

LOVE AND MARRIAGE

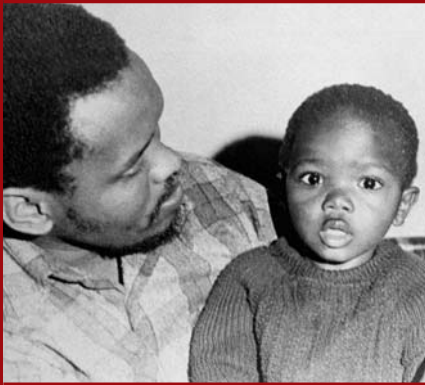


In Durban in early 1970, Biko met Nontsikelelo (Ntsiki) Mashalaba who came from Umthatha in the Transkei. She was pursuing her nursing training at King Edward Hospital while Biko was a medical student at the University of Natal.



Ntsiki

I must say, he was very politically involved then as president of SASO. I remember we used to make appointments and if he does come he says, "Take me to the station – I've got a meeting in Johannesburg tomorrow". So I happened to know him that way, and somehow I fell for him. Ntsiki Biko



Daily Express

Ntsiki and Steve had two sons together, Nkosinathi (left) and Samora (right) pictured here with Bandi. In all Biko had four children — Nkosinathi, Samora, Hlumelo and Motlatsi.



Daily Express

During his years at university in Natal, Steve became very close to his eldest sister, Bukelwa, who was a student nurse at King Edward Hospital. Though Bukelwa was homesick and wanted to return to the Eastern Cape, she expresses concern about leaving Steve in Natal in this letter to her mother in 1967:

Zi Andlovakhandi ukubhala apha eKing Edward ndiyabona ukuba undokhosi Andlovakhi phofo kuba kungaba ukufumanisa malawo apha eCape. Ndifuna kwi nduze ngase ukuba ndithini alikho ndiyazi ukuba koba ngama ukufunisa ubantwana Yis ato ndakhi ukubandakanywa makhe ngapha at least babo bobabini. Zi silo thiyi take ke. Yithi ndakhi apply name directly efumana kwi koba ndakhi, nzw ndisiya kuba abo naye selubhale.

Biko Family Archives



He used to say to his friends, "Meet my lady ... she is the actual embodiment of blackness - black is beautiful". Ntsiki Biko



AN ATTITUDE OF MIND, A WAY OF LIFE

SASO spread like wildfire through the black campuses. It was not long before the organisation became the most formidable political force on black campuses across the country and beyond. SASO encouraged black students to see themselves as black before they saw themselves as students.

SASO saw itself as part of the black liberation movement before it saw itself as a student organisation.

Harry Nengwekhulu



Getty Images/Henry Archive

Harry Nengwekhulu was the SRC president at the University of the North (Turfloop) during the late 1960s. A founder member of both SASO and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), he was one of Biko's closest friends and comrades.

Strinivasa "Strini" Moodley, another pioneer of the BCM in South Africa, was a journalist and playwright and a close comrade and friend of Biko. As one of the accused in the SASO/BPC trial, he served six years on Robben Island.



Independent Newspapers/Durban

We emphasised the fact that students were a part of the oppressed community – their parents worked in factories, were domestic workers. We encouraged students to go into the communities and help with building extra classrooms and clinics. Strini Moodley

The first SASO General Students Council, held in July 1970 in Durban elected Barney Pityana as president to succeed Biko. As publications director, Biko became editor of the *SASO Newsletter*, where he wrote prolifically under the pseudonym, Frank Talk.



Getty Images/Henry Archive

Barney Pityana's relationship with Biko dates back to Lovedale College and the University Christian Movement which Pityana headed during the late 1960s. Also a founder member of SASO and BCM, together with Harry Nengwekhulu he led the BCM in exile.

Themba Sono was ousted as SASO President in 1972 because he supported close co-operation between SASO and some homeland leaders. SASO advocated a radical approach towards the homeland leaders, calling them puppets of the Pretoria regime.



Getty Images/Henry Archive

One of the Durban conference resolutions stated that emancipation depended entirely on the role black people themselves were prepared to play. This doctrine of self-emancipation was defined as Black Consciousness which was an attitude of mind, a way of life.

One of the key objectives of SASO was to address what they termed black peoples inferiority complex.

As Frank Talk, Biko wrote the following inspired by Frantz Fanon's *Black Skins, White Masks*:

It becomes clear that as long as blacks are suffering from an inferiority complex - a result of 300 years of deliberate oppression, denigration and derision - they will become useless co-architects of a normal society. Hence what is necessary as a prelude to anything else that may come is a very strong grassroots build-up of black consciousness such that blacks can learn to assert themselves and their rightful claim.

Frank Talk - *Black Souls in White Skins?* SASO Newsletter, August 1970



This and all subsequent editions of the SASO newsletter were banned in July 1976. In October, SASO was declared an illegal organisation under the Internal Security Act.

1972-1976 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT



The Black Consciousness Movement consisted of a group of intellectuals who, until 1976, concentrated on ideas rather than mass mobilisation. They wanted to conscientise black South Africans, to mobilise them psychologically.

Steve Biko and his comrades argued that oppression was as much psychological as political. They believed that it was vital for black South Africans to break the pattern of subservience and to develop their own sense of self-worth. Black people had to become self-reliant and self-confident and draw on indigenous cultural and political traditions.

When you say, “Black is beautiful,” you are saying, “Man you are okay as you are, begin to look upon yourself as a human being.”

Biko, I write what I like



The first step therefore is to make the black man come into himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with a pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. This is what we mean by an inward-looking process. This is the definition of Black Consciousness. • Biko, I write what I like

SASO defined Black Consciousness as follows:

- ¥ Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life.
- ¥ The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic humanity.
- ¥ The black man must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not as defined by others.
- ¥ The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness of black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness.
- ¥ Black Consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the black community.

SASO Newsletter, September 1971

A SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE



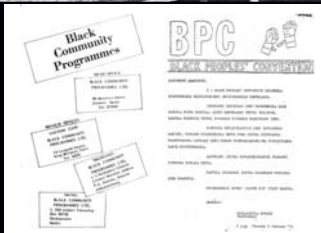
SASO and the Black People's Convention argued that blacks should realise that they alone can determine their own destiny. Community development, community involvement and a spirit of self-reliance became the cornerstones of Black Consciousness.



Winnifred Kgware (extreme left) was elected president of BPC at its first National Congress in December 1972. Addressing the congress is Mamphele Ramphela.

UKZN/Neil Laubsberg/Getthor

After Biko was expelled from medical school, he worked for the Black Community Programmes (BCP) which included education, health and welfare projects.



South Africa/SAIPA/SAIPA

In June 1972, Biko was expelled from the University of Natal Medical School. At this time, he played a central role in forming the Black People's Convention (BPC), an umbrella body of black consciousness organisations. The BPC was formally launched in Pietermaritzburg in July 1972 to fill the political vacuum created by the banning of the ANC and the PAC more than a decade earlier.

Zanempilo Community Health Centre, in the rural community of Zinyoka outside King William's Town, was a very successful health project. A brainchild of Biko, the clinic helped to improve health conditions in the surrounding eastern Cape villages.



Mamphele Ramphela

One of the driving forces behind the success of Zanempilo was Dr Mamphele Ramphela (right), a close comrade and intimate friend of Biko. In 1978, she gave birth to Biko's son, Hlumelo, a name that means the shoot that grows from a dead tree trunk.



UCT Libraries

BPC aims to unite the black people of South Africa with a view to mobilising the masses towards their struggle for liberation and emancipation from both psychological and physical oppression.

BPC Constitution

A CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

“Who can speak the heart of the black man, who can sing the rhythm of the black man, who can paint the suffering of the black man and who can act the pain, the desires, the loves and hates of the black experience?”

Strini Moodley, SASO Newsletter, May/June 1972

Between 1957 and 1966, the list of black artists who left South Africa included Es kia Mphahlele, Lewis Nkosi, Arthur Maimane, Todd Matshikiza, Bessie Head, Cosmo Pieterse, Can Themba, Nat Nakasa, Mazisi Kunene, Bloke Modisane, Arthur Nortje, Keorapetse Kgositsile, Dennis Brutus, Alex La Guma, Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela. Many never returned.



Omazobiso

After the imprisonment, bannings and departure for exile of African intellectuals and artists in the 1960s, the Black Consciousness Movement contributed to a cultural renaissance in all art forms in the 1970s.



National Digital Library Museum

There is no doubt that the pulse of the arts in the 1970s was provided by the performing arts, especially theatre. Theatre emanated from the unions, the Black Consciousness Movement, the collaborative efforts of Athol Fugard, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, Gibson Kente, Barney Simon (above left) and a multitude of university and community groups.

“Today the theatre of revolt has established its validity. The theatre picks out and accuses the perpetrators of evil. It denounces the oppressor, it rejects war and it advocates revolution.”

SASO Newsletter, June 1971



Bobby's African History Archive

Requiem from Brother X, with Maynard Peters and Vic Mafungo at University of Natal TECON Theatre Group.



Bobby's African History Archive

The Afro-Jazz music of *Malombo* in the early 1970s is considered by some as the first original jazz music to come out of South Africa.



BREAKING THE SILENCE

On 1 April 1966, under the Suppression of Communism Act, a ban was imposed on 46 writers living abroad. Their works were prohibited from being published, sold, distributed, possessed or even quoted in South Africa.

“South African literature had become white by law”.

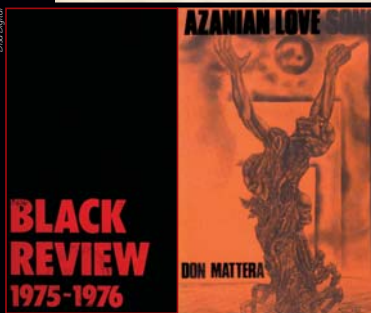
Richard Rive, 1966

“The emergence of “the new wave of poets” was contemporaneous with the rise of Black Consciousness, which became the mid-wife to these nascent voices. Few movements in history understood the political importance of the cultural struggle better than the Black Consciousness Movement ... The revolt of words was shot through with black power.”

Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane

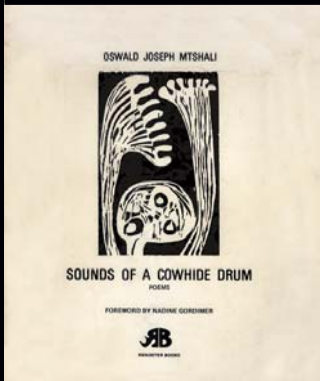
The Black Consciousness Movement had an important influence on publications such as *Black Review*, an annual survey of issues of concern to the black community, *Black Viewpoint*, and *Black Perspective*, which included in-depth articles on major areas of national life.

Diane Dwyer



Christy Bony

Inside South Africa, a culture of fear prevailed and censorship silenced many writers. However, in 1967 the silence was broken with the launch of *Classic* which published the new wave of poets including Mafika Pascal Gwala, Mafika Mbuli, Oswald Mtshali and Njabulo Ndebele.



Wesley Sanders

A proliferation of small magazines in the early 1970s such as *Izwi* and *New Classic* brought other leading poets to the fore such as Oswald Mtshali, Sipho Sepamla and Don Mattera.

“Black culture above all implies freedom on our part to innovate without recourse to white values. This innovation is part of the natural development of any culture.”

Steve Biko, I write what I like

1973-1976 BANNED AND BANISHED

On 1 March 1973, Biko and seven other SASO/BPC leaders were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. This meant that Biko was restricted to the township of Ginsberg in King Williams Town. It also meant that Biko could not be quoted.



Daily Dispatch

Biko enrolled to study law through UNISA and founded the Eastern Cape branch of the Black Community Programmes (BCP). He worked as a branch executive until an extension of his banning order at the end of 1975 prohibited him from being associated with BCP or entering its King Williams Town offices.



Independent Newspaper, Umtata

Steve being Steve, really, he wouldn't take the banning order seriously because he would do things done by everybody else. I mean, if he feels like a party, he would go to a party.

Ntsiki Biko



Biko's African History Archive



Coenraads Archives

THE HEAT'S ON

the ministers of death pounce knights in dullshining armour tear the entrails of the sacred perspiring ebony figure on the street corner all he did not have was a dompas charged with its power of opening permanently-closed doors

Mandlenkosi Langa
SASO Newsletter, May/June 1972

1974 - Biko was charged for breaking his banning order by receiving visitors at home. He was found not guilty and acquitted.

1975 - Biko was refused a passport to attend a conference of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Germany. He was again charged with breaking his banning order by entering an educational institution to write a law examination. This case was never concluded.

1976 - He was charged once again with breaking his banning order. The Court discharged him.

Like Biko, Mapetla Mohapi (left), an active member of SASO and BPC, was also constantly harassed by the security police. He was detained for an extended period in 1974, banned in 1975, and died in detention in 1976. The state alleged that he committed suicide in his cell.

VIVA FRELIMO

After the fall of the Portuguese government as a result of a coup in 1974, Viva Frelimo rallies were held by the Black People's Convention (BPC) and South African Students' Organisation (SASO) in support of the independence struggle in Mozambique. This led to numerous bannings and detentions and the charging of nine SASO/BPC members under the Terrorism Act.

What was on trial was the Black Consciousness Movement itself. Rather than contributing to the suppression of the Black Consciousness Movement, the long trial helped to publicise the movement, giving the accused a continuous public platform through the press.



Saths Cooper (left) was one of the nine SASO/BPC trialists. The other eight included Aubrey Mokoape, Strini Moodley, Zithulele Cindi, Nkwenkwe Nkomo, Muntu Myeza, Mosioua Terror Lekota, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and Kaborone Kaunda Sedibe.



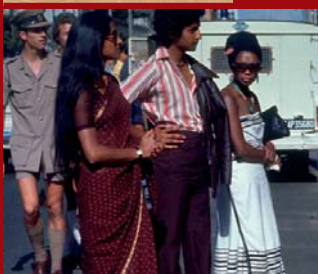
On 25 June 1975, Mozambique became an independent country, after 470 years under Portuguese colonial rule. Frelimo, the organisation that had fought a long war for freedom, came to power with Samora Machel as president.

Biko was called to testify at the trial in May 1976. This was the only opportunity he had to speak out after 1973 when he was banned from travelling, public speaking and writing for publication.



The apartheid regime was opposed to any form of communism or socialism. Since Frelimo was a socialist movement, indirectly SASO was supporting them. That was the logic behind the trials. Harry Nengwekhulu

Black thinks that everything good is white. This attitude comes from childhood. When we go to school, our school is not the same as the white school. Our homes are different, the streets are different. So you begin to feel that there is something incomplete about being black, and that completeness goes with being white.



Vino Cooper (left), wife of Saths and Gwen Mokoape (right), wife of Aubrey, outside court. The proceedings were fully reported in the Rand Daily Mail. Overnight Steve became the toast of the Soweto shebeens. Here at last was the authentic voice of the people, not afraid to say openly what all blacks thought but were too frightened to say.



The accused were all found guilty and sentenced to five years imprisonment for promoting anti-white feelings, encouraging racial hostility and preparing for violent revolution. The trial turned out to be the last time Biko spoke in public.

1976-1977 RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

The South African Students Movement (SASM) was formed in 1968, with a particular focus on youth in secondary schools. The black consciousness ideas propagated by SASM were an important factor that influenced the actions of the students in the 1976 uprisings.



Abram Ongkopotse Tiro (centre) with his students at Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto in the early 1970s, whom he introduced to Black Consciousness. Tiro was killed by a parcel bomb in Botswana in 1974.



On 16 June 1976, the students of Soweto took to the streets to protest against the government's decision to introduce Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. The uprising soon spread around the country. Over 700 students were killed.

August 1976 - Biko was detained under the Terrorism Act. After spending 101 days at Fort Glamorgan Prison Maximum Security Section in East London, he was released without being charged.



The uprising led to increased repression by the apartheid government. Hundreds of students fled the country and many others were detained.

January 1977 - Biko was elected Honorary President at the Congress of the Black People's Convention in Durban.

March 1977 - Biko was charged with defeating the ends of justice and was detained again at Fort Glamorgan and acquitted.



We came around the corner and ahead was a police road block. They pretended they didn't know us. The police officer asked Biko, "Who are you, big man?" and Biko replied: "I am Bantu Stephen Biko." Peter Jones

July 1977 - Biko was accused of inciting school children. He was acquitted yet again.

18 August 1977 Biko and his close comrade, Peter Jones, were stopped at a road block outside Grahamstown. Biko was rushing back home to avoid being charged for breaking his banning order again.



Before long, Biko and Peter Jones (left) found themselves manacled to cell bars in a Grahamstown prison. After several hours, the two were separated and driven to a prison in nearby Port Elizabeth. Peter Jones was to never see his friend again.

Kagiso Pat Mautloa (left), who designed SIMAKADE, the Sunday Times memorial to eight detainees who died at John Vorster Square Police Station in Johannesburg, with Vusi Mchunu, who was detained there in July 1977



BIKO'S LAST DAYS

You are either alive or proud or you are dead, and when you are dead, you can't care anyway. And your method of death can itself be a politicising thing. Biko, I write what I like



19 August 1977

Biko is detained in Port Elizabeth under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, which allows for him to be held indefinitely.

6 September 1977

Biko is moved from Walmer Police Station to security police headquarters for interrogation.

7 September 1977

Major Harold Snyman, leader of the day interrogation team, informs Colonel Goosen, head of the Eastern Cape security police, that Biko is acting strangely and refusing to respond to questions. Dr Ivor Lang, District Surgeon in Port Elizabeth, is called by Goosen to examine Biko.



7 September 1977

With Goosen in attendance, Lang examines Biko while he is lying on a mat and manacled to a metal grille. Biko displays loss of the ability to co-ordinate muscular movement and exhibits slurred speech. Lang finds a swollen "laceration on upper lip, bruise over the sternum, ring mark around each wrist, swelling of hands feet and ankles". Lang does not ask

Biko how he obtained his injuries. Goosen asks Lang for a medical certificate on which he writes: "I have found no evidence of any abnormality or pathology on the patient".

8 September 1977

Lang is summoned again. Goosen voices concern that Biko has not urinated in the previous 24 hours and has refused to eat. Lang examines Biko in the presence of Dr Benjamin Tucker, Chief District Surgeon of Port Elizabeth. Tucker observes "a possible extensor plantar reflex" (a sign of brain damage).

Biko complains of a vague pain in his head and back. Tucker does not ask Biko how he obtained his cut lip but does ask Biko if he has any complaints. Tucker and Lang ask Dr Colin Hersch, a specialist neurologist in private practice, to examine Biko at Sydenham Prison Hospital.

In a bid for change we have to take off our coats, be prepared to lose our comfort and security, our jobs and positions of prestige, and our families ... A struggle without casualties is no struggle. Biko, The Quest for a True Humanity



9 September 1977

Hersch finds the patient exhibiting a speech defect, left-side weakness and an extensor plantar reflex. Biko also exhibits strange movements, finds it difficult to turn over in bed and walks with a left-sided limp. Hersch performs a lumbar puncture, which reveals blood in the cerebrospinal fluid (indicating either brain injury and/or the piercing of a blood vessel during the procedure).

In his report Hersch does not include specific reference to his suspicion of brain injury. However, he reveals this to his superior, Goosen. He suggests that Biko sees a neurosurgeon but he does not begin any treatment. Lang visits but does not examine Biko. A warder tells him that Biko has eaten and that he was found in a bath fully clothed. Lang informs Tucker that Hersch had detected an abnormal plantar reflex. Tucker feels this is a sign of brain damage but does not act as he feels Biko is Lang's patient.



10 September 1977

Dr R Keely, a neurosurgeon, is consulted via telephone. Keely also suggests brain damage and advises Lang to keep Biko under close observation. Lang examines Biko. In the final entry in the medical records at Sydenham Prison Hospital, Lang writes: "No change in condition. Have informed Biko that Dr Hersch and myself find no pathology, that lumbar puncture was normal and as a result, I am returning him to the police cells". In the police station, Biko is left lying on a mat on the cement floor of a cell. Police wardens look in occasionally.

11 September 1977

Goosen calls Tucker to the police station. The police warden finds Biko "collapsed, glassy-eyed, hyperventilating and frothing at the mouth". Tucker conducts a five-minute examination and concludes that there is no change. Tucker suggests that Biko be transferred to the provincial hospital in Port Elizabeth. Goosen refuses. Tucker gives permission for the police to transfer Biko by motor vehicle to Pretoria, 1 100 kilometres away. Tucker speaks to Lang but neither of them sends a summary of Biko's condition or his charts to Pretoria. Tucker asks that Biko be given a soft mat to lie on during the journey but does not verify that this is done.

The semi-comatose patient, naked and handcuffed, is placed on some cell mats on the floor of a Land Rover and driven to Pretoria Central Prison. Biko is unaccompanied by medical personnel during the journey. Several hours after arrival at the prison, Biko is examined by the District Surgeon, Dr A van Zyl. He does not have any information about the patient other than that he is refusing to eat. Van Zyl gives Biko an intravenous drip and a vitamin injection.

12 September 1977

Steve Biko dies alone and unattended, lying on a mat on a stone floor.



DEATHS IN DETENTION 1963 - 1990

JHB - Johannesburg ¥ EC - Eastern Cape ¥ PTA - Pretoria ¥ EL - East London ¥ PE - Port Elizabeth ¥ DBN - Durban ¥ PS - Police Station

YEAR	NO	NAME	DATE DIED	AGE	PLACE	DAYS HELD	OFFICIAL / ALLEGED CAUSE
1963	1	NGUDLE, "Looksmart" Solwandle	05/09/63	35	Compol,Pretoria	17	Suicide by hanging
1963	2	MAMPE, Bellington	??/09/63	?	Worcester	140	Undisclosed
1964	3	TYITA, James	24/01/64	?	Port Elizabeth	?	Suicide by hanging
1964	4	SALOJEE, Sulaiman	09/09/64	32	The Greys, JHB	65	Suicide, jumped from 7th floor
1965	5	GAGA, Ngeni	09/05/65	19	Transkei	1	Natural causes
1965	6	HOYE, Pongoloshe	09/05/65	?	Transkei	1	Natural causes
1966	7	HAMAKWAYO, James	09/10/66	?	Pretoria Prison	14	Suicide by hanging
1966	8	SHONYEKA, Hlangula	09/10/66	?	Pretoria Prison	40	Suicide
1966	9	PIN, Leong	19/11/66	50	Leeuokop Prison, PTA	1	Suicide by hanging
1967	10	YAN, Ah	05/01/67	63	Silverton P5	37	Suicide by hanging
1967	11	MADIBA, Alpheus	09/09/67	?	Namibia	1	Suicide by hanging
1968	12	TUBAKWA, Bolowa Jundea	11/09/68	?	Pretoria Prison	1	Suicide by hanging
1968	13	UNKNOWN PERSON	??/??/68	?	?	?	Reported by Minister of Police
1969	14	KGOATHE, Nicomemus	04/02/69	57	Held: Silverton PS	85	Natural causes: Bronchial pneumonia after slipping in the shower
1969	15	MODIPANE, Solomon	28/02/69	50	Held: Silverton PS	3	Natural causes: After slipping on piece of soap, fatal injuries
1969	16	LENKOE, James	10/03/69	35	Pretoria Prison	5	Suicide by hanging
1969	17	MAYEKISO, Caleb	01/06/69	56	Port Elizabeth police cells	18	Natural causes not specified
1969	18	SHIVUTE, Michael	17/06/69	?	Ondangwa police Cells, Namibia	1	Suicide
1969	19	MONNAGOTLA, Jacob	10/09/69	?	Pretoria Prison	222	Natural causes: thrombosis
1969	20	HAROON, Abdullah Hadja (Imam)	27/09/69	44	Maitland Police Station, CT	122	Natural causes: heart trouble caused by fall down stairs
1971	21	CUTSHELA, Myantheli (Mthayeli)	22/01/71	68	Held: Pondoland	31	Natural causes: Brain haemorrhage
1971	22	TIMOL, Ahmed	27/10/71	30	John Vorster Square JHB	5	Suicide, jumped from 10th floor
1974	23	GANGALA, Diliza Eric	06/12/1974	19	Mdatsane, EL	3	Hit with a baton during arrest,
1976	24	MDLULI, Joseph	19/03/76	50	Security HQ DBN	1	Injury to neck after falling against chair
1976	25	TSHWANE, Nomodi William	25/07/76	?	Modderbee Prison East Rand	1	Shot while trying to escape, justifiable homicide
1976	26	MOHAPI, Mapetla	05/08/76	29	Kei Road Police Station, East London	22	Anoxia and suffocation as a result of hanging
1976	27	MAZWEMBE, Luke Storie	02/09/76	25	Caledon Square Police Station, Cape Town	1	Suicide by hanging
1976	28	MBATHA, Dumisani	25/09/76	16	Held: Modderbee Prison	9	Natural causes, extreme sympathetic system activity with avuncular fibrillation of heart
1976	29	MOGATUSI, Fenuel	28/09/76	22	Johannesburg Fort	70	Natural causes, suffocating during an epileptic fit
1976	30	MASHABANE, Jacob	05/10/76	22	Johannesburg Fort	4	Suicide by hanging
1976	31	UNKNOWN MAN	05/10/76	?	Carltonville police cells	?	Undisclosed, allegation of assault before death
1976	32	MZOLO, Edward	09/10/76	40	Johannesburg Fort	8	Undisclosed
1976	33	MAMASHILA, Ernest (gangster?)	19/11/76	35	Balfour, Transvaal	13	Suicide by hanging
1976	34	MOSALA, Thabo	25/11/76	60	Butterworth, Transkei	95	Natural causes, internal bleeding from gastric ulcer
1976	35	TSHAZIBANE, Mlungisi	11/12/76	30	John Vorster Square, Johanesburg	2	Suicide by hanging
1976	36	BOTHA, George	15/12/76	30	Sanlam Building, Port Elizabeth	5	Suicide, jumped 6 floors down a stairwell
1977	37	NDZANGA, Lawrence	09/01/77	52	Johannesburg Fort	51	Natural causes: heart failure
1977	38	NTSHUNTSHA, Naboath (Dr)	08/01/77	42	Leandra, Eastern Transvaal	26	Hanging, probably suicide vomited blood in his cell
1977	39	MALELE, Elmon	20/01/77	61	Held: John Vorster Square Died: Princess Nursing Home	13	Natural causes: haemorrhage after hitting head against desk during interrogation
1977	40	MABELANE, Marwale Mathews	15/02/77	22	John Vorster Square	25	Accidental, fell from 10th floor
1977	41	JOVI, Twalimfene	15/02/77	?	Idutywa, Transkei	?	Post-mortem result not revealed
1977	42	MALINGA, Samuel	22/02/77	45	Held: Pietermaritzburg Died: Edendale Hospital	22	Natural causes: Heart disease & pneumonia
1977	43	KHOZA, Aaron	26/03/77	35	Pietermaritzburg Prison	106	Suicide by hanging
1977	44	MABUJA, Phakamile	07/07/77	27	Transvaal Road Police Station, Kimberley	10	Suicide. Jumped from 6th floor
1977	45	SEGWALE, Rose	09/07/77	59	In prison, Soweto	?	Undisclosed
1977	46	LOZA, Nkwenkwe Elijah	01/08/77	59	Held: Victor Verster Prison, Paarl Died: Tygerburg Hospital, CT	65	Natural causes: stroke
1977	47	HAFFEJEE, Dr Hoosen	03/08/77	26	Brighton Beach PS, DBN	1	Suicide by hanging
1977	48	MIZI, Bayempini	14/08/77	54	Brighton Beach PS, DBN	35	Suicide by hanging
1977	49	BIKO, Bantu Steve	12/09/77	30	Held: Sanlam Building, PE Died: Pretoria	24	Brain injury during scuffle with police
1977	50	JAMES, Mbulelo Rocky	09/11/77	17	Lingelihle township office	1	Died after escaping from police custody
1977	51	MALAZA, Siphon Bonaventura	16/11/77	18	Krugersdorp police cells	138	Suicide by hanging
1977	52	NOBHANDULA, Mzukisi	20/12/77	?	North End Cells, PE	6	Presumably owing to natural causes
1978	53	TABALAZA, Lungile	10/07/78	19	Sanlam Building, PE	1	Suicide, jumped from 5th floor
1978	54	MATSOBANE, Johannes Mputle	09/08/78	21	Robben Island Prison	96	Unnatural causes
1980	55	NDZUMO, Kolisile Saul	10/09/80	58	Mthatha, Transkei	9	Natural causes: Heart trouble, diabetes, blood pressure
1980	56	MATALASI, Sifundisile	23/12/80	27	Wellington Prison	90	Strangulation
1981	57	MGQWETO, Manana	17/09/81	60	Engcobo Prison, Transkei	?	Unknown
1981	58	MUOFHE, Tshifhiwa Isaac	12/11/81	28	Venda	2	Assault by police
1982	59	AGGETT, Neil (Dr)	05/02/82	28	John Vorster Square PS	70	Suicide by hanging

1982	60	DIPALE, Moabi Ernest	08/08/82	21	John Vorster Square	3	Suicide by hanging
1983	61	MNDAWE, Tembuyise Simon	08/03/83	23	Nelspruit Police Station	14	Suicide by hanging
1983	62	MALATJI, Paris Molefe	05/07/83	23	Protea PS, Soweto	1	Culpable homicide, shot in forehead at point-blank range
1984	63	TSHIKHUDO, Samuel	29/01/84	53	Held: Venda Died: Tshilidzini Hospital	77	Natural causes
1984	64	TETYANE, Asiya Adolphus	15/03/84	?	Held: Transkei Died: Butterworth Hospital	?	Culpable homicide
1984	65	SIPELE, Mxolisi	??/06/84	?	Sulenkama Hospital, Transkei	?	Unknown: police claim he died in hospital a month after release
1984	66	NGALO, Bonakele Johannes	18/07/84	26	Parys	13	Found dead in his cell
1984	67	MTHETHWA, Ephraim	25/08/84	22	Durban Central Prison	165	Suicide by hanging
1984	68	MOLELEKE, Jacob	29/09/84	16	East Rand Hospital	?	Shot by police
1984	69	MASUNYANE, Anthony	05-07/11/84	?	Kathlehong PS	?	Unknown, no post mortem, no inquest
1984	70	KOROTSOANE, Tatleho	??/03/85	28	Held: Vereeniging PS Died: Leratong Hospital	?	Unknown, no post mortem, no inquest
1984	71	NGWENYA, Abel	29/11/84	31	Daveyton	1	Epileptic fit
1985	72	MVULANE, Bheki	29-30/02/85	18	Died: Natalspruit Hospital	12	Assault by police
1985	73	MUTSI, Siphso	05/05/85	19	Held: Odendaalsrus PS Died: Pelonomi Hospital	1	Epileptic fit
1985	74	RADITSELA, Andries	06/05/85	29	Baragwanath Hospital, Soweto	2	Fatal head injury, fell from Casspir
1985	75	MOGALE, Meshack	17/11/85	16	Mamelodi East	?	Unknown
1985	76	SPOGTER, Johannes Witbooi	04/07/85	13	Steytlerville PS, EC	1	Head injuries
1985	77	MUGGELS, Mzwandile	04/07/85	20	Steytlerville PS, EC	1	Shot by police
1985	78	THEMBALAKHE, George	16/08/85	15	Held: King Williams Town Died: Grey Hospital	1	Internal injuries
1985	79	NDZANDZE, Loyiso	21/08/85	20	Held: King Williams Town Died: Cecilia Makiwane Hospital	6	Internal injuries
1985	80	MBOTYA, Mbuyisela	21/09/85	35	Died: East London Hospital	1	Head injuries
1985	81	NDONDO, Batandwa	24/09/85	22	Cala, Transkei	1	Shot by police
1985	82	MASHEGO, Johannes	19/04/85	26	Parys	1	Unknown
1985	83	RAMALEPE, Ngoako	??/10/85	26	Kgapane Hospital, Duiwelskloof	1	Injured during a clash between students and the police, Lebowa
1985	84	NTUNGWANA, Mzwandile	??/10/85	18	St Albans Prison	360	Suicide by hanging
1986	85	PHOSHOKO, Joel	01/04/86	28	Pretoria Central	?	Unknown
1986	86	KUTUMELA, Makompo Lucky	05/04/86	25	Lebowa	1	Police assault
1986	87	NCHABELENG, Peter	11/04/86	59	Lebowa	1	Police assault
1986	88	NGOMANE, Eric	11/04/86	22	Hazyview, kaNgwane	21	Shot while trying to escape
1986	89	SILKA, Ayanda	12/05/86	23	Crossroads	6	Shot while trying to escape
1986	90	MOGOTSE, Joseph	13/12/86	?	Pretoria Died: Garankuwa Hospital	1	Assault
1986	91	MAHLANGU, Jacob	11/09/86	?	Pretoria	1	Shot dead in a police vehicle
1986	92	SONGELWA, Mbuyisa	05/10/86	29	East London Prison	310	Untreated asthma attack
1986	93	JACOBS, Xoliso Johannes	22/10/86	20	Upington Prison cell	129	Suicide by hanging
1986	94	BAKO, Lungisile	??/11/86	18	Held: Louis le Grange Square - PE Died: Livingstone Hospital	?	Internal injuries
1986	95	MARULE, Matanzima Simon	23/12/86	20	Held: Modderbee Prison Died: Boksburg / Benoni Hospital	183	Kidney failure
1987	96	MASHOKE, Benedict	26/03/87	20	Burgersfort Police Station	215	Suicide by hanging
1987	97	KRIEL, Ashley	09/07/87	20	Bonteheuwel, Cape Town	0	Shot by police
1987	98	CELE, Edwin	09/07/87	22	Durban Police Station	?	Shot by police
1987	99	MNTONGA, Eric	24/07/87	35	Mdantsane Cells, Ciskei	1	Police assault
1987	100	BANI, Nobandla	29/07/87	56	North End Cells, Port Elizabeth	222	Stroke
1987	101	MARUME, Ndiko	04/11/87	?	Sasol	?	Died in a police van
1988	102	ZOKWE, Sithembele	12/01/88	36	Butterworth, Transkei	1	Police shooting
1988	103	DLOMO, Sicelo Godfrey?	24/01/88	18	Emdeni	?	Body found in open ground, Emdeni
1988	104	KOBE, Andile	20/03/88	22	George	?	Head injuries
1988	105	MAKALENG, Alfred	26/08/88	37	Held: Nylstroom Died: JHB Hospital	804	Natural causes, fluid on the brain
1988	106	KHOZA, Delekile Amos	01/12/88	18	Held: Klerksdorp Died: Hillbrow JHB	1	Jumped from the 7th floor while handcuffed and manacled
1989	107	DAKUSE, 'Decks' Patrick	23/01/89	36	Khayelitsha	6	Shot by police
1990	108	PHIRI, Mbuyiselo Nixon	18/01/90	16	Welverdiend PS	?	Police assault
1990	109	ZUNGU, Michael	29/01/90	20	Natal	1	Flung into the back of police van
1990	110	SITHOLE, Clayton Sizwe	30/01/90	20	John Vorster Square	4	Suicide by hanging
1990	111	TLHOTLHOMISANG, Lucas	26/03/90	39	Held: Klerksdorp Prison Died: Tshepong Hospital	7	Police report: meningitis
1990	112	MADISHA, Donald Thabela	01/06/90	30	Potgietersrus PS	130	Police report: suicide by hanging
1990	113	MBULWANA, Thokozani Eugene	13/07/90	15	Held: Welverdiend PS Died: Leratong Hospital	3	Haemorrhage caused by pressure of the skull
1990	114	TSOENE, Enoch	25/09/90	?	Transkei	?	Found dead in his cell
1990	115	TSHABALALA, Samuel	??/??/90	?	Kempton Park PS	?	Suicide by hanging
1982		DLODLO, Linda	22/09/82	18	Died after release from Protea PS, Soweto	15	Linda Dlodlo was a chronic asthma sufferer and was extremely ill after her detention
1985		MOSHOBANE, Segano Josephine	??/??/85	24	Underwent an operation for blood clots on the brain after release	90	Before her death she could hardly speak or eat.
?		BOLINI, Mr	??/??/??	31	Died in custody of bantustan police in connection with theft of firearm	1	Civil servant in Ciskei



BURYING BIKO

As six-year-old Nkosinathi Biko led the ox-cart carrying his father's coffin into Victoria Stadium, thousands of mourners stood up as one with their clenched fists in the air and began to sing the national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

There were 20 000 people at the stadium in King William's Town on that rainy, cold Sunday morning on 25 September 1977. Thousands more, from every corner of the country, had been turned away by riot police at road blocks along the way.

Ordinary working people rubbed shoulders with representatives from countries around the world, as they paid their respects to the brilliant shining star, Bantu Stephen Biko, who had been brutally murdered at the hands of the apartheid security police. He was only 30 years old.

Mr Biko and other black political martyrs have not died in vain – despite their deaths, they leave the masses with their unconquerable ideas which they successfully preached to those who remain.

Extract from statement by the Black People's Convention

We regard your struggle as our struggle and your loss as our loss. It is better to die for an idea which will live than to live for an idea which will die.

Mr M Tlhabanelo, SWAPO Publicity Secretary



STY: APG/Getty Images
Getty Images
Daily Express
Banyan Wilson/History Archive



Biko's death is going to cause most Americans both in government and out to be reluctant to have a relationship with South Africa. Should we be supporting apartheid? That will really be the question that we have to answer. If Mr Vorster and his government want to operate in this way, they will have to do it in a very isolated world.

US Senator Dick Clarke, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Africa



On 4 November 1977, the Security Council at the United Nations called for a total arms embargo to be launched against South Africa. This was, many would claim, a direct consequence of the brutal murder of Steve Biko.



Despite strong anti-white sentiments expressed by certain speakers at the funeral of Bantu Stephen Biko and some songs sung by the crowds, BPC leaders stressed that the Black Consciousness Movement was not racist or anti-white and that whites had no reason to fear it.

The World, 26 September 1977



In the three years that I grew to know him, my conviction never wavered that this was the most important political leader in the entire country and quite simply the greatest man I ever had the privilege to know.

Donald Woods,
editor of the Daily Dispatch in East London
and a close friend of Biko





September '77

Port Elizabeth weather fine

It was business as usual

In police room 619

Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko

Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko

Yehla Moja, Yehla Moja

- The man is dead

When I try to sleep at night

I can only dream in red

The outside world is black and white

With only one colour dead

Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko

Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko

Yehla Moja, Yehla Moja

- The man is dead

You can blow out a candle

But you can't blow out a fire

Once the flames begin to catch

The wind will blow it higher

Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko

Yehla Moja, Yehla Moja

- The man is dead

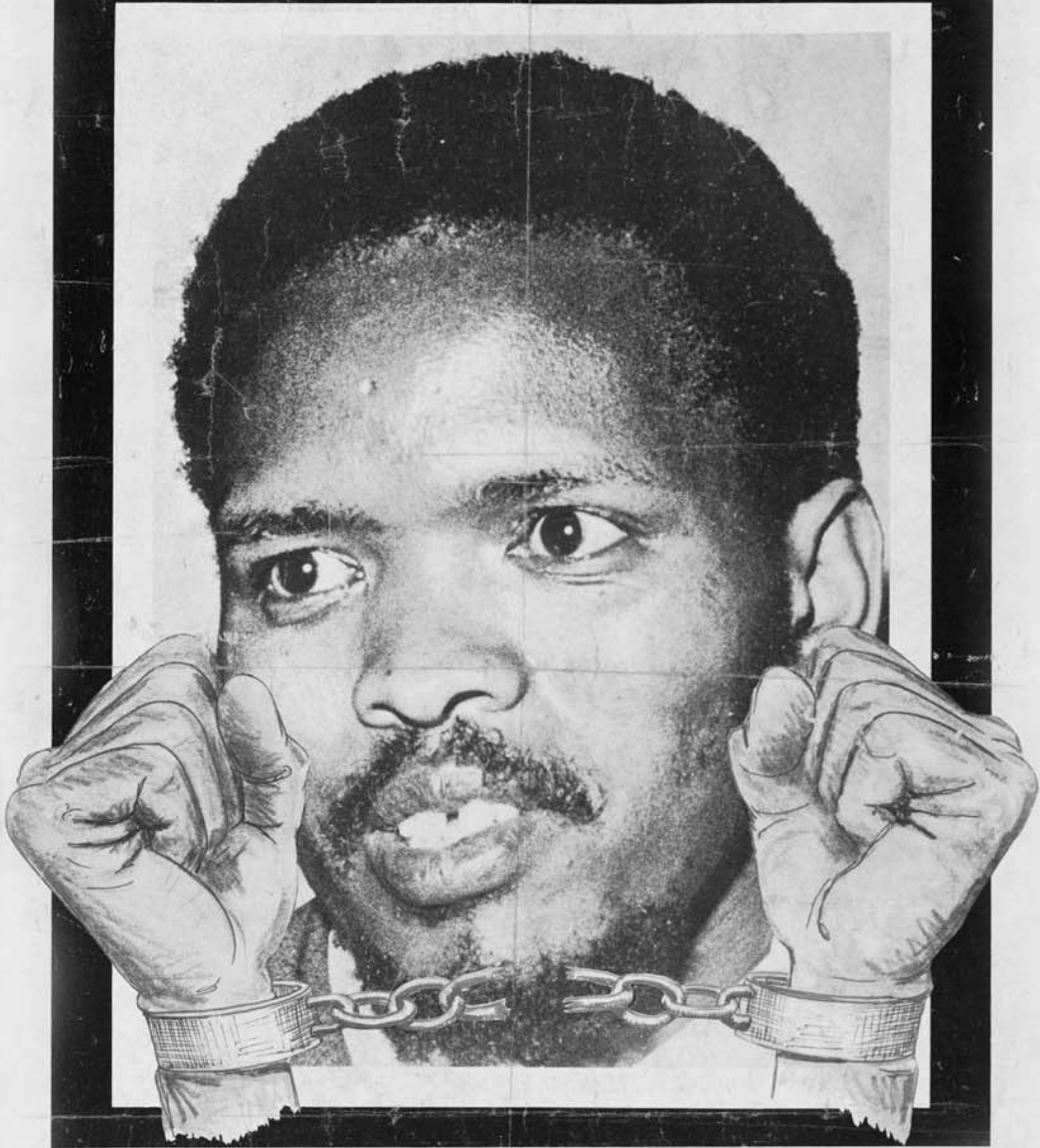
And the eyes of the world are

watching now

watching now

Peter Gabriel

BIKO AND SOLIDARITY



**BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION
TRIBUTE TO THE LATE
HONORARY PRESIDENT
BANTU STEPHEN BIKO**

One Azania: One Nation



OFFICIAL CAUSE OF DEATH



On 14 September 1977, Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, addressed a Nationalist Party Congress. He stated that Biko had died as a result of a hunger strike and said:

I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. His death leaves me cold. I can say nothing to you. Any person who dies ... I shall also be sorry if I die ... *(Laughter)*

On 9 November 1977, Kruger admitted that Biko had in fact died of brain damage. But he said:

A man can damage his brain in many ways. I have also felt like banging my head against a brick wall many times, but realising now, with the Biko autopsy, that may be fateful, I haven't done it.





NO ONE TO BLAME

The inquest of Steve Biko was not simply an exceptional event; it was the revelation of racism, of the way it has distorted ordinary people, and the way it has destroyed all morality and decency in a rich and beautiful country. Hilda Bernstein

Shortly after Biko's death, on 14 November 1977, the routine inquest into unnatural deaths began in the Old Synagogue in Pretoria before Magistrate Marthinus Prins.

Council for the Biko family was lead by Advocate Sydney Kentridge (centre), and included Advocates George Bizos, Jonathan Gluckman, Shun Chetty and Ernie Wentzel.

During the two weeks of evidence the police witnesses, including Major Harold Snyman (right), were unable to explain the deterioration of Biko between the time he entered the interrogation room on 6 September and the following morning when, according to Colonel Pieter Goosen, he refused to speak.

A huge crowd of spectators squeezed into the courtroom everyday to listen to the high drama of the proceedings. Those who were not able to gain access to the courtroom gathered in large numbers outside the Old Synagogue and sang freedom songs, including Winnifred Kgware (right).



Time & Life Pictures



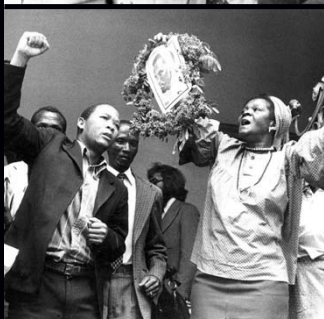
Zefrenoff



Reuters



Sally Kagan/Harvey Act One



Reuters

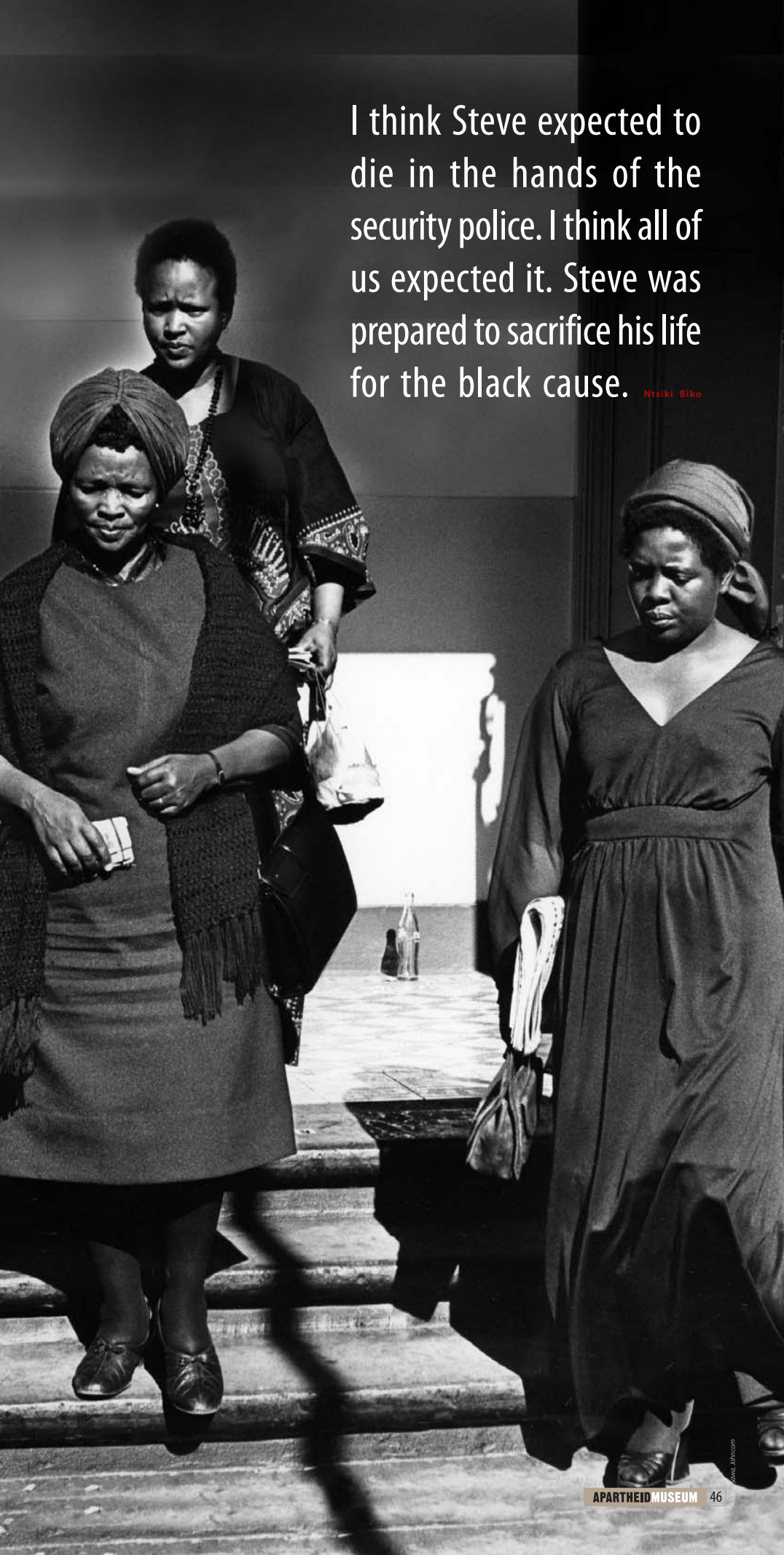
On 2 December 1977, Magistrate Prins delivered his verdict:

The identity of the deceased is Bantu Stephen Biko, Blackman, approximately 30 years old
Date of death: 12 September 1977
Cause or likely cause of death: Head injury with associated extensive brain injury. The head injury was probably sustained during the morning of Wednesday, 7 September 1977, when the deceased was involved in a scuffle with members of the Security Branch of the South African Police at Port Elizabeth. The available evidence does not prove that the death was brought about by any act of omission involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person. That completes this inquest.

However, the magistrate found there to be some evidence of improper conduct by the doctors and referred the matter to the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC).

Sydney Kentridge was depressed by the outcome of the inquest and questioned what purpose there was in practicing law in South Africa. I responded that the magistrate's judgement was not what mattered; the world jury had found both the policemen and the doctors guilty of an atrocity.

George Bizos, No one to blame



I think Steve expected to die in the hands of the security police. I think all of us expected it. Steve was prepared to sacrifice his life for the black cause. Ntsiki Biko



GUILTY AS CHARGED

It took the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) almost three years after the inquest to find that there was no evidence of improper conduct on the part of the doctors. Consequently, no disciplinary action was taken against them. The same conclusion was reached by the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA). These decisions led to an outcry both at home and abroad.

Critical Health was published monthly from 1979 - 1994. It focused on health issues in the context of apartheid inequalities and probed medical ethics in relation to treating detainees.



The doctors, for whatever reason, felt themselves beholden to the security police. They did not query the origin of Biko's injuries and symptoms. This studied lack of curiosity can only be explained either by their active collaboration with the police or a deliberate choice not to embarrass the police, or indeed themselves.

In 1984, two independent groups of doctors (from left, Professor Tobias, Professor Ames, Dr Veriava and Professor Jenkins), as well as Dr Wilson and Dr Mzamani took the matter of the Biko doctors to the Supreme Court. This led to a second enquiry being held.



The court ordered the SAMDC to hold a disciplinary hearing into the conduct of the doctors. Eight years after Biko's death, the SAMDC was forced to institute disciplinary proceedings against the doctors.



The doctor shall not countenance, condone or participate in the practice of torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading procedures, whatever the offences of which the victim of such procedures is suspected, accused or guilty, and whatever the victim's belief or motives.

Declaration of Tokyo of 1975: Guideline for doctors attending to prisoners or detainees

Small text caption: ...SOUTH AFRICAN MEDICAL AND DENTAL COUNCIL ...



SAMDC's submission on behalf of the Biko family

Dr Tucker was found guilty of improper and disgraceful conduct on three counts. He was struck off the role but in 1991 he successfully applied to be reinstated.



Dr Lang was found guilty of improper conduct. However, he received only a caution and reprimand. He continued to practise until he retired.