regard to the issue of health, I am fortunate to have visited such institutions as the Tambo Memorial Hospital in Johannesburg, the Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI) in Kenya and the Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research in Ghana. Child health and health in general has been my lifetime project. At a series of G8 meetings, I always insisted upon giving priorities to this area. One of my achievements is the “Hashimoto Initiative” I proposed at the Birmingham G8 Summit in 1998, a package to counter infectious diseases and parasites. In this initiative, I stressed the need for developing countries to share their experiences and to learn from each other. More specifically, policymakers and experts from surrounding countries are being trained in Kenya and Ghana by Japanese assistance. Experts from not only Asian countries close to Japan but also African countries are studying at the institute on tropical medicine of the Mahidol University in Thailand. I would be grateful if you could see the related exhibitions organised by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in this Ubuntu Village.

The government has important responsibilities to discharge in creating hopes in people’s minds. It may seem simple enough to provide the citizens with education, healthy life and political and economic participation. However, all of these require human and financial resources, an effective taxation system and transparency and accountability for the prioritisation of policies in the form of budget appropriations. Such requirements cannot be fulfilled without legislation and establishment of law enforcement and judicial systems.

A Comprehensive approach is therefore necessary for attaining governance. Depending on the country, there may be stern realities hampering it. Consequently, it is rather difficult to discuss governance in general terms. For example, a conflict may have just been terminated or may be ignited in the near future. International assistance may have to be requested to fill the financing gap of multi-party elections. A support system may not have been put in place for the elected members of the parliament. Financial institutions essential for healthy development of market economy may not be functioning adequately. Transportation infrastructure to link different parts of the country may not have been built.

(Reason for My Devotion to Administrative Reform)

You may have an impression from my statements so far that governance is an issue relevant only to developing countries. I must stress that governance in its broader sense has been a problem even for Japan. Despite the major changes in our state structure and modernisation after the 1868 Meiji Restoration and further evolution after our defeat in the war in 1945, changes continued to occur in our society, even in its composition, as we approached the end of the twentieth century. Although we used to say, “life is only fifty years”, the average life expectancy in Japan is now eighty-four for women and seventy-eight for men, both the longest in the world. The population over one hundred

years of age, which was one hundred and fifty-three in 1963 (the first year that such statistics is available), increased to fifteen thousand four hundred and seventy-five in 2001. This is of course auspicious in terms of longevity, but creates many inconveniences, as the economic and social structure of our society remains unchanged. It coincided with the relocation of plants to overseas by the Japanese industries at the wake of globalisation.

This was precisely the background against which I spearheaded as Prime Minister such reforms as administrative reform, economic structural reform, financial system reform and fiscal structural reform. In the area of administrative reform, the system that functioned well when average life expectancy was fifty years no longer works when people live to age seventy or eighty.

In my analysis, the state has four general functions.

First is for national subsistence, including defence, foreign relations, security, maintenance of public and legal order and fiscal policies.

Second is for national wealth, including economic policies, industrial policies, social infrastructure and promotion of science and technology.

Third is for national well being, including welfare, medical care, health and sanitation and employment.

Fourth are for education and succession and promotion of national culture.

In my efforts for administrative reform, the aim was to have these functions operate in a simple but efficient manner. Consequently, the number of government agencies was halved. Some of the responsibilities that had been regarded as governmental since the modernisation of Japan were transferred to private sectors and municipal authorities.

Care was simultaneously taken to generate incentives for the promising youths with visions to serve the country without feeling constrained or inhibited. Although such necessity tends to be overlooked, it is critical for attaining governance to create and maintain an environment in which civil servants and judicial officials can work with high morale.

### 3. THE AFRICAN UNION (AU) AND THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD)

(Africa and Conflict)

We must not avoid confronting the most depressing factor when discussing governance in Africa, which is conflict. One cannot but sympathise with many African countries forced to fight the surrogate conflicts in the cold war era. Independence might have brought to them only pain and suffering. Sympathy is also warranted for such countries as the former Portuguese colonies that, by somehow becoming conflict areas one after another for no apparent rationale, forced us to question the responsibilities of former suzerain states.

At a closer look, however, one realises that most African conflicts are internal. While older ones may

have been triggered by the cold war, the post-cold war conflicts after 1989 cannot be described as ideological strife. They have been caused by ethnic rivalries, settlement by outsiders disregarding the wish of the residents, like in Sierra Leone and Liberia, and disputes on mineral resources.

It must be noted, though, that no country in Sub-Saharan Africa except South Africa is capable of producing even a pistol. Without sellers from outside the Continent, weapons for armed conflicts would not have been available. Why is it, then, that an inexplicable amount of weapons still floods the Continent, even taking into consideration the remnant of the cold war? Are there not tens of countries on this Continent that do not have sufficient foreign exchange reserve or that suffer from external debt? If valuable foreign exchange reserve is being used for purchasing abundant weapons, it does not matter if the transaction is legal or not. It is a crisis in front of which governance or even nation building loses any meaning. Japan, as a country that never exports arms, feels very strongly on this issue, against both the sellers and buyers.

On the other hand, some encouraging developments have been witnessed. With the good offices of South Africa, hope now exists for solution of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Tribute must be paid to President Mandela's efforts in the Great Lakes Region. I look forward to positive achievements by the newly born AU in its succession of the conflict prevention mechanism established by the OAU.

Her Excellency Speaker Ginwala, whose presence today honours us, has been very active on the Committee on Human Security. In this connection, I am pleased to note that the Government of Japan recently contributed three million and ninety thousand (3,090,000) U.S. dollars for social reintegration of ex-combatants in Sierra Leone through the Human Security Fund.

(Self-reliance and Cooperation)

Looking at the birth of the AU from outside the Continent, I felt that it demonstrated to the world the determination of Africa to directly face the challenges of rapid globalisation and to ride on its tide. Taking this determination into consideration together with the announcement of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), I am impressed that the African leaders are resolute in taking seriously and making reality the "ownership" of Africa. It would be gratifying to see the "World Summit on Sustainable Development" (WSSD) filled with action-oriented spirit of self-reliance through active involvement of these leaders, unlike some of the past United Nations conferences on development issues.

Needless to say, realising sustainable development is a hard endeavour. Cautious prioritisation of national policies will be required, as development and environment are two objectives to be achieved simultaneously and equally. This prioritisation nevertheless is an inevitable process for securing a better country and a better Earth to be enjoyed by the generations to come. I must emphasise this point because environment issues, often provoking national egoism, tend to be forgotten in the

context of governance.

As Minister of Finance about a decade ago, I appealed to the leaders at the G8 summit the significance of environment issues by sharing Japan's experiences of pollution in the reconstruction process after the war and by distributing materials on a cost-benefit analysis of an actual pollution case. At this Japan Pavilion, we are constantly showing a video on our own experiences with pollution. We believe that, as true friends of developing countries, we must share our missteps so that others can avoid them by utilising regulatory know-how and technologies. Japan had to pay dearly in the form of devastating pollution, even sacrificing precious human lives, for working day and night without paying attention to anything else in order to transform the complete ashes of the defeat in the Second World War into great prosperity. No one else must. The key is political will of the countries concerned and international cooperation.

All of my compatriots here in Johannesburg have fervent desire to expose all the past failure as proof of our friendship with developing countries so that no similar mistakes are made. There must be other ways to nation building than the one Japan pursued. The government and private sectors of Japan are naturally more than ready to provide necessary cooperation in the framework of new partnership.

The "Asia-Pacific Forum for Environment and Development", of which I am Chairman, also insists on due consideration of environment policies in national planning.

(Conclusion)

Governance may be a typical case of "easier said than done." However, there can be no progress or happiness without governance. While political leadership has huge responsibilities for promoting governance, ordinary people too have important roles to play.

Therefore, we have to take one step at a time. We need to build peace and security first, then achieve basic goals one by one, such as education, health and gender. This seems like a detour, but may be in the end the only path to our goal.

On this path, mastering communication and information technology as a means to learn more about other societies and choices and to express oneself is an essential element for success. I would like to pay tribute and express my full agreement to Speaker Ginwala's insistence on this point.

I strongly believe that the key factors of governance, wisdom, choice, communication and determination, are slowly but steadily coming around the next corner in Africa. I conclude my address by sincerely wishing that African resolve for realising governance would be impregnable.

Thank you very much.