

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of 1960 British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan spoke of the winds of change blowing across Africa. He was referring to the collapse of colonial rule and the coming of independence to new states throughout the African continent, from north to south. Thirty years later, on 2 February 1990, President's FW de Klerk's dramatic statement of his government's new policy started a new wind of change, now blowing from the south. The collapse of apartheid and the advent of a non-racial, democratic government in South Africa will have a profound effect on the rest of Africa and particularly on the region of Southern Africa.

The great hopes for positive results from the first winds of change were disappointed. Freedom and independence in Africa did not bring the expected rewards, because of bad government, unsuitable economic policies, unfavourable world conditions and especially the effects of the Cold War. But South Africa's system of apartheid also contributed to the deterioration and suffering of Africa. Especially in the sub-continent, apartheid policies helped to delay the ending of colonialism and encourage its worst effects: exploitation and conflict. Instead of constructive economic development and the spread of democracy, therefore, Southern Africa suffered the negative results of bitter wars in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia. In all these conflicts South Africa became directly involved. In addition, the effects of South Africa's own domestic conflict spilt over into other countries of the region.

Apartheid also prevented the effective co-ordination of the region's economic development and the realisation of the region's great economic potential. The barrier imposed by South Africa's unacceptable political system forced the other countries of the region to combine in development and security structures of their own, which were aimed as much at isolating South Africa and protecting themselves as at developing their economies. As a result of all this, the region suffered the heavy costs of the ravages of wars and of deteriorating economies.

The expected advent of democratic government in South Africa and the removal of the apartheid barrier has aroused great hopes that a new era of regional co-operation and even economic integration are opening up for the years ahead. These hopes are held not only by governments and people in Southern Africa, but also by foreign governments, international organisations and multinational corporations. The British Minister of State

in the Foreign Office and Minister of Overseas Development, Lady Chalker, has been prominent among those encouraging these hopes. For instance, she has said : "South Africa also has an important role to play in the economic development of the region..... South Africa's need for growth will provide new economic opportunities for the region. But, if this process is to work properly, South Africa must play her full part in fostering a higher degree of economic integration."¹ She has also spoken of ways in which the international community, can and must help in the development of South and Southern Africa.

It will be the task of the new South African government after the elections of April 27 1994, in co-operation with other governments of the region, to try to fulfil these hopes and expectations. They will have to use the new opportunities opening up, but also face up to the many problems which still exist from the past, as well as the new problems which will arise. (This is the subject of Chapter 2 below.) But already (as dealt with in Chapter 1) a significant change has taken place in the South African approach to its regional neighbours, away from the policies of the past (particularly of the 1970s and 1980s) towards a policy of seeking co-operation and negotiations rather than conflict. Mr Neil van Heerden (then Director General of Foreign Affairs) stated in November 1990, when describing the government's "new approach" in the region: "In Southern Africa a primary task of South African diplomacy is to convince our neighbours that South Africa is committed to peace and stability and has the will, the capacity and, most importantly, the heart to be a good partner."² Although there have been signs of caution on the part of the neighbour states, while the National Party government is still in power, their response to the changed approach has on the whole been positive. Full normalisation of relations in the region will, however, not take place until a new government is installed after the elections of April 27 1994.

The ending of apartheid also has profound implications for the institutional framework of the region and for each of the present economic organisations. It can be expected that South Africa's full involvement, together with its neighbours, will lead to a transformation of these organisations (which is the subject of Chapter 3).

As the world's largest bilateral aid donor, and as one of the major donors to countries of Southern Africa, Japan has an interest in the stability, growth and development of the region. Given South Africa's relative economic strength and the crucial importance of its policies for the future development of the region, Japan must have a special interest in

South Africa's current transition to democracy and the implications for the rest of Southern Africa. For its part, South Africa is obviously vitally concerned with the foreign policy of Japan, as one of its top trading partners, and with the role of Japan as a provider of economic assistance to countries of the region (the subject of appendix of this study).

In the chapters below the generally accepted definition of the region of Southern Africa is accepted, namely that it consists of South Africa and the ten member countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) which was previously the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). These ten countries are: Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania. The position of Tanzania in the region is, however, marginal, as it does not have to the same extent the historical, political, economic, infrastructural and functional links which exist between the others.

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NOTES

1. Speech by the Baroness Chalker of Wallasey to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 18 June 1992.
2. Neil van Heerden, *Development in Southern Africa*, Occasional Paper, SA Institute of International Affairs, 1990, page 1.