

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM JOHNSTON, PRESIDENT, EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA, BEFORE THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, WASHINGTON, D.C., FRIDAY, 1 APRIL 1977:

The United Nations is the lawful authority over the International Territory of Namibia.

The UN however has been prevented from establishing its presence in the Territory to accomplish its mandate to assist in bringing Namibia into the world community as an independent, unitary state because of the defiance of the Republic of South Africa which occupies the Territory. The UN has wrestled with its obligation to Namibia and the Namibian people - 'a sacred trust of civilization', to quote the UN's predecessor, the League of Nations - for three decades. Resolutions of UN committees, the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as decisions of the International Court of Justice, have failed to dislodge the obdurate South Africans. Effective punitive action against Pretoria - such as mandatory arms embargoes - have repeatedly been thwarted by Security Council vetoes of the United Kingdom, France and the United States of America.

The United Nations, though barred from the Territory itself, has acted in other ways to serve the Namibian people. The UN Trust Fund for South Africa (established in 1965) was extended in 1970 'to cover assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and to their families'. The Trust Fund has handled funds totaling \$3,676,000 through 1975. The United States' contribution during these ten years has been \$25,000.

The UN Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA) was set up at the end of 1967 with a basic purpose to 'educate and train' as many persons as possible from Namibia, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Assistance is granted for studies outside those countries from the secondary levels and for university and advanced technical and vocational courses. (The Programme also continues to aid men and women from countries formerly under Portuguese rule.) Scholarships are decided upon by a selection panel of the UN Secretariat. Some 1375 students are currently placed in educational centers throughout the world, mostly in the independent countries of Africa. Of these students, 157 are Namibians; 11 Namibians have completed their studies. Financial contributions to the Programme are voluntary. At the end of October 1975, total income was just over eight million dollars. Gifts from member States of the UN amounted to six and a half million dollars. The contribution of the United States through 1975 was \$75,000. On 21 March 1977, the American ambassador to the UN announced a pledge of \$50,000 to UNETPSA, to be earmarked for the training of Namibians. The administration is seeking a UNETPSA contribution of \$500,000 for the fiscal year 1978.

The United Nations Fund for Namibia was instituted by the General Assembly in December 1970, after that body in 1966 had terminated South Africa's former mandate over Namibia and the General Assembly having assumed direct responsibility for the Territory until independence. The Fund became operative during 1972. Its guidelines are:

- 'provision of scholarships and of a comprehensive educational and training programme for Namibians with particular regard to the present struggle for independence and to their future administrative responsibilities in Namibia';

- social and medical assistance;
- legal defense of 'Namibians who are undergoing persecution', and 'legal defense of Namibian interests, the protection of the natural resources of Namibia and the assertion of Namibian sovereignty';
- publication and distribution of information, attendance of Namibian representatives at international conferences, to insure proper and adequate representation of the Namibian people at the UN.

The 1976 Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia records that 'the above guidelines do not provide an exhaustive list of the activities for which the Fund may be utilized'.

At present, 107 Namibians receive scholarships from this Fund which are administered by the Office of United Nations Commissioner for Namibia Martti Ahtisaari. Thirty-six others benefit from Fund scholarships under the administration of the UN Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. A further 157 Namibians are receiving scholarships directly from UNETPSA. All these students are enrolled in vocational and technical schools and in primary, secondary and university institutions in free Africa, West Europe and North America. The Fund has administered a million dollars through 1976 and has received pledges of slightly over one hundred/^{seventy}thousand dollars this year. The United States gave \$50,000 in 1974/75.

The United Nations Institute for Namibia was created by the UN Council for Namibia in September 1974 and approved by the General Assembly in December of that year. The proposal by then Commissioner for Namibia Sean MacBride was for the 'establishment, in Africa itself, preferably in Zambia, of a research and training institute for Namibia. The functions would be twofold: to provide accurate information on conditions and developments in the country and to form the nucleus of an administration for Namibia for the day when the country would become free'.

The UN Institute for Namibia was formally opened on Namibia Day, 26 August, 1976, by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in his capital city of Lusaka.

The guiding principles of the Institute are:

- 'A Namibian outlook - the Institute is first and foremost a Namibian Institute and should as far as possible, be administered in such a manner as to benefit the Namibian people and further their interests;
- An African character - having been established outside Namibia, but within Africa, the Institute should reflect an African character;
- An international scope - the Institute has been created by the international community and should be international in scope.'

The Institute's director is a Namibian as is the deputy director of one of the five divisions. The remaining deputy directors are Africans. Staff comes principally from Africa but includes citizens of other continents. One hundred students, 40 women and 60 men, are at present enrolled. In July 1977, an additional 100 Namibians will take up their studies.

The Namibia Institute is composed of five divisions: agriculture and land resources; economics; history, politics and culture; social and educational studies; and constitutional, legal and judicial affairs. The Institute's buildings are provided rent and tax free by the government of Zambia. Classrooms and student hostels are grouped together; staff lives nearby though its members and the students take meals in common.

The Namibia Institute is engaged in research about the Territory and both middle and lower level staff and students work in concert and prepare for service as a civil service for an independent Namibia. The Institute is the cornerstone for the first University of Namibia - such higher education having been denied the people of Namibia throughout the century of German and South African colonial rule.

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The initial cost for the Institute totaled \$3,129,000. The budget for 1977 is \$2,800,00. Succeeding years' budgets will increase incrementally as more students are accommodated. Pledges for the Institute by member States of the UN as of 21 March 1977 come to \$629,000. A United States contribution of \$250,000 was made in 1976. Pressures over the years at the UN, among the million-strong Namibian people and by the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia, the military wing of the internationally recognized South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) have forced Pretoria and its local minority adherents to concoct a 'constitutional conference' to plan for an 'independent South West Africa'. Hand-picked Black and White delegates after a year and a half^{have} come up with a scheme for an 'interim government' which will be floated later this year.

This manipulation perpetuates the South African regime's defiance of the world community. It sets the stage for civil war. It assures Pretorian control under the guise of independence.

Now above all a clear message must be sent to the South African overlords that Namibia must be completely free with no helping hand from non-Namibians other than the lawful authority, the United Nations. This message needs to come from the one country Pretoria courts most heavily - the United States of America. One sure way to tell Pretoria how this country stands is by immediate and generous support for the Namibia Institute and other agencies of the UN.

The concept of Namibia as 'a sacred trust of civilization' was after all that of an American President - almost 60 years ago. We need to answer the prayer of a great Namibian leader, now deceased, who placed the greatest trust in the United Nations:

"O God, help us who roam about. Help us who have been placed in Africa and have no dwelling place of our own. Give us back a dwelling place. O God, all power is yours in heaven and earth. Amen."