

紛争「後」の国家・社会間関係と国家形成/建設
アパルトヘイト後の南アフリカ共和国の事例から

細井友裕 (東京大学/日本学術振興会)

**State-Society Relations in "Post" Conflict Society and State-Building
The Case of South Africa in Post-Apartheid Era**

**Tomohiro HOSOI (The University of Tokyo/Japan Society for the Promotion of
Science)**

Current studies on state-formation argue that relationships between rebel groups and citizens in the conflict era affect the state capacity in the post-conflict era. Huang argues that it was the degree of rebel's dependency on citizens that partially determine the degree of democracy and state capacity in the post-conflict society. She argues that, if rebels evolved governance institutions to gain support and triumphed over the conflict, these government are likely to succeed in the post-conflict state-building.

However, are these relationships static? Environmental changes after conflicts may change government-citizens relations.

This report attempts to address the question above, from the case of South Africa since 1994. This report regards the anti-apartheid struggle as an armed conflict. The African National Congress (ANC) did not have liberated zones, and it heavily relied on external supports. According to the Huang's discussion, the ANC government would not bring state formation nor democratization. Nevertheless, South Africa has consolidated democracy and maintained relatively high state capacity since 1994.

Mandela and Mbeki's administrations had contradictory characters; while they heavily relied on majority population, they implemented unpopular neo-liberal policies. On the one hand, since they inherited a nearly bankrupted treasury and they could not expect to gain enough external support in post-Cold War circumstances, they had to extract resources domestically to resolve racial inequalities. On the other hand, they had to look for investment to gain resources. Since there was no strong opposition party, the ANC could secure its support bases. And, the promotion of investments required neo-liberal policies. In that era, while the state remained its minimal service delivery, studies depict that state capacity generally declined; this government's attitudes reflect the distance between them and its citizens.

However, since the Zuma Administration, the distance between the ANC government and the citizen has changed. In addition to criticizes against the 'state capture' or corrupt attitudes of the administration, some strong oppositions have appeared, such as the Democratic Alliance (DA), or Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). Thus, the ANC's dominant position is now unstable. Cyril Ramaphosa's government has tackled with not only the improvement of governance but also popular demands for a long time, such as the land issue. This may reflect the re-approach of the ANC toward its citizens. It is too early to evaluate the policies of the Ramaphosa government. Yet, according to the state-formation/building theories, it would bring more democratic, and high-capacity state.

In sum, after rebels transformed into parties, state-society relations would change by the global and/or domestic social circumstances. Existing studies keen only to the relationship immediately after the war. However, to consider the success or failure of state-formation/building in the post-conflict society, we should also consider the change of state-society relation after the conflict and its effects on the evolution of state capacity.