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SPECIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO SOUTH AFRICANS
AND NAMIBIANS

PROPOSED PROGRAM 1986-91

A.	BACKGROUND	4
B.	ISSUES	
	1) Level of Australian Interest	5
	2) Present Direct Action Program (DAP)	5
	3) Sector of Funding	5
	4) Flexibility of Funding	6
	5) WID Issues	6
	6) Number of Trainees	7
	7) Evaluation	8
C.	PROPOSED PROGRAM	
	1) Purpose	9
	2) Objectives	9
	3) Principles	10
	4) Recommended Program Channels	11
	a) ADAB/DFA Delivered Allocation	
	i) Bursaries & Projects in South Africa	11
	ii) Bursaries & Projects in Namibia	12
	iii) Bursaries & Projects in other African States	12
	iv) Scholarships in Australia - Nassau Fellowships	12

b) NGO Delivered Allocation

i)	Trade Union Training	14
ii)	NGO Projects	14
iii)	Multilateral Administered	15
iv)	Unallocated Funds	15

ANNEX A.

1.	Education & Training in South Africa and Namibia	16
a)	Background	16
b)	Fields of Study	17
c)	Study in white and/or Homeland Institutions	17
d)	Training of Trade Union & NGO leaders	18
e)	Criteria for selection of Bursary Recipients	19
2.	Institution Strengthening	19
3.	Sports Training	20
4.	Welfare projects	21

ANNEX B.

Bursary & Project Allocations for refugees in Other African States	22
---	----

ANNEX C.

Education & Training in Australia	23
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ANNEX D

Role of Australian NGOs

23

ANNEX E.

Multilateral Channels

27

ANNEX F.

Recommended Program Financial Summary

28

SPECIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM
TO SOUTH AFRICANS AND NAMIBIANS

A. BACKGROUND

Cabinet Decision No. 7825 of 21 July 1986 inter alia authorised the Prime Minister to announce a \$5 million program of assistance over 5 years which would encompass activities already being undertaken and also introduce new forms of assistance.

. This was subsequently announced and incorporated in Budget Paper No. 9; \$1 million was allocated as a new budget initiative in 1986/87. Funds became available on passage of the budget.

. The \$1 million per year will be allocated to cover both presently funded and new programs.

In developing a proposed program ADAB and Foreign Affairs have consulted the Departments of Education, Prime Minister and Cabinet, Sports Recreation and Tourism, Australian Diplomatic missions in Africa, several Australian NGOs, ACFOA, ANC, SWAPO and PAC and other interested groups. The discussions drew on an ADAB commissioned consultant's study of options for training and assistance to the target groups.

It is necessary for the program to become operational immediately in order to finalise new student places prior to the commencement of the academic year.

B. ISSUES

In developing this proposed program the following issues have been taken into account:

1) Level of Australian Interest

The program has generated a high degree of public interest. A relatively small number of NGOs has taken special interest in a training segment in Australia.

The \$5 million program is to be used over a 5 year period and covers previously funded programs of around \$500,000 p.a. The new element is therefore a relatively small amount to set against high public expectations.

2) Present Direct Action Program (DAP)

In addition to the proposed Bursary and Project Fund for South Africa and Namibia, the regular DAP (successor to HOMDAF) available to the Australian Embassy in South Africa should be continued, separate from the new program and at the level of \$65,000 proposed by Foreign Affairs. This would leave the post with discretionary funds for purposes similar to those available to other missions and not directly associated with the purpose of the Special Program. The post would fund education, training and welfare from the Special Program allocation.

3) Sector of Funding

Education and Training are seen as the major sector of input. Consideration was given to assistance in the fields of health care, agriculture, job creation and water

which also have great need. Indeed areas of need are virtually endless. We feel, however, that although important, these other fields should have a lower priority for funding than education. Education is fundamental for the new South Africa and a concentration on the education sector will achieve developmental benefits not only in this sector but in other sectors as well.

4) Flexibility of Funding

Due to the complex nature of a program of assistance to Southern Africans and Namibians and the constantly changing nature of local situations both in and outside South Africa, it is recommended that the proposed five year allocations be regarded as a guide. For example, if owing to the present boycotts of secondary schools and matric examinations, there are too few matriculants eligible to receive bursaries in South Africa, flexibility should exist to use the funds for other approved activities e.g. in service teacher training, bridging programs, non-formal education and opportunities for South African NGOs to mobilize youth to work on development projects. Flexibility will ensure that ADAB and the Posts can quickly move funds from one component of the program to another if warranted. Adjustments of over 20% in individual components will be subject to the Director General's approval.

5) WID Issues

Women's issues have been taken into consideration in designing the program. Women play a key role in local society which is in general not given recognition. They are often heads of households, often work for a salary, do

the major part of household farming and look after the homes in the "homelands" when the husband is at work in the mines or in the cities.

The proposed major objective of the program is support for training and education, principally in Africa, but also in Australia.

- . It is the long standing policy of the Government and ADAB that 50% of the beneficiaries of training awards should be women. This will be a guideline for use by nominating authorities.

A second proposed objective will be the funding of welfare projects to cater for the victims of apartheid (widows, families of prisoners, human rights sufferers etc). An option being considered for grants for welfare purposes, would be to give preference to affected women.

The third proposed objective of Institutional support will have a major focus on equality for women i.e. sponsorship of special courses; funding of projects designed for and by women; the development of institutions which provide economic training for women; etc.

6) Number of Trainees

The principal element proposed is the funding of bursaries and scholarships in South Africa in the frontline states and in Australia. Due to the higher relative cost - roughly 5 to 1 - of study in Australia (now \$17,000 per student year in 1986-87, excluding the "subsidy" element) we propose an Australian intake of only 4 new students per

year for each of the first 3 years. As funding is not assured beyond year 5 any students commencing studies in Australia in years 4 and 5 will not have assured funds to complete their studies. It is unlikely that another donor would pick up where Australian aid leaves off. This aspect should be reviewed during year 3 as a part of a proposed evaluation in order to see whether additional funds or a shift of funds should be made. In South and Southern Africa however other donors are active. An increased and steady number of students in South and Southern Africa under Australian bursaries has been assured throughout the program.

7. Evaluation

In a program such as this constant monitoring, annual, review and mid program evaluation are seen as critical. The program has numerous variables, is politically sensitive in both Africa and in Australia and calls for a number of implementing organisations. There are also issues such as continuity of training and funding beyond the 5 years of the program. Further expenditure should not be planned without some indication of success to date.

Therefore in addition to annual reviews by officials an independent evaluation will be carried out in the first six months of the third year of the program. This will leave time in the last six months of the same year to prepare a proposal for continuation amendment or termination of components in the Program. An amount of unallocated funds in year 2 will be reserved for this purpose.

C. PROPOSED PROGRAM

1. Purpose:

The purpose of the program is:

- (a) to give substance to Australia's condemnation of apartheid and of South Africa's occupation of Namibia;
- (b) to help prepare black South Africans and Namibians and South African and Namibian refugees for the post-apartheid era.
- (c) to help meet current humanitarian needs caused by apartheid and South African occupation of Namibia;
- (d) to increase Australians awareness of the need for change in South Africa and what they can do to support it.
- (e) to give Australians a meaningful and positive role to play in helping South Africans prepare for the future of their country.

2. Objectives:

The selected program components will enable ADAB and DFA through Australian missions in South and Southern Africa, local and Australian NGOs and multilateral institutions, to provide to South Africans and Namibians living under apartheid or as refugees:

- (a) Education and Training in South Africa and Namibia, in Southern Africa and in Australia

(b) Welfare support

(c) Institution strengthening

3. Principles

The program is to be guided by the following principles:

- (a) the needs of the recipients must be paramount;
- (b) highest priority will be given to education and training; and when this is done in Australia it must be in a field where Australia has a comparative advantage;
- (c) assistance must be cost effective;
- (d) in order to cater for the needs of different target groups there should be a variety of delivery mechanisms; (which could alter over time in order to take account of expected decreasing purchasing power of the Australian dollar);
- (e) the efforts of other donors must not be unnecessarily duplicated;
- (f) as the program is both new and sensitive, flexibility must be maintained to allow changing responses to target groups;
- (g) preferences should be given to projects which can be readily identified as Australian supported.

4. Recommended Program Channels - 1986-87 to 1990-91

In order to meet the objectives stated in section C2 above and consistent with the principles listed in Section C3 the following program is recommended:

a. ADAB/DFA Delivered Allocation

i) Bursaries and Projects for South Africa (Annex A)

Allocation of funds to be administered by the Australian Embassy in Pretoria for:

- Bursaries via presently assisted South African NGOs such as the Institute of Race Relation (IRR), the South African Council for Higher Education (SACHED), etc and other groups such as the South African Council of Churches (SACC);
- Self help projects of South African non-governmental organisations which have an education and training emphasis.
- Assistance for institutional strengthening and training facilities to South African non-governmental organisations oriented to education and training.
- Assistance to NGOs to meet short term welfare needs and for equipment to facilitate a local sports training program.
- Other institutional strengthening through the provisions of short term overhead and operational costs of human rights and legal aid programs.

This component would subsume that part of the present Pretoria DAP fund used for education projects and bursaries.

The DAP fund for projects in other sectors would be maintained at the present level of at least \$65,000.

ii) Bursaries & Projects - Namibia (Annex A).

Funds to be allocated for administration by the Australian Embassy Pretoria, for bursaries and projects on the same basis as for South Africa. The Embassy would have discretion, at least in the first year, to inter-change allocations between targets in South Africa and in Namibia.

iii) Bursaries and Projects - Other African States (Annex B).

The allocation of funds to be administered initially by Australia's High Commissions in Lusaka and Dar es Salaam. Funds would be used for bursaries or self help projects which have an educational focus, are specific to South African and Namibian refugees, and which are presented to the missions via the local offices of the ANC, SWAPO, PAC, UNHCR, Australian and local NGOs. This fund would be in addition to the DAP fund already operated by Lusaka and Dar Es Salaam. Other countries in Africa might be considered for similar assistance should suitable programs be identified.

iv) Scholarships Tenable in Australia (Annex C)

ADAB currently funds eight South African refugee scholars in Australia and it is proposed that these students be subsumed into this program. The cost of doing this in 1987-88 will be \$100,000 and decreases over the 5 year

duration of the program. In addition we propose an allocation to be administered by ADAB to bring to Australia for postgraduate and senior level training South Africans and Namibians nominated by ANC, SWAPO, PAC and credible South African and Australian NGO's. Approximately 4 persons would be brought to Australia in each of the first 3 years of the program. Further students in years 4 and 5 would be dependent on a positive evaluation of the first 3 years and the approval of further funding beyond year 5 of this program.

It is further proposed that ADAB encourage the involvement of Australian institutions and organisations in helping South Africans and Namibians by paying the Overseas Student Charges of any students recruited in cooperation with experienced selection organisations in South and Southern Africa and whose other costs are being paid by Australian institutions and NGO's. The record of success in Australia of South African and Namibian students funded via the Commonwealth Program is not good. However, there is considerable public interest in and support for training in Australia. The black political organisations argue that the success rate would be better if we their nominees were given priority. It is proposed that we encourage their nominations as well as those of credible NGO's in South Africa and Namibia.

At the Nassau Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting (1985) there was agreement to a Commonwealth Training Program for South African refugees. This proposal was further defined by the Secretariate and on October 24, 1986 was agreed to by the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa. The awards are to be administered either bilaterally or multilaterally and would be for "South Africans who are disadvantaged by apartheid and who were living either in South Africa or as refugees". It is proposed as Australia's commitment to this Commonwealth

initiative that all future scholars or fully funded in Australia under this program be designated "Nassau Fellows" and those in respect of whom the OSC is paid be designated "Nassau ^{Study} ~~Place~~ Place Awardees."

b NGO Delivered Allocation (Annex D)

i) Trade Union Training

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A total of \$100,000 was provided in 1985/86 to the ACTU and affiliates mainly for trade union training. In recognition of the major role being played by the trade union movement in institution building through the development of leadership for the new South Africa and Namibia a special allocation is proposed to develop and operate projects and programs in cooperation with appropriate South African Trade Unions or Federations. We are awaiting a proposal from the ACTU regarding the specific designing of the program.

ii) NGO Projects

In 1985/86 \$60,000 was provided to the Australian Council of Churches for scholarships tenable in Australia. There have been delays in getting under way with this program but it will commence in January 1987. No further funding from ADAB will be required. Further to this an annual NGO allocation would be made to assist with training in Australia through NGOs and educational institutions, projects focusing on institution building, and a sports related project in cooperation with South African and Namibian NGOs. The allocation would tap the valuable resources and

expertise of the NGO community, will enable Australian citizens to become meaningfully involved and will enhance NGO understanding, awareness and commitment to the South African issue and to the Australian Government's response to it. Australian NGOs to participate in the scheme would be selected according to criteria which assure Australian identification and preferably an operational capacity by the NGO. Project approval will in the first year be handled by officials within ADAB. In future years consideration will be given to including these projects in the mandate of the CDC.

c) Multilateral Funding (Annex E)

It is proposed that 1986/87 funding to the UNFN, UNETPSA, and UNTFSA, would continue at the 1985/86 level of \$220,000. The continuation of the funding beyond 1986/87 will as you have directed be funded from another vote.

d) Unallocated Funds

It is felt prudent to have a small reserve available to fund unforeseen ideas which may be presented or developed when the program becomes public. The reserve would be allocated by ADAB in consultation with the Department of Foreign Affairs.

ANNEX A

BURSARY AND PROJECT ALLOCATIONS FOR SOUTH AFRICA
AND NAMIBIA

1. Education and Training

a. Background

The education system in South Africa and Namibia for non-whites is in every way inferior to that provided for whites. Sub standard facilities, equipment and supplies; poorly trained teachers; high numbers of pupils per classroom and high pupil-teacher ratios; out dated curriculum; incompetant administration. One of the causes of this situation is under funding. The funding ratio of white to black students is approximately 8 to 1.

The South African Government's stated aim is to have "equal opportunities for education" and over the past 10 years there has been some narrowing of this funding gap between blacks and whites. However there is a long way to go and the political will ebbs and flows. A similar situation exists in Namibia.

This is not to say that some students do not make it through this relatively poor system. Some do pass their matric exams and gain university entrance. Black enrolment at tertiary level was over 30,000 in 1984 at some 20 Black and White institutions. It is these people that this program aims to help.

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There are skilled jobs open to blacks but there is also a shortage of skilled and educated blacks to take these jobs. As schooling at all levels costs money and blacks are generally in poorly paid jobs, due in part to a lack of education, they can often not afford the educational opportunities which do exist. It is a typical "circular" problem. The way to break into this circle is to enable youth to get an education.

b. Fields of Study

In most countries it is possible to target specific sectors for training assistance. The need of South Africans and Namibians is so great in all sectors, provided that a developmental purpose is achieved, it seems best to leave the field of study open. We propose that "an appropriate sectoral balance" be struck when selecting students for bursaries. Fields should include any type of tertiary training - University, technical, teacher training etc.

c. Study in White and/or Homeland Institutions

Institutions of tertiary study exist in white areas, and in independent and non-independent homelands. The "white" universities are more expensive than the so called "Bush Colleges" in the homelands, and their "quality" of education is said to be better. However a black student may adapt more easily to a black university than to being part of a minority in a white English university (or even more difficult in an Afrikaans University). Also some courses are only given at one institution or another and some white universities readily accept blacks and others are restrictive.

It does not seem appropriate or helpful to pre-judge to which educational institution a bursary recipient in South

Africa must go. We recommend that any student with acceptance to an institution of tertiary education should be eligible for assistance.

There has been no problem in aid donors funding students at universities in non-independent homelands. However the funding of students at universities in "independent" homelands is a political issue which may arise. It can be argued that to fund students in an independent homeland is to give political recognition to that homeland. It is also argued that not to fund them because they are in an independent homeland is discriminatory. The US and Canada allow bursaries in "independent" homeland institutions, the latter in exceptional circumstances usually related to the individual. It is proposed that in such exceptional circumstances students with entrance to the University of Venda, Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei be provided with bursaries, all other selection criteria being equal.

d. Training of Trade Union and NGO Leaders

In addition to formal, academic training, there is also a need for training for the leadership of trade unions, NGOs, cooperatives, community organisations etc. There are in South Africa and Namibia a number of non governmental organisations which are planning, initiating and operating development oriented projects designed to benefit disadvantaged people. Training institutes in South and southern Africa provide courses for which bursary funds could be provided for training leaders in organisational fields.

e. Criteria for Selection of Bursary Recipients

The following points are meant to provide flexible guidelines. Priority funding should be given to blacks, coloureds and Indians who:

- i) have low household income
- ii) have work experience or a definite job offer for which they are being trained
- iii) wish to teach or provide leadership in NGOs
- iv) have good potential to complete their education successfully
- v) have place or offer of a place in a tertiary institution.

Priority should also be given towards a 50% balance between males and females

2. INSTITUTION STRENGTHENING

There are a great many non governmental organisations in South Africa and Namibia which are providing useful development services. Included in this would be the trade unions, churches, church related groups and a number of organisations with national profiles such as Learn and Teach, SACHED, FUNDA, YMCA, YWCA etc. There are also a vast number of small independent groups which involve their members in meaningful ways to assist with the development of their communities.

These organisations often need help not only to enable them to assist their constituents but also to strengthen their capacity to help. Leadership training and development, the funding of broadly educative projects, the building of facilities for education and training, the running of training for trainers programs, all contribute to institution strengthening.

These projects could be funded in South Africa, Namibia or certain front line states through Australia's diplomatic missions, or by Australian NGOs.

Guidelines would rule out institution strengthening to homeland government run or funded institutions.

3. Sports Training

The cabinet decision on this program calls for sports training to be a part of its orientation. The implications of this decision have been discussed with officials of the Ministry of Sport, Recreation and Tourism (MSPT). It is agreed that the Gleneagles Agreement is an overriding consideration. MSRT officials have suggested three alternatives; an 8 month sports training course in Australia; the supply of sports equipment and training resources in the southern Africa; sports training in South Africa.

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Given the scarcity of funds, the need to respond to the highest priority needs expressed by South Africans the high cost of training in Australia, and the fact that no other western country provides this type of assistance, we feel that an alternative to training in Australia must be identified. We are inclined to respond to their second and third suggestions.

Although consideration has not as yet progressed sufficiently it would appear that one possible approach would be to identify a sport oriented Australian NGO with a counterpart organisation

in South Africa which could jointly sponsor in South Africa a series of training sessions for the trainers of sports coaches. The Australian and South African organisations might jointly identify and clarify the areas of need and provide the training. The local partner would provide the venue, organisational work, follow up training and support work. The embassy could provide appropriate equipment if required to facilitate the training. At this stage, however, the concept requires further work before funding will be provided and the embassy in Pretoria has been contacted for their opinion.

4. Welfare Projects

The Cabinet document calls for the provision of welfare assistance to Black South Africans and Namibians. Welfare has been defined by ADAB and Foreign Affairs as meaning the meeting of immediate and basic needs (shelter, food, health) of an apartheid-disadvantaged community, the ignoring of which would lead ultimately to people being immobilised or dying. It could also be used for increasing organisation capacity in the human rights field. Funds would not be provided to individuals nor for general administration or long term operating costs of an organisation.

The channel for this funding would be South African or Namibian organisations working directly at the community level.

The guidelines for the Bursary and Project allocation for South Africa and Namibia, which the Post in Pretoria would administer, would be widened accordingly. Australian NGOs already have access to aid funds from their own sources for welfare activities. The specified program could supplement these funds.

A minority of funds would be used in this way, as higher priority is given to education and training.

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List of organisations

ANNEX B

BURSARY & PROJECT ALLOCATION IN OTHER AFRICAN STATES

In other African states, especially in the front line states, the majority of South African and Namibian refugees are being looked after by the ANC, SWAPO, PAC and the UNHCR. Information from Australia's missions in these countries and from some of the above mentioned organisations indicates that activities run by these organisations have varying strengths and weaknesses.

Costs of sponsoring education and training are lower when people remain in their region; local funding is also more easily administered. A survey has identified Dar Es Salaam and Lusaka as the Australian missions where funding would be effective. Activities and/or projects eligible for consideration would be presented to the missions by any of the groups mentioned above, except UNHCR, or by local NGOs. UNHCR may apply for other aid funds from another ADAB vote if required and already receives core funding from the aid program; it could however nominate students to a third party for funding from the Special Program. These funds could also be used by Australian missions in other countries if appropriate programs were identified.

Australian NGOs would have a separate allocations in the Special Program - for this and other approved uses.

ANNEX C

EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN AUSTRALIA
ADMINISTERED BY ADAB

Representations from a number of NGOs led by APHEDA have pressed for a large ADAB run program using Australian educational institutions. The NGOs want to be in contact with the people assisted and to have South Africans and Namibians studying here sensitize Australians to the situation in Southern Africa. It is also argued that there is a higher quality of education in Australia and that if these people are going to lead their countries they need the highest quality education possible.

As regards cost, four or five people can be given a good education in the Southern African region for the cost of one person (around \$17,000 p.a. for a university program) coming to Australia. It is also a fact that the present ADAB refugee awards for study in Australia have had some weakness related to selection procedures, academic preparedness and return rate to Africa. The objective of the present program is valid, and improvements can be identified; notably in selection procedures and in extending the program to nominees from within South Africa and Namibia. Selection would be in line with ADAB's usual requirements, including the criteria at paragraph 1(e) of Annex A.

Study in Australia should be limited to postgraduate study for mature students who have had some work experience after their undergraduate degree. The trainees would also need to be nominated by credible organisations in or outside South Africa such as the South African Institute of Race Relation, SACHED, South African Council of Churches, ANC, PAC, SWAPO, UNHCR etc. These organisations would also be responsible for assuring their effective utilization in Africa following their training.

(While agreeing with most of the above the Department of Education notes there is a political case for extending opportunities for education in Australia to undergraduates and to secondary school level students. Such applications would not be encouraged but could be examined on merit if pressing cases were made.)

In addition to the 8 refugee students presently being funded by ADAB and who will all graduate over the 5 year period of this program, it is proposed that a further 12 students be funded.

In addition to this representations have been made to ADAB and the Department of Education by Adelaide University seeking ADAB's agreement to cover the Overseas Student Costs (OSC) related to students they would identify, bring to Australia, look after and send home. They would cover all costs except the OSC. The Department of Education strongly support this approach. We propose the establishment of a fund to cover the OSC for students that Universities or NGO's bring to Australia to study at Australia's institutions and who meet the same criteria as students who will be fully funded by ADAB. If this program progresses satisfactorily and other Universities become involved consideration would be given to funding more students in this way fewer directly by ADAB.

ANNEX D

THE ROLE OF AUSTRALIAN NGOS

The proposed program calls for support of projects proposed and run by Australian NGOs. A large number of Australian NGOs have expressed interest in the Special Program and some would like to obtain access to funds additional to those which they are already eligible to apply for under the general ADAB/NGO Cooperation Program.

Because of the limitations on new funds priority should be given to Australian NGOs which can implement projects which have an identification with Australia. Second priority would be given to Australian NGOs which provide a channel for funds to an efficient local NGO counterpart where the Australian source of funds can be identified.

Australian NGOs which have operational arms and which could be funded for specific activities include:

- . Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)
- . Australian People for Health, Education and Development Assistance (APHEDA)
- . Australian Freedom from Hunger Campaign (AFFHC)
- . Community Aid Abroad (CAA)
- . Overseas Service Bureau (OSB)
- . Austcare
- . Save the Children fund

Australian NGO capable of channeling funds include:

- . World Vision
- . Australian Catholic Relief
- . Australian Council of Churches

It is proposed that an NGO-Delivered program consist of

- . Trade union development (a proposal for a 3 year program is being developed by ACTU)
- . Other NGO Projects consisting of
 - senior staff development and management training programs held in Australia and South Africa
 - education and training projects in South and southern Africa and Namibia through the provision of bursaries, institutional support or volunteers (to be coordinated where appropriate with the Australian mission in the region). Selection criteria for bursaries would be the same as for Government sponsored awards
 - a sports training program possibly to be developed and run by and sports training a sports orientated Australian NGO with a counterpart group in South Africa.
 - welfare assistance to victims of apartheid.

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ANNEX E

MULTILATERAL CHANNELS

The Department of Foreign Affairs' Division for International Organisations, Humanitarian Affairs, South Asia, Africa and the Middle East (IRSAM) and ADAB have examined current documentation on the three multilateral organisations (UNFN, UNETPSA and UNTFSA) and the foreign relations issued involved. They are of the view that Australia should maintain its contributions totalling \$220,000 p.a. because:

- . the contributions are small and meet the objectives of education, welfare and training for the three target groups of the southern African program.
- . withdrawal would be politically inappropriate at a time of heightened international concern over the deteriorating situation in South Africa and when the Government has taken a lead internationally on South African matters;
- . continued contributions have an independent presentational value in terms of Australia's participation in international humanitarian efforts in Southern Africa.

The continuation of funding a multilateral component of 22% of the program over five years would cause a significant reduction in the real value of bilateral aid in the later years. It would be necessary to cut the numbers of bursaries, reduce institutional support and welfare projects and funding for NGOs and trade unions. This can be avoided if the Government funds the Multilateral channels through an appropriation (as in the past) in the UN Multilateral sector of the Australian aid program. You have already agreed to this proposal and so Multilateral funding is budgetted for only in year one.