

## **Sustainable Development and Governance in Africa -Governance for Africa by African People**

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Let me begin by saying on behalf of the Japan Institute of International Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan how happy we are to have this symposium taking place in Johannesburg at this extremely important moment. We are grateful to the Africa Institute of South Africa for its efforts in co-organizing this colloquium with us, as well as to all of the participants who have come from all over the world to participate in our discussion.

It is a privilege for me to be given this opportunity to deliver kickoff address in order to share with you some of my thoughts about the subject matter that we are going to deal with in this symposium.

### **I: Structural change in the world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century**

The world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in which we are living is undergoing a process of tremendous change. It is my view that as we enter in the first years of a new century and a new millennium, we are witnessing in international society a fundamental transformation that is underway in the structure of the international system.

When the era of the Cold War came to an end a decade ago, many around the world started to talk about a "new international order". It was thought that this "new international order" would herald a new era characterized by a more stable and durable peace and stability with the United Nations as its center for action. Some even optimistically started to talk about "the end of history," as if we had finally freed ourselves from the dialectical chains of historical determinism. What has followed since then, however, has destroyed this somewhat naive picture of an international order in the new era. A new intellectual mood is emerging in which it is fashionable to claim that there is nothing "new" nor "international" in this so-called "new international order," which can hardly be described even as an "order".

Neither of these two extreme views would seem to be justified. Both are too naive as an analytical framework for grasping the full implications of the major challenges confronting the international system that has governed the world up till now.

I believe that the international system is today at a major crossroads in history. It is

going through a major transformation of a fundamental nature as a system of governance of the world community. The essence of this transformation lies in the fact that many of the traditional aspects of the international system, which has been described as the "Westphalian legal order," are now undergoing major changes under the impact of "globalization".

Globalization is a societal process that has been steadily going on within the world community for a number of years already. However, this process of globalization has been greatly accelerated and made inevitable, above all through the information technology revolution that has come about in recent years. The revolutionary development in information technology, by eliminating the constraints of the differences in time and space that used to separate us among nations, is bringing about a totally new system of intellectual governance. It is truly globalizing the whole world into an integrated unity in a temporal and spatial sense. We need a new system of global governance to meet the challenges of this process of globalization.

In fact, given this new reality of globalization that is overwhelming the world today, it is growingly clear that the only viable system of governance of the international community that can work is not a multipolar system based on the traditional framework of balance of power among major powers, nor a unipolar system of governance to be controlled and dictated by a single superpower, however powerful and outstanding that power may be, but an order based on what I wish to describe as *pax consortis*, i.e., an order whose viability depends upon positive cooperation among the members of this globalized society. The key to constructing this system of global governance is to consolidate and deepen the core values that should form the basis of this order. A concerted effort to identify such basic core values that we can all stand for on a global basis and to try to promote them with a view to demonstrating that they work in the global interest of all mankind is the way to proceed. To be successful in this effort, it is essential that we pursue an inclusive approach to consolidate basic values that are accepted on a global basis and to maintain an openness of mind in search for such core values. In this exercise, we have to reject an exclusive approach directed in defense of narrow parochial considerations peculiar to a particular group.

## **II: Africa in the new international system**

In the midst of this structural change in the world system, the nations of Africa today are still trying to determine how they should respond to this new emerging reality. As we focus our attention on the issue of development, particularly those in Africa, it is

no exaggeration to say that whether Africa will take off or not will determine the world order of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

If we analyze the recent history of Africa, it becomes clear that Africa has always been affected by the waves of the international system. Ever since the modern age began, Africa has been at the sway of the world system, in particular the system developed with occidental powers at its centre. Especially at the height of imperialism, Africa was an “object”, rather than a “subject”, of the power politics played by the great powers. The experience of colonial exploitation, the impact of artificial territorial division and the development of social structure suited for the domination by the powers of Europe have left indelible marks on the African Continent. Following their independence, many African countries were immediately brought into the arena of global strategic contest during the Cold War era. When the Cold War ended, political, economic and psychological withdrawal of the West from Africa ensued.

In a word, Africa has always tended to be at the mercy of the ebbs and flows of the international power politics played by major powers. Even in the post-Cold War era since the 1990s, we see that the interest in Africa of the international community has been constantly declining. If we leave this situation unattended, increased marginalization of African countries in both the political and economic terms is feared, especially against the backdrop of the ravage of regional conflicts in Africa, including an intensification and expansion of civil wars. At the root of all this lies the crisis of the system of governance in many countries which are directly involved in this development.

In the face of this situation, the wave of globalization that is enveloping the world as a result of remarkable technological advances achieved through the recent IT revolution is coming to swallow the fate of Africa of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. If the nations of sub-Saharan Africa were unable to get on board this wave of globalization, there would be an acceleration of inequality between the poor countries in Africa and the advanced part of the world, with the result that Africa could be further marginalized. On the other hand, this is also an opportunity for Africa to make up for lost time. It is also true that, in the current globalized state of the world, economic growth and development can be promoted in the context of the process of globalization. If the tide of globalization is properly grasped and used effectively, it can provide great opportunities for the future, not only for the advanced industrialized countries of the world, but for all of the nations of the world, including the developing nations of Africa. Specifically, it offers an opportunity for Africa, in as much as the IT revolution puts all of us at the same starting line for participating in a global market with limitless potentials.

In order to make this a reality, however, the international community needs a new paradigm for action. We have to integrate Africa in this process of globalization through embracing a new comprehensive strategy for the development of Africa. The nations of Africa should be brought fully into the dynamic process of globalization so that they participate in this process for achieving prosperity. What is important is how we formulate and put into practice such new development strategy for Africa, in which the countries of Africa can take the initiative for capitalizing on the benefits of globalization in full cooperation of the international community. We must identify the ways in which the nations of sub-Saharan Africa can on their own proactively create a structure for development taking advantage of the process of globalization, in order to make the most of this chance. In order to succeed, however, Africa needs friends who work with them in the spirit of partnership

### **III: Japan's call for a new strategy for African development**

Japan has always viewed the issue of development as the most important issue in constructing a stable world community in the new world born out of the Second World War and in the wake of a colossal tide of decolonization. She has taken the initiative for addressing this issue. It is well-known that already since the end of 1980s, Japan has been leading the donor community in terms of the volume of ODA she offered to the developing countries.

It was, however, with the demise of the Cold War that Japan embarked upon the initiative for formulating and practicing a new comprehensive strategy for genuine development, especially of Sub-Sahara African countries. She felt that it was important to seize the opportunity of the disappearance of the Cold War confrontation between the East and West. It was the view of Japan that the issue of development, appearing in the form of confrontation between the North and the South, had long been the hostage of the confrontation between the East and the West.

It was against this historical background that as early as in 1993 Japan, stressing the need to think strategically about development issues in a new environment no longer dominated by "East-West" confrontation of the Cold War era, proposed a "New Development Strategy" based on the twin principles of ownership and partnership.

Japan considered the issues of development to be one of the most important agenda items for the G7 Summit in the new world situation of the post - Cold War era.

This attempt of Japan, however, unfortunately met with cold shoulders shown by the members of G7 who were suffering from “the aid fatigue” coming out of their experience in the Cold War setting. The Japanese Government tried in vain to convince other members of the G7 Summit of the point that now was the time to redefine the strategy for genuine development free from the Cold War ideology in which the issue of development had been distorted in the context of East-West confrontation.

Given this situation, Japan started on her own the process of *Tokyo International Conference on Africa's Development (TICAD)* by her initiative in 1993. As the international community was losing its interest in Africa with the conclusion of the Cold War, the start of TICAD was a process of great significance. Japan felt that the international community must not be divided between the donors and the recipients fighting in confrontation, but instead must recognize development as a new common agenda to be shared by the international community as a whole. Japan emphasized the importance of pursuing this new strategy for development based on a consensus on a global basis.

TICAD, which was initiated by Japan in 1993, is a unique and continuing process that provides an opportunity for African countries and development partners, including donors, international organizations and members of civil society alike, to meet together and discuss the strategy for African development. TICAD I was held in 1993, and TICAD II in 1998. In 2001, the TICAD Ministerial-level Meeting was held to prepare for 2003, which will mark the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the TICAD process. TICAD III is scheduled for the latter half of 2003.

In an effort to develop this initiative for a new development strategy into a common cause to be pursued by the international community as a whole, Japan has been making strenuous efforts. First, Japan has played a leading role in the adoption of the “New Development Strategy (Shaping the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: the Contribution of Development Cooperation)” of the OECD in 1996. Furthermore, within the United Nations, Japan has been actively working for the consolidation of this strategy on a global consensus on this strategy through the 1990s.

In a nutshell, this new development strategy rests on the twin principles of partnership among all the players involved in development, without distinction between the donors and the recipients, to work together for the common cause of development, and the principle of ownership on the part of the country engaged in its own development. Based on these principles, we have to adopt a holistic approach to development, bringing together in an organic way all the relevant factors for

development. In particular, the new strategy should encompass not just the resource inflow, but also more importantly the building of social infrastructure especially on its “software” aspects. The resource inflow should cover, in addition to ODA, foreign direct investment and trade based on open market access, as well as indigenous financial resources. The emphasis in the area of social infrastructure should focus on capacity building such as education and public health, on institution building such as administrative structure and the legal system, and most importantly on good governance.

The twin concept of partnership and ownership that I spelled out earlier has since become not only the key concept of Japan’s policy toward Africa but the commonly accepted development philosophy of the international community. By now a synergy of “partnership (cooperation as equal partners)” and “ownership (initiative and self-help)” has evolved as a core philosophy of development, especially with the endorsement of this strategy by the World Bank in its initiative for the “Comprehensive Development Framework ”(CDF).

In the context of “partnership”, Japan is trying to do three major things. First of all, Japan has been trying to bring the attention of the international community to Africa and to revive the interest of the international community through the TICAD process. Second, Japan has also been trying to serve as a bridge for cooperation between Asia and Africa through the promotion of South-South cooperation. In light of our rich experience with nations in Asia, and especially in East Asia, we in Japan are convinced that the experience of East Asian countries, which have achieved a remarkable economic achievement acclaimed as “the East Asian miracle”, will be directly relevant to overcoming many of the problems that Africa faces now. With this in mind, Japan has been promoting engagement by Asian countries with Africa. Third, Japan has been trying to bring up Africa on the agenda of the G8 Summit. For the first time in the Summit’s history, representatives from developing countries, including three African leaders, were invited to the Kyushu-Okinawa Summit in Japan in 2000. Africa has become an important agenda item for the summit, as witnessed by the Genoa Plan for Africa adopted at the Genoa Summit and the Africa Action Plan adopted at the Kananasukis Summit.

In the context of ownership, the philosophy of ownership is now beginning to firmly take root through the TICAD process. In fact, the new framework of NEPAD, reflecting TICAD’s philosophy of self-responsibility for development, puts priority to the importance of ownership. The African Union, which has been transformed from the OAU, is aimed at enhanced political and economic integration. We are also witnessing

great progress in African countries' efforts regarding conflict prevention and resolution, which should strengthen African ownership in development, especially through sub-regional organizations such as ECOWAS, SADC and IGAD.

#### **IV: The Critical Importance of Good Governance to Development**

It is in the context of putting into implementation of the NEPAD process that the issue of good governance becomes a crucial issue of primary importance. Naturally the NEPAD process involves multifarious aspects on which the success of development depends, but the question of governance is believed to be the basic prerequisite of all the other elements involved in the comprehensive strategy of development. Why is this so? And what does good governance mean?

First, the system and practice of good governance is an essential prerequisite of development, because however good strategy for development may be devised, it cannot be implemented without the basic structure of good governance in which the strategy is to be practiced. It cannot produce the desired output in the absence of an environment in which good governance is ensured.

Second, while good governance is an abstract notion whose contents may not be sufficiently clear— we should try to clarify and elaborate this concept at this symposium — good governance does involve certain elements which are intrinsic in the concept. Good governance has to be firmly rooted in the principle of “the rule of law”. It is to be noted here that the concept of “the rule of law” has to be distinguished from “the rule by the laws” or the mere existence of the legal system. Its essential element should consist in the realization of “justice” based on the respect for human dignity of individuals who are members of society concerned. On that basis, good governance would involve, *inter alias*, the eradication of corrupt practices, the practice of democratic transfer of power and the system of participation of people in the decision-making process in the political and social arena.

As African leaders recognize in NEPAD, a good government is a prerequisite for development. Good governance generates popular confidence in institutions and processes of government. It builds an enabling environment for the private sector to generate economic growth, unlocking the resources to overcome poverty and provide health and education, and is essential for making efficient use of scarce public resources. Good governance is also instrumental for enabling the international community to engage in effective partnership.

It must be frankly acknowledged that since the mid-1970s almost all African states have been experiencing a protracted stagnancy in their social development, a deterioration in the level of poverty of their people, and - perhaps therefore inevitably- an increase in domestic political instability and vulnerability. New conflicts have emerged and simmered on the African Continent. All of these have had cumulative disastrous effects on the lives of hundreds of millions of Africa's people. One of the tragic consequences of this is that some development partners seem to have lost confidence in Africa as much as Africa risks losing confidence in itself. Already Africa is suffering a serious brain drain and Africa's fertile land is becoming battlegrounds. Top media stories on Africa tend to be focused on war and violence, disease and famine.

As the kickoff speaker charged with the task of provoking discussion, it is my humble submission that at the root of all this tragic state of affairs that Africa has been suffering from lies the issue of governance. To put it the other way round, I submit that if we succeed in Africa in creating the culture of good governance based on the African ownership, we will have solved more than half of the problems that Africa is now plagued with.

There are hopeful signs already in sight in this direction. Now African leaders have taken bold steps in the direction of addressing the issue of good governance, as demonstrated in the announcement of the NEPAD strategy. Indeed, NEPAD puts the primary importance to this question of good governance by the Africans themselves. It would make all the difference if Africa, in cooperation with civil society in Africa, could work for the implementation of homegrown initiatives, such as the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and the African Union. The growing relevance of civil society in Africa, to bring and restore hope through the consolidation of a system of good governance adopted in the African soil and tradition is being recognized. Their activities give us the hope that Africa can lay claim to the 21st century.

Needless to say, Africa is inextricably a part of the wider world. Neither the peoples nor the governments of Africa can have full control over what happens in Africa or in international relations outside Africa. Yet all this will have immense implications for the future of Africa. This is precisely why solidarity and partnership of the international community with Africa is indispensable.

With this in mind, Japan is determined to work with Africa as its true friend. When prime minister Mori made the first trip ever as the incumbent Japanese prime minister



to Africa in 2001, he made the following statement in South Africa which represents in a word the basic philosophy of Japan's policy toward Africa: "There will be no stability and prosperity in the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century unless the problems of Africa are resolved." It is in this spirit that Japan will march forward with her African partners in coping with the problems of Africa.