

AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD

GIVE PURPOSE TO THIS PAIN

HORST KLEINSCHMIDT

Following is the text of an address delivered October 28 to the Security Council of the United Nations during its debate on South Africa. Since his exile from South Africa, Horst Kleinschmidt has served as co-director of the "external office" of the Christian Institute of South Africa, with offices in Utrecht, The Netherlands

MR. PRESIDENT, I want to thank you and the members of the Security Council most sincerely for giving me the opportunity to address you on the new and pressing issues which the South African regime has brought about in my country.

I would also like to express my very deep appreciation for the significant and uncompromising speeches which have been made by the majority of the countries who have addressed this Security Council debate who have proposed direct, concrete and proper action to be taken against the apartheid system.

I have worked in the Christian Institute of Southern Africa since 1972. In 1975, I was appointed as assistant to Dr. Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute. One week after my appointment I was detained under the notorious Terrorism Act. After my release and after I was compelled to leave South Africa, I set up the first external office of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa in The Netherlands.

On October 19, 1977, the organization I am representing here today along with 19 others was officially declared a banned organization. All my colleagues in executive positions have been banned, and it has become impossible for them and our members to meet in the name of the Christian Institute.

The staff members who were banned may no longer talk to one another, as this constitutes an offense punishable by law. Some 30 conditions are imposed upon them which rob them of most of their freedoms.

All our assets have been attached by the Vorster police. This includes bank accounts, office furniture, property and vehicles. Using prison labor, the police and political police (Special Branch) removed from our offices in Johannesburg and Cape Town every file, every document, everything down to the last chair.

By describing these actions, I am not describing the

far worse acts which the South African police perform, whether the destruction of shanty dwellings in Cape Town or the torture and murder of our comrades in the prison detention centers.

But it is the sum total of this action on the part of Vorster's system which has brought about this renewed worldwide outcry against apartheid. Even some of apartheid's traditional allies seem to have had second thoughts about their relations with Pretoria. Even they seem possibly prepared to undertake certain cautious steps to stop their own further strengthening of the apartheid state.

But already it is clear that these allies of apartheid, these countries who benefit economically from the present order in my country, are prepared to apply only the most cautious of measures. I want to ask these countries what worse kinds of things need to happen to us, need to be inflicted upon us by the Vorster police, before they will take more courageous steps to end their involvement.

There was a time when we in the Christian Institute published reports about imprisonment without trial, when we reported on detentions and on torture. But in certain quarters we were not believed, we were thought to have gone too far.

How Much Is Enough?

Today, after the death of Steven Biko, we have been vindicated, and at last the facts are being accepted. It has only just become known what the true reasons for the death of Steven Biko were. The medical report done at the autopsy states that the cause of death was injury to the brain. Details of this report, which is secret until it is submitted in court at the inquest, have just been released by a Swedish journalist from the Stockholm newspaper *Expressen*. We first had to wait for the death of this significant personality in the South African struggle before it was clear enough to certain of Mr. Vorster's friends or supporters in Europe and North America that they should be more cautious in their dealings with South Africa.

From those who don't want an oil embargo, don't adhere to arms embargoes, don't want to end their

nuclear collaboration, don't want to stop the economic exploitation, we want to know: what else must Mr. Vorster do to us before certain countries will show the *political will* to actually stop strengthening apartheid.

On Wednesday, October 19, the Vorster regime performed the last act in a whole process of action over recent months which put an end to legal opposition in South Africa. The advocates of dialogue and reform have been shown through Vorster's finality that every voice of opposition will be punished by administrative action. The last few vestiges of the shaky framework within which some open opposition was still possible have finally been removed. The path for reform has ended. Total dictatorship is the path the Vorster regime has chosen. There is for my colleagues inside South Africa and for our many thousands of supporters no longer a means through which they can openly voice their dissent and act for change.

This is a historic moment for all the people of South Africa who want freedom. Their determination and will to attain this liberation are being demonstrated every day. But as of now, there is but one path left — one path only, and that is the path of our national liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC).

We are very grateful today that our true leaders had the wisdom in years past to have mapped out the path from which none of us can detract today. We can do nothing else than to ask for our acceptance into their ranks.

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa is no liberation movement, nor does it want to become one, but I believe that many in our own ranks can and will realize that their Christian convictions demand that they also play a full part in the liberation struggle as it

is being performed by the African National Congress.

We believe that the ANC has carried in the hearts and minds of the people of South Africa the powerful tradition of resistance against racism and exploitation and that its ultimate victory will bring peace and justice to our land. In achieving this goal, the people of South Africa need to be united and it is only the ANC which can make this possible.

Vorster's policies today are the most direct provocation which will result in a race war of black against white. In my own view it is the ANC and the ANC alone which can prevent a confrontation based on race.

End of An Era

I do not believe that the events of October 19 are nothing more than mere additions to the long lists of detained people, banned people and banned organizations. No, I believe that Mr. Vorster has attempted to put an end to an era of resistance to his regime's policies. He has, through administrative action, removed visible opponents to his system. He has, I believe, put an end to the growing dissent he has had to face throughout South Africa.

At the overt level he may have succeeded. In time, of course, we may read less in newspapers about the nature of the struggle. But the people continue to suffer. Their poverty and their human subjugation are reaching yet new levels. And their anger and their determination to end apartheid have not been changed by these moves of the South African authorities.

Many countries in Western Europe and in North America have in recent years through certain non-governmental organizations supported in various ways emerging organizations of opposition inside

An Urgent Message

Given the date and the state of the mails, this is probably the last time we can speak to our readers on the urgency of our year-end appeal. We don't want to be shrill; we do want to make clear that the need is real. Response to date has been heartening — but of the \$53,000 required to cover our 1977 deficit, we still must raise slightly more than \$20,000. We now renew our appeal, directing it especially to three groups of subscribers:

First, to those for whom our good news of increased circulation may have translated into a judgment that our days of crisis are already past. Not so; this is a time of sowing, not of reaping, and without your help we won't last till the harvest.

Second, to those who may believe that smaller gifts (say, \$5 to \$15) will make no great difference. Statistically, that's not the way it is. Without many gifts in this range, the gap will not be spanned.

Third, to persons capable of offering larger sums. C&C has many subscribers for whom the subscription price alone is a burden. That is a healthy condition for which we are thankful, it means, however, that we must hope for a generous sprinkling of larger contributions: from \$25 to \$1000.

Of all, we ask a moment's reflection on the service this imperfect journal brings. We hope that reflection will prompt action this day.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

South Africa. Support for these organizations was often motivated by a fear for support of liberation movements (whose struggle includes a military one). By supporting internal organizations, so the argument ran, they were in fact contributing to peaceful change, to a reformist approach. I know that the Christian Institute was in certain instances the recipient of such money from abroad, prior to being declared an Affected Organization in 1975

Today the South African regime has through its own actions left us with only one conclusion to draw from this. The new situation shows beyond any doubt that all those who are offended by the present regime in South Africa have to recognize and support our national liberation movement, the African National Congress.

I wish to state again that I of the Christian Institute

of Southern Africa, a body legally existing inside South Africa until 10 days ago, am making this assessment, and I am assured that I do not stand alone in this.

The message of the oppressed people today is this:

—Take strong action to end apartheid. Don't debate whether economic sanctions will hit the poorest people worst.

The poor people ask: When does apartheid end—not when does it become more endurable?

If the South African people have to suffer, they want to suffer with hope and with an end in sight. Ameliorating measures—such as codes of employment practices—have provided no hope, they will never end apartheid, nor have they benefited those affected!

Mr. Chairman, I thank you once again for affording me the opportunity of addressing you