Final Lecture
Pursuing the Critical Role of Government in Development

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My habit to read books started from the age of elementary school

- Reading up Collected Literary Works (世界少年少女文学全集) about 20 volumes by ES 4th grade
- ES 5th grade: started reading paper backs (文庫本)
- Junior High School 1st grade: collections of detectives like Sherlock Holmes (シャーロック・ホームズ), Arsène Lupin (アルセーヌ・ルパン) by Maurice Leblanc (モーリス・ルブラン), 松本清張 (Matsumoto Seicho)
- Junior High School 2nd grade: The Good Earth (大地) by Pearl Buck, War and Peace etc.
- Junior High School 3rd grade: History of Japan 17 volumes, 平家物語 (Story of Heike Clan), 保元・平治物語 (Story of Hogen and Heiji Wars), historical novels of 海音寺潮五郎 (Kaionji Chogoro)
Turning point was during the Age of Senior High School

• Senior High School 1st grade: 孫子(Sun Tzu)、韓非子(Hanfeizi)、孟子(Meng Zi)、莊子(Zhuang-zi)、戰國策(Stratagems of the Warring States)、十八史略(Eighteen Abbreviated Histories of Ancient China)

• I found there is an ideal job in obtaining a monthly salary by reading books. That is to become a university professor!

• I thought that history of China was already well studied. So, peripheral areas would be more attractive to study. The candidate at that time was Indonesia (or Persia).

  → My elder brother’s friend (university student) advised me that to study peripheral areas, I need to study the language of that country first while still young. The target then was Osaka University of Foreign Studies (Dept. of Indonesia).

  → I read the book that collected entrance exam questions of the university and found out it was rather easy to pass in comparison with the entrance exam of Kyoto University (except for the English language).
Double-Truck Life Started

(1) I continued my studies
   (a) I studied up to 3:00 a.m. almost every night.
   (b) I enrolled in a cram school (塾) of English in which the teacher had worked for 20 years in the US military camp. He had high competency in English language.

(2) I continued my hobbies
   (a) Senior High School 2nd grade: History of the World (中央公論社) 23 vols, French Philosophers René Descartes (*Discourse on the Method* 方法序説 1637), Blaise Pascal (*Pensées* パンセ) were the most impressive;
   (b) Senior High School 3rd grade: Sigmund Freud (フロイト), Mao Zedong (毛沢東) etc.
   (c) I went to movie theaters almost every Sunday (watched about 96 movies in SH2nd);
   (d) I visited many Buddhist temple gardens in Kyoto where I lived;
   (e) I enjoyed classical music, especially Beethoven, Tchaikovsky and Mozart when I returned home to empower myself.
   (f) I traveled alone to Nagano Prefecture for 10 days during summer vacation in SH2nd grade.
The Second Turning Point was during the Age of University

• Indonesian language teachers were disappointing during my time. They had no sense of social science.

• On my second year, a very famous professor of international politics (岡倉古志郎 Okakura Koshiro, a grandson of 岡倉天心 Okakura Tenshin) arrived in our university. He was well known to be a specialist of Asia and Africa. 70 students applied in his seminar. In the next year, Associate Prof. Suyama (巣山靖司) joined the seminar. Participating students coming from various language departments were screened down to 15 by oral examination. All were able and active students. I was excited and studied hard. My field of interest changed from history to contemporary world.

• Prof. Suyama’s understanding of international politics was that international relations among nations are very unequal, and a nation’s strength stems from its accumulated economic power. So, studying individual country’s economic history and the pattern of modernization was decisively necessary. For understanding the modernization of economy, I studied many books of economic history on Western European countries and Japan.
International Politics consisting of Individual Country’s Political Economy

• Prof. Okakura introduced me to Prof. Tanigawa (谷川栄彦) of Kyushu University (Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law). Prof. T’s standpoint was that international politics consist of various nations having their own national interests. Domestic political context decides more than half of its diplomacy. His major research field was Indonesia, Vietnam and the Philippines.

• I was requested to leave him (Prof. T) if I just wanted to study Indonesia. I could be with him if only I would pursue political science and international politics, and studying Indonesia as a part of understanding international politics of nations.

• For 9 years (from 2nd year undergraduate up to whole graduate school age), I belonged to the seminar of international politics.

• When I entered the Doctor’s Program, Prof. Tanigawa requested me to help him in publishing a book on Philippine politics after WW II. As he was the president of Japan Association of International Relations and later the dean of his faculty, I wrote all but the introduction chapter. It was published in the Institute of Developing Economies (アジア経済研究所).
Political Structure of Contemporary Philippines, 1977, co-authored with Prof. Tanigawa
These books became the basics of my understanding of the world.
Above the country-based studies, I also published *Contemporary Political Economy of the World* in 1993, single authored, 325pp.
GDP Map of the World 1987
(USD Billion; % is to the US)
Reality of East-West Conflict (1987)

Total GDP of Eastern Camp was 30% of the total GDP of Western Camp.

Eastern Camp had no unity.

“Balance of Power” was a misleading theory.

South world was far more inclined to the Western Camp.
The Center of Asia is the USA (Renewed in 2010 MER)
(Paper presented at Hanoi Conference on East Asian Community in 2005)

USA
USD14,526B
≒ Total East Asian Community

EU
USD16,242B

CHINA
USD5,878B (41% of ASEAN+3)

S. KOREA
USD 1,014B

TAIWAN
USD 430B

JAPAN
USD5,458B (38% of ASEAN+3)

ASEAN10 USD1,866B (13% of ASEAN +3)
Mya, Ca, Br, L (CLMV ≒ 10% of ASEAN)

Indonesia
707B

Thai
319

Australia
USD1,237B

NZ
141B
US Relations with East Asian Countries

(1) Military relations = hub and spokes

(2) Economic relations: Even PM Mahathir has realized well that without the market of the US, Malaysia can’t develop its economy.

(3) Human relations:
   (a) Half a million foreign students stayed continuously in the US from the 1950s and a half of them got American nationality (= brain gain) + training of local elite (continued their relation with the US)
      (Conversations during international conferences were dominated by their experiences of studying abroad especially in the US)
   (b) Social culture was to upgrade its vitality by accepting immigrants: 15 million Asians in the US society in 2007= 5% of population
      (America is more Asiatic than Japan)

• Chinese (3.6 million), Filipinos (2.9 million), Asian Indians (2.7 million), Vietnamese (1.6 million), Koreans (1.5 million), and Japanese (1.2 million). Other sizable groups are Cambodians/Khmers (206,000), Pakistanis (204,000), Laotians (198,000), Hmong (186,000), and Thais (150,000).
  (National Census 2006)
Japan selected the US- Japan Alliance as its core to respond to East Asian Community (EAC)

There were three options for Japan to take:

1. **Coping with EAC as a member of US- Japan Alliance** (This is the road up to the present and the most possible road Japan will take. But if this is to be Japan’s option, it might loose the initiative of EAC to China and this will become a dilemma: 2005 paper of me)

2. **The role of UK** (United Kingdom) where the UK takes the role as the bridge between EU countries and the US as a member of EU.

3. **The Germany-France Alliance** has become the core of EU especially after they stopped the long years of antagonistic relations (Franco-Prussian War in 1871, First and Second World War) from the 1950s. This way shows the possibility of Japan to have an alliance with China in becoming the core of EAC.

Japan has prioritized its relations with the US for the last 60 years after the Second World War and it is inconceivable for Japan to jump out from its basic standpoint of its alliance with the US towards an alliance with Asia (especially China). Eventually, the most possible way will be the continuation of the present set-up.
GSID gave me the Framework of Regional Development

The pillar of GSID education system, Overseas Field Work and Domestic Field Work, was set by Prof. Nagamine (長峰晴夫) who had worked for 16 years at the UN Center for Regional Development, Nagoya, and became the key person to found GSID.

I taught for 15 years at Kumamoto University (1977-92) on 2 subjects: international politics and Japan’s politics (which were the major interest fields of students). As part of Japan’s politics, I had taught local politics and development as well. I was rather ready to Prof. N’s approach.

Local area was the real field, where people in their traditional life are affected by development aspects. With this thought, I proposed to Prof. N to go to the Philippines, where the Calabarzon development was a hot issue for Japan’s ODA.
Field Research in CARABARZON for a year gave me the confidence to further my development direction.

I bought a second-hand Nissan car and hired a skilled driver. I visited many places and interviewed 250 persons from various fields: government, academia, NGO, peasant movement, journalists, priests, farmers, laborers, etc.

My local counterpart was Assoc. Professor Romeo Obedoza of UP Los Banos, who introduced me to many people, though I have several sources.
Government takes the decisive role in development and the number one role of government is economic development

1. Government takes the decisive role in development.
2. NGO activities are complementary even though the Philippines is known to have well developed NGO network (I visited many NGOs from the 2,000 believed to be having good records at that time).
3. Regional development has 2 faces:
   a. top-down central-government led regional development as part of nation-wide development in which the core is industrialization of local cities.
   b. bottom-up community-based development within the framework of participatory development where NGOs are one of the stakeholders.
4. People’s income raising activities highly depended upon national level economic development. Example was sandal makers. Their production depends upon the total sales in Manila shops in a given time.
Real Desire of Villagers is Infrastructure Building

(1) **Villagers want to give their children a higher education career** for getting better employment opportunities. But, without having a road, they can’t send the children to a junior high school in town.

(2) At the time of child’s disease, **villagers want to take the child to town’s clinic** but without having road, it is difficult. They need to walk for 2 hours to reach the clinic as a group for safety reason.

(3) **Villagers must sell their products directly in town’s market and look for job(sub-contract) opportunities.** Otherwise, they have to follow middleman’s price for their products and sub-contract conditions while staying in their village.

(4) **Number one problem of the poor is how to overcome social isolation.** For the poor to have some form of association, they need to connect with local NGOs. And this connection needs road, cars and communication networks as well.
The publication of the Introduction to International Development Studies by GSID staffs, as part of accountability of GSID to the general public, was my long years’ dream.

It was the result of JSPS Research Project (Inter-disciplinary Construction of Development Studies, 2005-2007) that I organized. But, without getting the initiative of Prof. Otsubo Shigeru (大坪滋), the publication would not have realized.

In this book, we proposed “multi-disciplinary network studies.”
We set 3 core subjects.
As part of multi-disciplinary development studies, I was able to publish another book on development politics. For writing the book, I successfully mobilized young generation of researchers. Among them, vise-editor Prof. Kondo and Dr. Kobayashi, a JICA research institute staff for governance, are the leading academics in the governance field in Japan Society for International Development. Other contributors are Dr. Sato from MOFA, Dr. Oyamada, former staff of UNDP and World Bank (now Assoc. Professor of Doshisha University), specialist of political party Dr. Kanamaru, and specialists of peace building and governance assistance, Dr. Nishikawa of DICOS and Dr. Sugiura.

With that book, we developed a comprehensive analysis on the role of government in development.
We were fortunate to ride on the wave focusing upon the importance of governance among international organizations

- Kofi Annan, former **UN Secretary-General** (1997-2006), has under-scored that “good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development.”
- “Democratic governance is central to the achievement of the MDGs, as it provides the enabling environment for the realization of the MDGs and, in particular, the elimination of poverty.” (UNDP website, governance)
- There is broad consensus in the donor community that one of the key obstacles to achieving the MDGs is poor governance; poverty reduction can not be achieved without a policy and institutional environment which facilitates growth. To most donors top of the list of indicators of poor governance is corruption. (OECD, 2005)
- **Our Common Interest: Report of the Commission for Africa** (2005) wrote, “One thing underlies all the difficulties caused by the interactions of Africa’s history over the past 40 years. It is the weakness of governance and the absence of an effective state.”
- **DFID** (British Department for International Development) wrote in its **White Paper (Eliminating world poverty: Making governance work for the poor, 2006)**, “Effective states are central to development. They protect people’s rights and provide security, economic growth and services like education and health care” (p. 21).
Looking for the New Paradigm based upon the critical role of government

The major problem is the implementation ability of sound public policies.
The Problem Now is How to Build an “Effective State”

• “The primary obstacles of development are administrative rather than economic.”

• “Development administration, synonymous with bureaucracy, is a midwife of development.”

• “The state’s ability depends on the bureaucracy being a corporately coherent entity. (Peter Evans)

• The bureaucracy might be inefficient, but it plays a key role in stabilizing the political economy of the nation.

• The problem is how to gather a certain part of the “best and brightest” people of a nation into government.

• But, at the same time, the actual operation of administration depends upon politics. Politics shapes states, and states shape development.
This book was produced by mobilizing international academic networks of Kimura.

It analyzed that, in reality, how governance is implemented in various countries. The result was rather pessimistic.

The conclusion of this book is as follows:
In implementing good governance, some public policies can be pursued in coordination with the present power holders in central and local governments of developing countries. But some public policies will be difficult within the present political economy that is grass-rooted in vested interest of power holders. In that case, pursuing good governance will become a tough work and requires much time.

So, how to tackle the problem?
My understanding of “Aged Life” changed dramatically after reading 15 or so books concerning that.

Six years from 65 to 70 years old are believed to be the golden age

There is still much time to use. My saving is all right.

Physical conditions and brain are still active.

I can concentrate more in studying without being bothered by administrative chores and students. For example, Prof. Shinobu Seizaburo (信夫清三郎) published a book every two years after retirement.

I can travel a lot to various foreign and domestic areas. I plan to travel every month from now on.
I have been very happy to be surrounded by many qualified students throughout my career life!
Thank You for Your Attention!

Road is there but the target is distant

Road from khiva to Buhara, Uzbekistan
Good-Bye

Yakushima: World Natural Heritage Island