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B - SECOND TRACK POLICY g1985 -19902

The aim of the Second Track programme is to support social developments aimed at bringing about peaceful reforms in South Africa.

Over the years support has been .concentrated. mainly on lthe following four sectors:

- - Education and training: The South African government's education policy differs sharply in qualitative and quantitative terms with respect to the various population groups. Government expenditure on white pupils is about four times higher than on black pupils. The difference in . standard is exacerbated by the fact that about 75% of teachers at black schools are unqualified. The drop out .; . percentage among black pupils is high and not many primary school children go on to secondary and higher education. The Netherlands provides financial support for "bridging" programmes for pupils, "teacher upgrading" programmes, the development of alternative teaching material and scholarships to attend non-racial schools and universities.

, - Management courses and general training for non-white trade unions: These are mainly courses relating to practical situations (for example, courses on the the legal system and legislation and negotiation techniques), . specific research into employment conditions and legal and a financial assistance for the families of union members.

- Humanitarian aid: This consists of legal and material families in which the breadwinner is detained). In addition South African refugees in Zambia and Tanzania are given financial support.

- Community development activities: These are activities carried out for the benefit of the black population. They are aimed at improving community infrastructure, stimulating awareness and reinforcing the level of organisation.

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The following criteria are applied when assessing project proposals:

- The initiative must be demonstrably aimed at promoting either directly or indirectly South Africa's peaceful transition to a just and fair system from which legislation which discriminates on the grounds of race has been eliminated. ,
- The project should not reinforce the system and therefore no activities should be undertaken in cooperation with the South African authorities.

The project should be implemented within the law.

- Activities designed to heighten awareness should be targeted at groups or ' individuals with whom such activities have a reasonable chance of success or at people who can be deemed victims of apartheid.
- Initiatives do not necessarily have to be carried out within South Africa.

g the debate on the Second Track Memorandum (17395
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In the Standing Parllamentary Committee on Foreign
Durin
no.19)

Affairs in February 1985 one explicit criterion was added to those already in the memorandum, namely that political organisations would not be supported unless the aid was humanitarian and could not be provided through any other channel.

Funding

The main source of fundin

Southern Africa Programme (Category II-c). Between 1985 and
f NLG 66 million was made available for Second
9 for the Second Track is the
1990 a total 0

Track activities. The annual cash ceiling was gradualla'vaised
from NLG 8 million in 1985 to NLG 13 million in 1988. In
addition non-governmental organisations are carrying out
activities funded under Category IV-a of the Co-Financing
The Communication Programme (Category I-f) has paid
Programme.

a number of black journalists (from the
for media training for

"Weekly Mail" and the "Vrije Weekblad") and small-scale
projects were
(Category I-f).

financed by the Small Embassy Projects Programme
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has earmarked

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NLG 100,000 per annum for Second Track cultural activities both in South Africa and the Netherlands.

goes through the following channels:

- The Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria plays an important role in implementing this programme. Over half the project applications are channelled through Pretoria. In the first few years the Embassy focused mainly on educational projects and trade union activities but it now covers the whole range of activities.

- All co-financing organisations (Netherlands Organisation for International Development Cooperation NOVIB, Inter-Church Coordination Committee for Development Projects ICCO, Central Agency for Joint Financing of Development Programmes CEBEMO and the Humanistic Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries HIVOS) as well as the trade union movement (Federation of Netherlands Trade Unions FNV and National Federation of Christian Trade Unions in the Netherlands CNV) are participating in the programme. The South Africa Committee (KZA) was refugees.

- Funds were a international organisations such as the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), the various UN funds for Southern Africa and the World Council of Churches 150 provided for victims of apartheid through programme to combat racism.

No budgetary distinction is made between the channels; funds are allocated according to the merits of the proposals and the time at which they are submitted. The implementation of the project programme in South Africa is carried out by nongovernmental organisations. Government organisations, including the homelands, are not

organisations concerned must be able to implement projects and they must report on the progress of projects and account for governments of the so-called independent eligible for financial aid. The

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the money spent. Generally speaking, their standard of reporting is high.

Implementation of the Programme

Since 1985 174 projects have been approved for the Southern Africa Programme. Applications are assessed strictly as there have been more applications than there are funds to pay for them, particularly in recent years.

Between 1985 and 1989 the allocation of funds committed to the four target areas was as follows: NLG 24 million for education, NLG 17.3 for humanitarian aid, NLG 11.7 for political awareness-raising and community development and NLG 5.7 million for trade union work. Most of the Second Track 'programme projects benefit the black urban population. Only 16 of the above-mentioned 174 projects were aimed exclusively at improving the position of the rural -population. This is inevitable given the political aims of the programme as the urban population is more politically aware and better organised. Urban organisations also have easier access to donors.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the Embassy in Pretoria also supports a number of projects which can be classified as Third Track, i.e. aimed at promoting internal dialogue in South Africa. These include a South African writers conference organised by IDASA in 1989, a conference initiated by Dr Beyers Naude in 1989 entitled "Conference for a Democratic Future" and a "Conference on Negotiations" organised by the Five Freedoms Forum in 1990.

The road to new Eolicx

Netherlands Second Track policy Will be adapted in the light of positive developments in South Africa. The emphasis is shifting sfrom political anti-apartheid activities. to development-oriented activities. The European Programme of Positive Measures will be adapted accordingly. The considerable increase in EC donations (from 30 million Ben to about 42 million Ecu annually) calls fort a wide spread of

funds over the projects organised by the various organisations.

Naturally, no future government, whatever its composition, will be able to satisfy the demand for education, housing, employment and health care in the short term. This is serious cause for concern particularly since recent positive developments have raised the expectations of a large part of the black population. The aim of this aid will therefore be to contribute to creating a "sustainable democracy" the ts for which are sound economic and social relations requiremen

on the basis of equality. This will have the following consequences for the Second Track programme:

- . - Continuation of support on the same scale to the education sector in order to promote the development of new policy aimed at a new, non-racial educational system for all ' South Africans. In the light of unemployment among young people and the need to generate income, emphasis should be placed more on teaching skills and less for example on university education.

Support for projects such as the training of black lawyers ("Lawyers for Human Rights") and other activities in the field of human rights will continue for the time being. If the political situation improves, the need for legal assistance will decline and it will be possible to reduce this component of the programme.

- . - Increased attention will be given to the disadvantaged rural population and people living on the fringe of urban society. These people, who are usually badly organised or not organised at all, could benefit from "self help" projects the main aim of which is to generate income. Non-governmental organisations have an important role to play in this field.

- Funds will be provided for management training suited to both civil service jobs and trade and industry. The transfer of knowledge and the stimulation of new initiatives will help to integrate new black businesses in the economy.

Continued support will be given to training programmes for

non-racial trade unions.

Funds will be provided for sport and sport management within non-racial sports organisations.

The field of housing (subsidised housing), health care (primary health care) and other social facilities allows only for an indirect and limited contribution as this is and will remain the responsibility of the South African government. However, support in the form of consultancy and training in these areas and extremely limited infrastructural aid (i.e. no hospitals or community centres) could be considered.

- Exiles returning to South Africa must be reintegrated.

This requires extra attention and supervision. Project activities in support of the integration process may be eligible for aid, for example through specialised (international) organisations such as UNHCR and/or others.

Funds for Second Track activities will be increased to NLG 15 million per annum for the above-mentioned reasons. In addition NLG 100,000 from the annual budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will remain earmarked for cultural Second Track activities.

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First Track

Measures taken at national level:

Abrogation of the Cultural Agreement with South Africa in 1981

South Africans required to have visas to visit the Netherlands as of 1983 '

Restraint in trade promotion

Measures taken at European level:

Package of restrictive measures adopted at Luxembourg: 10

September 1985

Embargo on the export of arms and para-military materiel to South Africa

Embargo on the import of arms and para-military materiel from South Africa

Ban on military cooperation

Military attaches recalled from South Africa

Opposition to cultural and scientific agreements between

EC member states and South Africa and the freezing of

contacts and agreements in the field of sport and security

End to the export of crude oil to South Africa on the free market

End to the export of equipment destined for the South

African police and armed forces

Ban on all nuclear cooperation

Package of restrictive measures adopted at Brussels, 16

September 1986

Ban on new direct investments

Ban on the import of iron and steel

Ban on the import of gold coins

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EPC statements; EPC demarches both public and otherwise

UN Measures:

Resolutions, both mandatory and otherwise

Sport boycott

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- Arms embargo (implemented in EC framework)
- Oil embargo (implemented in EC framework)

National implementation of the Luxembourg Package of 10 September 1985

1. Arms and paramilitary Import and Export (South Africa) Decree (Bulletin of Acts, Orders and Decrees 1987, 512)

2. Military cooperation, In practice no military military attaches cooperation or exchange of military attaches

3. Culture, science, sport Denunciation of Cultural Agreement with South Africa
 . in 1981; restrictive visa
 . policy following introduction of visa requirements in 1983

4. oil Import and Export (South Africa) Decree (Bulletin of Acts, Orders and Decrees 1987, 512) and gentleman's agreement with companies operating on the Dutch section of the Continental Shelf

5. Computers Import and Export (South Africa) Decree (Bulletin of Acts, Orders and Decrees 1987, 512)

6. Nuclear cooperation Import and Export (South Africa) Decree (Bulletin of Acts, Orders and Decrees 1987, 512)

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National implementation of the Brussels Eackage of 16
September 1986

1. Iron and steel (European
Coal and Steel Community
directive, entered into
force 27-9-86)
2. Gold coins (EC regulation
of 27-10-86)
3. Investments (EC directive
of 27/10/86)

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Import and Export (South
Africa) Decree (Bulletin of
Acts, Orders and Decrees,
1987, 512)

1987 Gold Coins Import
(South Africa)

(Bulletin of Acts,
Order and

Embargo

Decree

Decrees, 1987,
388) extended in 1990
(Bulletin of Acts,
and Decrees, 528)

Orders

Guideline to Dutch business
world, issued 8-5-87. Bill
submitted 21-12-87. Debate
deferred.