TOTALITARIANISM
DETENTION &
1977
SEPTEMBER - to END
If an employer can show that there are no qualifications, the BAAB will then look for the jobs. Only if there are no local workers be engaged from the Transkei or Ciskei and accommodation to the contract workers provided will the employer has not built any housing, but wherever there are beds open. In intermingled with local men in the sometimes impossible to categorise local men or contract workers. (S)

Although employers may build housing, they actually own the housing he erects, and the accommodation in the townships. They hire the accommodation he rents to sub-let it once to another employer.

It should be borne in mind that when workers live singly, in actual fact there are no women who do not have a greater or lesser number of women to live with. The number of women seems to vary according to their personal relationships, ranging from a high proportion of women workers living in Section 2 Guguletu to the Barracks in Langa. (Clearly there are factors which will determine the number of workers who live in the single quarters during the day, but apparently not during the night.

The children in the single quarters do not necessarily belong to the women. The contract workers often bring some of their young children with them from the reserves, although these children will not qualify for permanent residence in the urban area in terms of Section 10(1) a or b) unless they were actually born in the urban area.
2 430 detained under security laws — Kruger

DURBAN. — Since June last year when urban unrest had swept through parts of the country, 2 430 people had been held for questioning under the security laws, Mr J. T. Kruger, Minister of Justice and Police, said here yesterday.

He warned that the government would not hesitate to take further strong steps to ensure the maintenance of law and order in the country if it became necessary to do so.

In a written reply to a National Party congress resolution calling for stronger measures to be taken against those seeking to undermine law and order, Mr Kruger said security police were keeping a constant watch on the activities of this element.

Of the 2 430 people held for questioning under the security laws, 817 had already been convicted and sentenced by the courts.

A further 118 people were still awaiting trial and charges against 372 others were still being investigated.

Under the Internal Security Act, 135 'agitators' were in preventive detention. Destructive leaders had also had restrictions placed on them.

At the end of the war, however, Southern Rhodesia was facing a 'labour drain' to South Africa on two fronts in its 'traditional' labour 'catchment' area. The outflow via W.N.L.A. from Nyasaland increased and the 'clandestine labour' exodus gathered momentum from Southern Rhodesia itself.

In 1944 the Chief Native Commissioner's Annual Report recorded that there were 14 000 'clandestine migrants' inside the Union in addition to which it was believed there were 9 000 similar workers from Nyasaland and 5 000 from Portuguese East Africa and Northern Rhodesia (though these latter groups need not all have come via Southern Rhodesia). The annual increases in Southern Rhodesian demand for labour, this amounted to a substantial drain of labour-power. In 1945 it was estimated that the total 'clandestine' non-indigenous migration from Southern Rhodesia to the Union was 20 000 workers. In addition, there was the 'clandestine' indigenous flow to be considered as well as the net outflow of authorised migration of local and foreign workers to the South (a minimum of 3 508 in 1945 alone). The fact that significant numbers of women accompanied men in this exodus can be taken to imply that either long-term or permanent migration was anticipated in the case of a considerable number of authorised indigenous migrants. This judgement would tend to be confirmed by the fact that the government bus, based in the Gwanda District for the purpose of bringing /'clandestine'...
the suggestions involves great outlays of capital. In any
case, the price of these simple and basic alterations ever be considered

by the men

made to accommodation should be done by direct consultation
with workers themselves. Increasingly the same men return to
accommodation each year. And it is a trite point that the men have
accommodation provided. The above suggestions are made with
the knowledge that they can be considered to be the bare necessities of human decency
and that further or alternative needs will not be articulated until
the men themselves. Not only does consultation with the men
in the Board's Hostels

if the hostels are far less glaring than those of the employer

Comparatively the hostels provide better accommodation for

The most obvious requirements in the hostels are proper
floors, proper ceilings, and internal doors. Cooking and ablution facilities,
hot water and electricity all demand attention. The problems attendant to
the hostels should be investigated more precisely by enquiring further of the
men themselves.

The Barracks

The changes that can be made to the barracks, cannot be simply formulated.
They should be the subject of a specific investigation, out of which recommend-
ations can be made. The barracks fall under the Board's control and specific
recommendations are pointless unless prior consultation is had with the Board
in order to establish whether there is any possibility of actually effecting
any alterations. However the actual conditions in the barracks make it a
matter of significant importance that serious attention be given to their
complete renovation.

Future Accommodation built and being built

The requirement that all new accommodation be convertible to family housing
is a very sound one. With this requirement in force it costs virtually the
same whether hostels such as those in progress by Cape Stevedores or those
now completed by Murray and Stewart are built.
Detainee’s death was suicide

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN.—A verdict of suicide was recorded at a Cape Town inquest yesterday on Mr Luke Story Mazwembe, 33, who was found hanging by a piece of blanket in his cell at Caledon Square police station on September 2 last year.

He had been detained two hours earlier.

Lieutenant M. I. Sekame, now Deputy Commissioner of Police in Bophuthatswana, said he and two other Security Policemen arrested Mr Mazwembe at his home in Guguletu.

He was shocked when he heard of the death. Mr Mazwembe was a quiet man and did not talk on the way to Caledon Square.

Lt Sekame said that when he identified the body he turned it over and saw injury marks on the back and on the ankles.

Lt Sekame said Mr Mazwembe had belonged to the Western Province Workers’ Advice Bureau, which he thought had engaged in underground activities.

Questioned by Mr I Farlam, for the Mazwembe family, he said he did not know if it had been banned.

He said that members of organisations like the African National Congress had been instructed to commit suicide if detained.
DETAINEE COMMITTED SUICIDE INQUIRY FINDS

KIMBERLEY. — The magistrate at the inquest into the death of a Kimberley detainee, Mr Harry Mabija, yesterday found he committed suicide and no-one was responsible for his death.

Mr J. H. Booyse gave the cause of death as multiple injuries sustained when Mr Mabija jumped through a window on the sixth floor of the Kimberley police offices.

Earlier, Mr J. F. Basson, SC, for the police, suggested Mr Mabija, 27, had led a double life, pretending to be a church worker and yet being engaged in subversive activities.

Mr Basson said Mr Mabija had been a member of the African National Congress. He quoted evidence from a pamphlet which advised people to commit suicide rather than betray the organisation.

Mr Mabija was due to appear in court the day after he died to face charges under the Riolous Assemblies Act. He was sentenced on June 27 after an incident involving the stoning of buses.

In a statement, the Very Rev. T. S. Stanage, Dean of Kimberley, said Mr Mabija had "offered a year of his life" as a voluntary Christian youth worker for the Nomads organisation.

Mr Stanage, who said he had met Mr Mabija eight times in the past two years, described him as logical and "a rather headstrong but friendly young man who had not quite got his thinking sorted out" and "fearless in his condemnation of hypocrisy."

But after his conversion he matured and his sometimes negative attitude became much more positive, he said.

Cross-examined by Mr J. Unterhalter, Mr Stanage said he thought it highly improbable Mr Mabija would have taken his own life.

Mr Basson suggested one article written by Mr Mabija was "to stir up people to do something about their conditions and I would say more than that, to overthrow the Government."

In his closing argument, Mr Unterhalter said the people who were on trial were the police, and the people who prepared the case were the police.

"I say that this is not such a case where the court can simply and without any difficulty whatsoever say he is a man who behaved in the way the police described and took his life," he said.

"There are elements in the evidence which are as such not to make it an open and shut case and I would ask the court to say it cannot be completely satisfied as to what were the causes that led to this man falling through the window."

DURBAN. — The battered body of a five-year-old girl has been found near her home at Scottsbourgh.

Iolanthe Potgieter's body was found by police less than two hours after she was missed from her home. She had severe head injuries when found fully clothed about 100 m from her home.

Her father, Mr J. Potgieter, had earlier left his teaching post at Scottsbourgh High School to look for her after she had gone to play with a rabbit at the back of the house next to the garden. He reported the girl missing at 8:30 a.m. when she had not returned by then.

The family home is in the southeastern suburbs of Scottsbourgh, where the girl was known to have been playing.

The police have launched a nationwide appeal for help in tracing the girl's movements and anyone with information is urged to contact them urgently.

The police have also appealed to the public to be extra cautious in their dealings with children, especially around schools and playgrounds.

Every few years, there is a news story about the loss of a child, which often occurs in the area, brought about through carelessness or negligence.

The police are appealing for anyone who may have seen the girl or noticed any suspicious activity in the area around the time of her disappearance to come forward with information.

Yesterday, the police said they were still searching for the girl and were hopeful of finding her soon.

The family said they were deeply upset and were cooperating fully with the police in their search.
Epileptic detained  
BLOEMFONTEIN. — An epileptic student was among people detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act after disturbances in townships during last week. He was receiving medical hospital treatment before his detention.
Inquest found window-jump was suicide

KIMBERLEY — The Magistrate at the inquest into the death of a Kimberley detainee, Mr. Harry Phakamile Mabija, yesterday found that he committed suicide and no one was responsible for his death.

Mr. J. H. C. Booysen gave the cause of death, or likely cause of death, as multiple injuries sustained when Mr. Mabija leapt through a window on the sixth floor of the police offices in Transvaal Road.

Earlier Mr. J. J. Basson, SC, for the police, suggested Mr. Mabija (27), of Vergelegen, had led a double life, pretending to be a church worker and yet being engaged in subversive activities.

Mr. Basson suggested Mr. Mabija had been a member of the African National Congress. He quoted evidence about a pamphlet which advised people to commit suicide rather than betray the organisation.

Mr. Mabija was to have appeared in court the day after he died to face charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

He was detained here on June 27 after an incident involving the storing of buses.

Volunteer

In a statement, the Very Reverend T. S. Stange, Anglican Dean of Kimberley, said Mr. Mabija had offered a year of his life as a voluntary Christian youth worker for the Nomads organisation.

Mr. Stange, who said he had met Mr. Mabija eight times in the past two years, described him as originally being "a rather headstrong but friendly young man who had not quite got his thinking sorted out" and "fearless in his condemnation of hypocrisy."

But after his conversion, he matured and his sometimes negative attitude became much more positive, he added.

Cross-examined by Mr. J. Unterhalter, Mr. Stange said he thought it highly improbable that Mr. Mabija would have taken his own life.

Mr. Basson quoted from documents issued by the Christian Education and Youth Department of the Methodist Church, which the Security Police had taken from Mr. Mabija.

Involved

He said these documents had nothing to do with a churchman.

Mr. Stange said Mr. Mabija had been involved with the Nomads youth training programme only within the last six months of his life "and I can really only speak for him during this period."

Mr. Basson also referred to the document "wake-up, wake-up" written by Mr. Mabija, which included the words: "Find yourself Kimberley people. This has rather been going on too long. Do you expect other people to straighten matters for you. Do you expect S.A. to be put right by Johannesburg or Cape Town citizens above?"

This was not a quotation, he said, but something from the heart.

Mr. Stange replied that this could have been written before Mr. Mabija's conversion experience and before his training as a
Priority for Kaiser

Transkei's Prime Minister Kaiser Matanzima flies to Pretoria tomorrow for talks with senior South African Government officials. At the top of the agenda should be the position of squatters, many of them Transkeians, who are being evicted and harassed from their shacks in the Western Cape, many of them destined to be sent back to their "homelands". And because Transkei is an independent state, the treatment of the squatters has become an international issue.

So disgusted has Transkei got at the treatment meted out to the squatters by Bantu Affairs Administration Board officials that Matanzima's ambassador to South Africa has said he would gladly return home if so ordered. In other words Transkei, which has few open friends in the world because of international opposition to South Africa's racial policies, can contemplate severing diplomatic relations with Pretoria, because of the callous ill-treatment meted out to helpless squatters.

Does Pretoria now longer have any control over the self-important officials in Cape Town whose idea of a day's work is to harass the poorest section of the community? Does the Cabinet regard this disgusting episode as right and just? Does the Minister of Foreign Affairs have so little regard for South Africa's name that he can sit silent while squatters are evicted from their shacks and then further harassed in refugee camps? Is Mr Vorster so concerned with the problem of Rhodesia that he can ignore what is being done in the name of his Government?

Chief Kaiser does not have Pretoria's problems — nor its blatant insensitivity to this morally illegitimate behaviour. He will need no reminding that by their actions BAAAB officials are making helpless playthings of Transkei citizens — in effect telling Matanzima that they do not give a damn for Transkei independence. BAAAB officials aided and abetted by the South African Government, are treating Transkei citizens as dirt.

Chief Kaiser, when he talks to Mr Vorster and Mr Pik Botha on the issue, has right on his side. It is disgraceful that any human beings are treated in the manner in which BAAAB officials are treating the squatters. But when many of those people are Transkei citizens, the officials are playing with diplomatic fire. Chief Kaiser will have the support of every right-thinking South African and Transkeian if he tells Mr Vorster in the strongest possible terms that this must stop.
Zinzi and her hell on earth called Brandfort

By JENNIFER HYMAN

In Johannesburg, Zinzi Garb was under house arrest, her movements restricted by the Security Police. Her father, Ronald Garb, had been charged with treason and was serving a 25-year sentence. Zinzi's mother, Winnie Mandela, was in prison for her role in the struggle against apartheid. Zinzi's sister, Zenani, had been killed in a car accident.

The police had arrested Zinzi's friends and family, and her school was closed. Zinzi was banned from attending any gatherings, including religious services. She was not allowed to speak to the media. The police had also seized her computer and cell phone.

Zinzi became a symbol of the struggle against apartheid, and her story was widely reported in the media. She was interviewed by journalists and politicians, and her message of hope and resilience inspired many.

Zinzi was eventually released from house arrest, and her family was able to reunite. However, their lives were still under threat, and they continued to fight for their freedom and the freedom of others. Zinzi and her family remained committed to the struggle for justice and equality.
Steve Biko in detention

STAFF REPORTERS

MR STEVE BIKO, the 30-year-old black leader, widely regarded as the founder of the black consciousness movement in South Africa, died in detention on Monday.

Mr Biko, honorary president of the Black People’s Convention and the father of two small children, is the 20th person to die in Security Police custody in 18 months.

In a statement yesterday, the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said Mr Biko died after refusing meals and water since September 5.

Mr Biko had been in detention since August 18 when he was arrested under the Terrorism Act near King William’s Town. He became “unwell” using the toilet on Sunday where he died on Monday.

Mr Kruger said last night that a State pathologist, a family pathologist, and a third pathologist were conducting the post-mortem in Pretoria.

When his mother was told of his death yesterday morning on the verandah of her small home in G-yellow township, King William’s Town, where Mr Biko had been living with her during his term of restriction, she wept quietly.

But on entering the house she collapsed and a doctor was called to treat her.

Mr Biko’s wife, Ntsiki, who lives at a mission hospital in King William’s Town was told by friends and broke the news to their two small sons, Nkosintuli, 7, and Samora, 2. The name Nkosintuli means “God with us.”

Within hours of the news of Mr Biko’s death more than 400 people gathered in Johannesburg for a prayer service and shocked reaction poured in from political and church leaders throughout the country.

Several speakers praised Mr Biko as “the father of black consciousness” and a number of women sobbed throughout the service.

The service ended with the singing of the black national anthem, “Nkosintulele Afrika” and the giving of the black power clenched fist salute to shouts of “Amandla” (power).

Students at the University of the North (Turfloop) held a requiem mass for Mr Biko.

Mr Biko, the founder and first president of SASO (South African Students Organisation) in 1988, was committed to the future of South Africa.
And overnight it will create black South Africa's number one martyr.

We have no way of knowing what led to his death, but we do know that the official version given so far is unsatisfactory.

Steve Biko was detained 3½ weeks ago -- a big, strong young man of 30 with no sign of illness.

Mr. Kruger says that seven days before his death he began refusing his meals and "threatened" a hunger strike.

But people don't die in seven days from a hunger strike. It can take weeks and months. Bernie Wranmore starved on Table Mountain for 67 days.

And if necessary they can be force-fed, as we know from Northern Ireland.

Apart from which the authorities must have known they had an important man on their hands; that the whole world would be suspicious if he died suddenly and mysteriously in detention.

So why didn't they protect themselves against this possibility? Why didn't they announce that he had gone on a hunger strike?

Above all why didn't they notify the family, and invite them to send a private doctor when his illness seemed to be getting worse?

But they did no such thing -- until they called to tell his mother he was already dead.

Why, Mr. Kruger? Why?
Steve Biko dies in detention

**FROM PAGE ONE**

recommendation of the district surgeon.

- By this date, September 11, he had still not eaten and still appeared to be unwell. After consultation with the district surgeon it was decided to transfer him to Pretoria.
- He was taken to Pretoria the same night. The next day, September 12, he was again examined and medically treated by a district surgeon in Pretoria. He died the same night.

Chief Gqesha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu and leader of the powerful Inkatha movement, said yesterday, "the price South Africa would have to pay for Mr Biko's death would be very high.

- "I am extremely distressed to hear of Steve's death. I admired him greatly," Chief Buthelezi said.
- "Only a country as mad as South Africa can waste such talent. I am convinced that nobody detained by our police is safe. There have been many, many deaths in detention and we as black people are convinced now that for a black man to enter a gaol is almost like going to a grave."

Mr Skenjana Rall, secretary general of SASO said: "State repression was growing stronger to contain the momentum of liberation movements. But this does not deter the political consciousness of the black community who want to be free, and their strategy would be determined by the tactics of the State. Forces working for change must have no illusions about the task they lie ahead."

Dr C P Boyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute, said Mr Biko's death would have similar repercussions as the outbreak of the Soweto riots on June 18 last year.

- "The black community of South Africa will add the name of Steve Biko to the list of leaders they wish to honour as martyrs in the struggle for freedom and liberation.
- "His outstanding qualities of justice and leadership, the depth of his vision of a new society, his deep Christian commitment to justice and human dignity, his unflinching courage in the face of persecution - all these have made him a great son of Africa whose stature will grow with the years."

- "It will be almost impossible to convince the politically conscious black community that his death was due to the reasons given, especially because of the increasing number of people who have died in detention recently under circumstances inexplicable and unacceptable to the black community," Naude said.

While political leaders also paid tribute to Mr Biko and called for a full judicial inquiry into his death.

Mr Ray Swart, acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said: "I am appalled by the news of Mr Biko's death. I believe that his death following on a number of other deaths in detention, emphasizes for once and all the need for a judicial inquiry under the full glare of public scrutiny."

*Mrs D Mablietta in white and another mourner who could not control her tears.*

Fluctuations in rain-damage to the vegetable soil in this area professional and is accompanied by the disease known as Phoma. The disease is spread by surface in terms of natural rainfall region. Wherever A. Skerree grows in an area of intense rainfall/steam."
Steve Biko
dies in detention

Mr Steve Biko, a founder of the black consciousness movement and a community leader widely respected both in South Africa and overseas, died last night in detention at Pretoria Hospital.

Mr. William Kweupe, security police informed Mr. Biko's 57-year-old mother of her son's death early today.

The commissioner of police, General Gert Prinsloo, has declined to give any details of how Mr. Biko died.

His death follows his transfer from Port Elizabeth where he was being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

RESUMED.

A post mortem has been held this morning at the Pretoria Government Mortuary was postponed after the family's attorneys made representations, according to Mr. N. M. Marinieres, secretary-general of the Black People's Convention.

The post mortem is to be resumed in the presence of the family's legal and medical representatives.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Hendrik Kruger, is attending the inquest on the death of Mr. Biko's death.

The Minister is expected to make a statement.

To Page 3, Col 2.
Detainees toll rises to 44

Black leader dies in detention

Mr. Steve Biko is the 44th person known to have died while detained under the security laws or while in police hands following arrest during disturbances.

He is the 28th detainee known to have died since March 29, 1976, which means South Africa has had a death rate among detainees of a little over one a month for an 18-month period.

If deaths since last September are considered in the rate, it could be held to be increasing. Mr. Biko is the 17th to die in the 18-month period — a rate of almost 1.5 a month.

He is also the 11th to die this year.

STATEMENTS

Of the 19 others who died in the last 18 months, however, 10 were said to have committed suicide, one was said to have hanged himself, and one to have jumped from the sixth floor of a building.

Another three of the dead died from the police statements, have committed suicide. One died from an "application of force to the neck"; one to his death from the 18th floor of John Vorster Square and one fell to his death from the sixth floor of a Kimberley police station.

Five of the dead were said to have died of natural causes and one was said to have been shot by police during a disturbance and to have subsequently died in custody.

Of the twenty, 18 died while in the hands of the Security Police and two while under arrest following disturbances.

The 20 known to have died since March 1976 are:

Joseph Mbula (Durban, March 19, 1976); Mapetla Mohapi (King Williams Town, August 5, 1976); Luke Mazimwe (Cape Town, August 2, 1976); Jacob Masana (Johannesburg, September 5, 1976); William Thwane (Johannesburg, July 28, 1976); George Botha (Port Elizabeth, December 5, 1976); Duranand Tshabangu (Johannesburg, September 28, 1976); Ernest Mamatsa (Balfour, November 19, 1976).

Wellington Thabane (Johannesburg, December 11, 1976); Nosto Nqakazi (Nabukwasia, Leslie, January 9, 1977); Mathews Mabola (Johannesburg, February 19, 1977); Rimon Malale (Johannesburg, January 20, 1977); Lawrence Nizanga (Johannesburg, January 8, 1977); Samuel Malinga (Maritnburg, February 22, 1977); Aaron Khosa (Maritzburg, March 31, 1977); Phakamile Macibe (Kimberley, July 7, 1977); Bisho Lota (Cape Town, August 1, 1977); Hossen Hassen (Durban, August 3, 1977); Beyan Mzizi (Durban, August 1977) and Steve Biko (September, 1977).

About Mr. Biko's death, which has triggered off widespread shock and grief among community leaders of all races.

Mr. Biko, married with two children, was described today as a "toughest young man."

He was the founder president of the South African Student Organization (Sasor) and honorary president of the Black People's Convention.

He was banned and restricted to King William's Town in 1973, and was acquitted in Port Elizabeth four weeks ago with Mr. Peter Jones, an executive member of the Black People's Convention.

ACQUITTED

A month before his detention, he was acquitted at the East London Magistrate's Court on a charge of obstructing the course of justice.

He was also found not guilty and discharged on an alternative count of subornation to perjury.

It was the fourth unsuccessful prosecution initiated against him as a banned leader.

Mr. Biko's wife, Ntsikie, was in a state of grief at the All Saints Hospital in the Transkei.

In December last year he was visited by Senator Dick Clark of the United States, who made a special trip from Moscow where he was attending the African-American conference. On hearing of Mr. Biko in East London.

The post-mortem on Mr. Biko started last evening, according to sources close to the family.

It was halted when Mr. Shum Chetty, a Johannesburg attorney, appeared for Mr. Biko's family, asking that pathologists be allowed to attend the post-mortem on the family's behalf.

Dr. J. Gluckman, a Johannesburg pathologist, and an assistant were expected to attend the post-mortem from 2 o'clock this afternoon.

Mr. Ntsikie Motlana, chairman of the so-called Committee of Ten, said he was disturbed by the growing number of detainees who die in detention.
Completely fit, says doctor

Marian Shinn

Steve Biko was apparently a fit 30-year-old when his wife and doctor last saw him in early August. He died on Monday night after being on a hunger strike for seven days.

Since September 5, said the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, yesterday, Mr. Biko had refused food and water, even though these were regularly supplied to him in prison.

On Sunday night he was transferred to Pretoria from Walmer police station and, on Monday, he was treated by Pretoria's district surgeon.

His King Williams Town doctor said last night that when he last saw Mr. Biko early in August he was "completely fit."

NO ALIMENTS

There were no minor internal ailments that could have been aggravated by a "hunger strike," and, during the time he had known Mr. Biko, there had been no serious illness.

His doctor was hesitant to say how long Mr. Biko could have survived without food and water. "Per health reasons..."

haps three weeks, he said.

In 1972 Irish Republican Army prisoner, Sean MacStiofain (44) survived a 10-day hunger and thirst strike in a Dublin jail.

Six days after he started his strike, Mr. MacStiofain told a courtroom that he would be dead within six days. During this court appearance he was constantly revived and managed by a medical team.

Four days later he broke his strike.

At the time of the strike legal arguments reverberated around Britain as to whether doctors could force-feed him. An Irish Embassy spokesman said in London at the time: "Our understanding of the legal position is that forced feeding would be an infringement of human rights."

Judy Todd, daughter of former Southern Rhodesian premier, Mr. Garfield Todd, went on a hunger strike in Chikurubi prison near Salisbury, early in 1972.

FORCE-FED

Her 10-day hunger strike was in protest against her detention without trial.

Her strike ended when she was force-fed. Although she had refused food, Miss Todd drank water.

In 1971 Cape Town priest, Bernard Wrench, more went on a 67-day fast. He survived on water and orange juice. He planned to fast until a judicial inquiry was made into the death of Imam Abdullah Haron.

At the time of Mr. Wrench's fast, Professor S. Strauss, an expert on criminal law at the University of South Africa, said force-feeding the priest while he was conscious would constitute assault. Force-feeding him while in a coma could also be seen as assault if he had previously expressly forbidden medical intervention.

63/

Data in this section are extracted from the Agreement contained on the reverse of the contract form signed by each contractor. Additional perspectives came from Wenela propaganda handed to contractors (documents in the vernacular translated by Wilbert Garaba).

64/


65/

Wenela representatives in Salisbury explained these reasons as: dislike of underground work, being 'trouble makers' and being 'disturbed' and 'unsettled'.

66/

G.M.E. Leistner and W.J. Breytenbach, The Black Worker of South Africa, Africa Institute No. 26, Pretoria, 1975, p.15, report a figure of 11 000 black Rhodesian workers as reported by the 1970 Census in South Africa. This is undoubtedly low. Dept. of Bantu Affairs figures are much higher. For example, see Rhodesia Herald, 3 April 1976.

67/

I am grateful to Nicholas Dziva who conducted the interviews in the vernacular.

68/

When starting operations, the Acting Manager of Wenela (Mr. N.D. Nicolle) conducted an on the spot review of unemployment in and around Salisbury.

From this cursory investigation, he was well-satisfied as to the extensive evidence of urban unemployment in Salisbury. It is also worth reporting the comment of the President of the South African Chamber of Mines that an off-take of 20 000 contractees 'would not make a dent in the local labour market.'

69/

See Business Herald, 6 February 1976; and Financial Mail, 9 May 1975.

70/

I am grateful to Ian Phimister for pointing this out to me.

71/

It is an interesting point to be recorded that, according to the General Manager of Wenela in Rhodesia, the publication of political news indicating heightening of the local political crisis and/or possibility of change has brought about immediate fall-off in recruitment intake levels.

72/

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Detainee death toll rises to 20

By CLIVE EDMON

In the 18 months since March last year, 20 people have died while in Security Police detention.

Two others detained during disturbances last year died while in police custody.

The latest deaths, apart from Mr Steve Biko, were Mr Bayemathini Mzazi who died in Durban on August 13; Mr Hossen Haffejee, 25, who died in Durban on August 3; and Mr Elphish Laza, 59, who died in Cape Town on August 1.

So far, only the cause of death of Mr Laza has been given by the police as a "stroke".

Of the 22 deaths, seven were as a result of "suicide by hanging", according to the police; three deaths were as a result of the detainees having "jumped" or "fallen" to their deaths from high buildings.

According to the SA Institute of Race Relations, police gave cause of death of other detainees as:

- Joseph Mduli, 50, "application of force to the neck".
- Two detainees, Mr Eman Maledw, 52, and Mr Laza, as a result of strokes.
- Mr Samuel Malinga, 45, from "natural causes", as with Mr Dumatho Nhatha.

One of the two men held by police during the disturbances, Mr W.111, was Tshwane, died from shock while in custody. This was regarded as "justifiable homicide".

Mr B.B. Moseki, detained in Transkei under proclamation R400, died on November 23 last year. Cause of death was not reported.
Krugersdorp, 25 July

THE Government is regarding the inquest that will be held on black consciousness leader, Mr. Steve Biko, who died in detention as the only judicial inquiry to be held into the case.

J. T. Kruger, in an interview last week, said the inquiry — this time a black protest leader — would not be mounted.

The Argus Political Staff

(Continued from Page 1)
'Not suggested’

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — There is no suggestion by the family of Mr Steve Biko of impropriety by the State for starting a post-mortem examination on the black leader before a family pathologist was in attendance, it is reliably understood.

The post-mortem on the former Black People's Convention honorary president ended at the Government mortuary here at 4.35 pm yesterday. It was started at 10 am by Professor J. D. Loubszer, the chief State pathologist.

But it was stopped at 11.30 am after objections from lawyers acting for Mr Biko's family. They asked that a pathologist be allowed to observe the post-mortem on the family's behalf.

This was confirmed by Professor Loubszer today. He said the autopsy was resumed at 2 pm, with Dr John Gluckman, a Johannesburg pathologist, and a technical assistant observing on behalf of Mr Biko's family.

Professor I. W. Simpson, head of the pathology department at Pretoria University, was then invited by Professor Loubszer to attend.

Professor Loubszer said that between 10 am and 11.30 am 'no important dissection work was done by me.'

He added: 'The skull had been opened, but I had not done any dissection of the important organs.'

The important aspects of the autopsy were performed after 2 pm and while Dr Gluckman, his technical assistant and Professor Simpson were in attendance, he said.

The autopsy findings are now sub-judice until the formal inquest is held into the cause of the 35-year-old black leader's death.

Service and student fast for Biko

ARRANGEMENTS have been made for an inter-denominational service for Mr Steve Biko during the lunch hour in Grahamstown's Anglican Cathedral today.

And Grahamstown students planned an eight-day fast from Sunday, living on fluids, if necessary, to carry on with normal duties.

A mass meeting of students, in honour of Mr Biko, is being planned at the university this week by students and staff.

Yesterday afternoon it was indicated he died after a weeklong hunger strike.

To Press and Opposition calls for a judicial inquiry, Mr Kruger answered, that an inquest was a judicial inquiry.

This was proved, in the Timel case, where counsel cross-examination went on for weeks,' Mr Kruger said.

An inquest is held according to law and there is no sense in having one inquiry after another.

There are some people in this country who do not just want an inquiry into a death. They just want to find the police guilty,' he added.

Astonished

The Justice spokesman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mrs Helen Suzman, in an angry mood said she found it astonishing that Mr Kruger should have issued a statement giving the impression that Mr Biko had died as a result of a hunger strike.

Mrs Suzman asked why relatives of Mr Biko had not been told the moment he had become ill, in stead of only after his death.

But she said the real cause of Mr Biko's death could be found in Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. At the bottom of all the detainee deaths there had been was this legislative provision.

'Appalling'

'This tragic death should lead to a public outcry. This appalling piece of legislation places people, entirely, in the hands of the police without the normal protection of the law.'

Mrs Suzman called for the repeal of these provisions 'at the earliest opportunity' and called on the Minister to 'desist.'

(Continued on Page 3, col.3)

Biko’s death 'like loss of Kennedy', "Something special" about Biko — Page 3.
SHOCK, GRIEF AT DEATH OF BIKO

PUBLIC FIGURES in Britain, the United States and throughout South Africa yesterday expressed shock and grief at the death of a Pretoria hospital on Monday night of Mr Steve Biko, 30, a founder of the black consciousness movement. He had been transferred there from Port Elizabeth, where he was being detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Mr Andrew Young, America’s United Nations representative, compared the death of Mr Biko with the loss to the United States of President Kennedy, Dr Martin Luther King, and Senator Robert Kennedy. He said it would be a major loss for the future of South Africa.

“No nation can afford to lose its best and dedicated and creative leadership and yet prosper,” Mr Young said in a press statement. “I know personally how much the United States suffered nationally as a result of the similar tragic deaths of President John F Kennedy, Dr Martin Luther King, Jr, and Senator Robert F Kennedy. These losses cost us nearly a decade of progress.”


In a statement in Pretoria last night he said Mr Biko was known as a man of outstanding ability, totally dedicated to the cause of his people, which he saw as the cause of humanity. “A man who has been proven against him, and he never feared to appear before the courts, often at high cost to himself, we must assume him to have been innocent of the allegations made against him.”

Amnesty message

In London, Amnesty International’s non-governmental, international human rights movement, urged an immediate, open and independent inquiry.

Amnesty’s message went in a telegram to the Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, from the secretary-general, Mr Martin Ennals.

The organization also wanted to know why Mr Biko had been “continually harassed by South African police and repeatedly detained without trial”.

Mr Ray Swart, chairman of the PFPUF, called for a judicial inquiry to erase all doubts inside and outside South Africa on the causes of deaths in detention.

“Departmental inquiries will certainly not be enough nor will Kruger. did not give a satisfactory explanation after post-mortem, an official inquiry should be held.”

Mr Fred van Wyk, director of the institute of Race Relations, described Mr Biko’s death as a tragic loss to all South Africans.

“He was a great man. The Institute can only repeat its appeal for a judicial commission of inquiry into the deaths in detention,” he said.

Mr Lionel Murray, NPC, said: “This is one more entry to a series of deaths in detention. There is an urgent necessity for a judicial inquiry.”

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said it would appear “that nobody detained by our police is safe”.

“After Mandela’s death and now this one, I am convinced that nobody detained by our police is safe. There have been many, many deaths in detention, and we as black people are convinced now that for a black man to enter a jail is almost like entering a grave.”

The Students’ Representative Council of the University of Cape Town said in a statement last night that the death of Mr Biko meant the death of someone who was committed “to the freedom of his people”.

“Yet another death in detention leaves this country in a position where peaceful change becomes a far-fetched miracle. Here was a leader, who in spite of offers from overseas to work and study, decided to stay in South Africa to work for freedom from a system that is now based on a rhetoric and coercion,” the statement said.

Members of the Labour Party issued a statement: “We are grieved by the untimely death of Mr Steve Biko while in detention.”

“South Africa will certainly be poorer. A clear thinker, purposeful and dedicated to the liberation of all South Africans, his death should be a motivation to all to become involved in the creation of a new society.”

Dr Alex Boraine, FPF MP for Pinelands “I don’t weep easily, but I wept when I heard Steve Biko was dead. Now that I have heard some of the world details, I am convinced.”

Mr Kenneth Rachi, national president of the Black People’s Convention, said: “His death comes at a time when the black consciousness philosophy is taking a practical shape in the black community.”

Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the World, said: “I am deeply shocked at the death of Steve and I do hope that no stone will be left unturned to establish the cause of death.”

Mr Mike Norton, national organizer of the Union of Black Journalists: “I do not think the outside world is going to tolerate these deaths in detention much longer.”

Mr Thabo Coggsa, information officer of the SA Council of Churches: “The fact that another person has died in detention does not remove the concern which exists in many of the churches in this country at the number of people who have now died in detention.”

Mrs Sheena Duncan, national president of the Black Sash: “Yet another person has died while in the hands of the security police. This time it is one of South Africa’s noble sons, a man who was committed to the Christian path of non-violence and love.”

Senator Brian Barnard said: “Mr Biko was a great South African, a man of leadership, intellectual and tremendous potential.”

Not impressed

Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch and a friend of Mr Biko, said: “I am not impressed by Mr Kruger’s statement that Steve was arrested in connection with riots or preparation of incriminating documents. He was not arrested. He was detained. An arrested person is charged with a criminal offence. A detained person is simply taken away by political police on the orders of a politician, without charge, accusation, trial or verdict.”

“To imply now, after the man is dead, that he was suspected of involvement in such crimes is a grossly unfair smear against someone not in a position to—”
Mr Myburgh Stelzner, South African Party MP, said only the post-mortem could indicate what had caused Mr Biko's death. If the Minister of Prisons, Mr Kruger, was told that he was killed by the system, "No matter how many inquiries, we have we can't bring him back. I knew him personally for nearly 10 years and the news of his death is an absolute personal shock."

**Sent telegram**

Dr Borkulo said he had sent a telegram to the Minister of Police and Prisons, Mr Kruger, calling for a full inquiry.

Mr Adam Small, poet and author: "I can't believe he's dead. I am shocked, even horrified. He was one of the sharpest young intellectuals in South Africa. His philosophy and black pride will remain in spite of everything that was against him in South Africa."

The Rev Theo Kotsie, Western Cape regional director of the Christian Institute: "I know Steve well. We are very proud. I am shocked, even horrified. I have seen him in his best days. He was one of the sharpest young intellectuals in South Africa. His philosophy and black pride will remain in spite of everything that was against him in South Africa."

Dr. Francis Wilson of the Economics Department, University of Cape Town: "It is impossible to describe in cold words the impact and warmth of his personality. Young as he was, he was one of South Africa's greatest leaders. He is a leader of leaders from whom thousands drew strength and hope."

"There is a realization that we have passed a terrible threshold. When such a man can be destroyed, power has become absolutely corrupt. With his death it is no longer questionable but the present that has become too ghastly to contemplate."

Dr. Nihato Mofana, chairman of the Committee of Ten: "I knew Steve well. He was a healthy, robust young man. I am shocked, even horrified. He is a leader of leaders from whom thousands drew strength and hope."

Mr W. O. Wilson, retired deputy chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, who knew Mr Biko well: "This is incredibly sad. It is the loss of a very great man. I am shocked, even horrified."

Mr M. D. Mofana, chairman of the Committee of Ten: "I knew Steve well. He was a healthy, robust young man. I am shocked, even horrified. He is a leader of leaders from whom thousands drew strength and hope."

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"Finally, Mr Kruger's statement does not explain why, even if he accepts the hunger strike theory, the Biko family was not informed and doctors of his choice not allowed access to him. In fact, I understand clearly from the family that three recent visits to him with the phone on which he was in good health."

The Bishop of Stepney, England, the Rev Trevor Hudson, said he was "disgraced" news.

He had not known Mr Biko personally but had an intimate knowledge of him from what he had been told by Sir Robert Botha and Father Athol Stoba.

"Here was a man who was one of the outstanding young black leaders in South Africa. There is no possibility why he should have died."

Mr Chris Matthews, British representative of the BAC, said yesterday: "We are preparing a statement today when it was hoped to have more details."

**For Senate**

In Washington, Senator Dick Clark, chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee, was preparing a statement he planned to give on the Senate floor.
ko's death 'like s of Kennedy''

The Argus Bureau

WASHINGTON. — The United States has reacted with a shock and revulsion to the death in detention of black leader Steve Biko that could have a devastating effect on relations between South Africa and America.

His death was called an "outrage" in the Senate, as "a major loss for the future of South Africa" at the United Nations and as "a matter of deep concern" at the State Department.

The State Department has labelled Biko as a "victim of the apartheid system" and demanded a full investigation into the circumstances of his death.

This follows a demand from Senator Dick Clark for an impartial board of inquiry to "examine thoroughly the circumstances surrounding his death" and make "full public declaration of all findings."

"AN OUTRAGE"

Senator Clark, powerful member of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, chairman of the committee's Africa sub-committee, said that Biko's death was an "outrage" that had to be condemned "in the strongest possible terms."

In a statement, the United States Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Andrew Young, said that no nation can afford to lose its "most dedicated and creative leadership" and yet prosper.

Even congressman Charles Diggs entered the arena. He also demanded an inquiry . . . but an international one.

"MAJOR LOSS"

Mr. Young said the sudden and tragic death of Mr. Steve Biko will prove to be a major loss for the future of South Africa.

"Because they could diagnose no physical problem, they recommended he be sent to the prison hospital for intensive examination," the minister said.

A specialist examined him the same day and on September 9 he was examined again by a doctor.
Biko outcry a Kruger explains

Mercury Correspondent 14/9/77

PRETORIA — Young Black political leader Mr. Stephen Biko died while in security police custody on Monday night, eight days after he began a hunger strike, says Minister of Justice Mr. Jimmy Kruger.

The minister told how Mr. Biko had refused meals and water from September 5 and how he had been examined by various doctors, sent to a prison hospital in Port Elizabeth, then back to police cells and then transferred to Pretoria where he died.

The minister's statement was released yesterday afternoon as State and private pathologists were due to conduct an autopsy in Pretoria and as the outcry started here and abroad.

He is the third person to die while being held by the police in the past few days. He was detained on August 18 under the Terrorism Act.

Mr. Biko, the founder and first president of Saso (South African Students' Organisation) in 1968-69 and honorary president of the Black People's Convention, was regarded as the radical force behind the Black Consciousness movement.

Mr. Jimmy Kruger gave this account yesterday of Mr. Biko's detention and death: "He was arrested on August 18 at a roadblock between Cape Town and King William's Town. "His arrest related to activities connected to riots in Port Elizabeth." He was detained at the Walmer police station in Port Elizabeth. During his detention a Magistrate visited him on September 2, according to law. "From September 5 he refused meals and threatened a hunger strike. He was regularly supplied with his meals and water which he refused. "The district surgeon was called in on September 7 after Mr. Biko appeared unwell. The doctor certified that he could find nothing wrong with Mr. Biko. "On September 8 the police arranged for the district surgeon as well as the chief district surgeon to examine him, and they recommended he be sent to the prison hospital for an intensive examination."

Protests

"He was examined by a specialist the same day and the following day examined by a doctor who kept him in hospital for Party, Mr. Colin Eglinton said he was "deeply shocked" at the news.

Mr. Biko was not the kind of man likely to take his own life, he told our Johannesburg Correspondent. "His death will have serious repercussions inside and outside South Africa."

Inside the country, Mrs. Helen Suzman, PFP MP, said Mr. Biko's death would be a great loss.

Mr. Ray Swart, chairman of the PFP, called for a judicial inquiry to erase all doubts inside and outside South Africa.

by last night Mr. Biko's death had sparked protests both at home and abroad.

Mr. Young, who compared his death to the loss to the United States of President John Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King and Senator Robert Kennedy, reports Sapa-Reuters.

In London, reports Sapa, Amnesty International, the non-governmental, international human rights movement, urged an immediate, open and independent inquiry into his death.

Speaking from Dakar, in Senegal the leader of the Progressive Federal
The Cape Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1977

A generation of martyrs

THE NEWS of the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko will be heard in numbered shock and disbelief by people in many parts of South Africa and further afield, who knew him as the outstanding young black leader of his generation. As a founder-member of the South African Students' Organization (SASO) Biko helped to launch the black consciousness movement, which he saw as a positive philosophy of self-respect and dignity, akin to the Afrikaner Nationalist political and cultural revival which followed the South African War. Students of black politics in South Africa believed that Biko was likely to make his mark in the years ahead. A young man gifted in intellect and personality and physically robust - a lock forward in his student rugby days - Biko had all the attributes of articulate leadership. The loss to the future ranks of leadership is immeasurable.

His death in detention raises once again all the questions that have been asked time after time in these columns and elsewhere in the last year or so about this country's infamous system of detention. On the statistics alone - the lengthening list of people who have died by their own hand or by other mysterious means - the South African detention system has become notorious throughout the civilized world. In spite of pointed remarks from the bench by judges of the Supreme Court and a public clamour for a judicial commission of inquiry - refused by the Minister of Justice - the system has continued in force unchanged and men have continued to die, some by their own hand, and others in circumstances which remain unexplained. In the process, martyrs are created, men who are held by their followers to have died for their convictions, giving their lives for their brothers. Mr Steve Biko was never convicted of any crime as indeed his friend, Mr Mapela Molapo, another victim of the system, was never convicted. Both these young men were torn away from their young families to spend long days and nights in solitary confinement, forbidden visits by anyone save their interrogators. Naturally, there is profound disquiet.

The Minister of Justice has stated that Mr Biko died after a hunger strike. But the onus is on the government to explain Mr Biko's death to the satisfaction of his wife and children, of his friends and the world at large. If the government cannot properly discharge this onus - in Mr Biko's case and in the others - it must rest content to be seen abroad as a regime which countenances methods usually associated with brutish totalitarian regimes of evil repute and memory. The only course is to appoint a judge of the Supreme Court to investigate the entire system of detention. Whatever security is to be found by the present system is delusory and short-lived indeed if it is founded on injustice and the creation of a generation of martyrs.

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Mr Kruger detailed how Mr Biko, 30, refused meals and water from September 3 and how he was examined by various doctors, then sent to a prison hospital in Port Elizabeth, taken back to police cells, and finally transferred to Pretoria where he died on the night of his arrival.

The minister's statement was released yesterday afternoon as state and private pathologists were due to conduct an autopsy on the body in Pretoria, and as a public outcry at Mr Biko's death began, both in South Africa and abroad.

Mr Biko was the twentieth person to die while held under security legislation by the police in the past 18 months. He was detained on August 18 this year and held under the Terrorism Act incommunicado.

Widespread grief, anger

- Mr Andrew Young
  (America's US representative)
  Major loss to South Africa.

- Mr Colin Eglin
  (Leader of the PPF)
  Death will have repercussions.

- Labour Party
  SA certainly the poorer.

- Chief Gatsha Buthelezi
  (Chief Minister of KwaZulu) Nobody detained is safe.

- Archbishop J P Fitzgerald
  Appeal for a full inquiry.

- Mr Lionel Murray
  (Spokesman for the NP)
  Call for judicial inquiry.

- Amnesty International
  Telegram to Kruger.

- Mr Myburgh Streicher
  (Leader of the SAP)
  Only post-mortem will tell.
Mr Kruger yesterday gave the following account of Mr Biko's detention and death:

"He was arrested with a coloured man (Mr Peter Jones) on August 18 at a roadblock between Cape Town and King William's Town. His arrest related to activities connected to riots in Port Elizabeth, and also for the drafting and distribution of pamphlets which incited arson and violence.

"He was detained at the Walmer police station in Port Elizabeth. During his detention a magistrate visited him on September 2, according to law.

"From September 3 he refused meals and threatened a hunger-strike. However, he was regularly supplied with his meals and water, which he refused.

"The district surgeon was called in on September 7 after he appeared unwell. The doctor certified that he could find nothing wrong with Mr Biko.

"On September 8 the police arranged for the district surgeon as well as the chief district surgeon to examine him, and because they could diagnose no physical problem, they recommended he be sent to the prison hospital for an intensive examination.

"He was examined by a specialist the same day and..."
Biko death

Continued from page 1

the following day examined by a doctor who kept him in hospital for observation. On September 11 Mr Biko was removed from the prison hospital to the Pretoria police station on the rec

ommendations of the district surgeon.

"By Sunday he had still not eaten and still appeared to be unwell. After consultation with the district surgeon it was decided to transfer him to Pretoria.

He was taken to Pretoria the same night. The next day, Sunday September 12, he was again examined and medically treated by a district surgeon in Pretoria. He died the same night.

Six cases

At the time of his arrest Mr Biko, father of two small children, was restricted to the district of King William's Town after being banned for five years in July 1973.

The State brought six cases against him. He fought four of them successfully and two were pending. Most dealt with breaches of his banning order.

Mr Biko was detained by the security police in August last year and held under the Terrorism Act in East London. He was released after 101 days.

He was refused a passport in 1975, to attend a congress in Germany on conflict in South Africa. More recently, he turned down a visit to the United States made by the US Government in protest at its policy on South Africa. Both Mr Andrew Young, US Ambassador to the UN, and US Senator Dick Clark visited Mr Biko when in South Africa.

Mr Biko was an executive member of the Black Community Programme (BCP) and worked as a field officer for the group till the State extended his restriction order to prevent him working for the BCP.

A short service, attended by about 200 people, was yesterday held in Brangfontein and conducted by Dr Wolfran Kisner, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) director of justice and reconciliation division.

In his message, Dr Kisner said Mr Biko was "one of the country's greatest leaders."

Embrace

Dr Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute, said the name of Mr Biko has been added to the list of martyrs. Dr Naude said: "We pray that what Steve stood for should multiply in us so that one day we should embrace each other as brothers and sisters, so that one day we should march to the freedom of all."

A statement from the SACC said: "We mourn the death of Steve Biko in detention; we mourn the continued deaths of detainees. We also mourn the death of the rule of law in this country which makes it possible for people to be hauled off in the middle of the night, spirited to unknown places of detention and only for families to be told - as was this case with Mr Biko - that he had died in detention.

We do not know when last his family had seen him since his detention; we do not know why he was held.

"The SACC once again expresses its concern and prays that its constituent churches will show even more concern than they have before on the plight of detentions without trial and the controversial deaths that have occurred so far."

The death of Mr Biko will be commemorated today at an inter-denominational service in the Grahamstown Cathedral of St Michael and St George.

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BIKU DIES IN DETENTION

WE SALUTE A HERO OF THE NATION

SIKHAHLELA INDO DA YAMADODA

335 Detention
D.D. 19/9/77
I have just received the news that my most valued friend, Steve Biko, has died in detention.

His loss will be felt by many, not only by those who knew him well, but by all South Africans and by those who respect human dignity. He was a man of great intellect and compassion, and his death is a great loss for the country.

His words were powerful and his actions were brave. He never shied away from the truth, even when it was inconvenient. He fought for justice and equality, and his legacy will live on for generations to come.

We must continue to fight for what he believed in, and to remember the sacrifices he made. Steve Biko was a true hero, and his spirit will continue to inspire us all.

Rest in peace, Steve Biko. You will be deeply missed.
Death of a martyr

Any South Africans are in mourning today. Steve Biko is dead. The nation as lost a great man, a person who represented the best aspirations of a few South Africans — a South Africa freed of racial discrimination, detention without trial and unexplained deaths in detention. Now he is dead, himself the victim of racial discrimination, detention without trial. He is just another person among those who died mysteriously in detention.

Steve Biko was known personally by thousands and admired by millions. He was undoubtedly one of the most influential leaders this country has ever seen. Now he is dead and many a light will have gone out from their lives.

Steve Biko knew persecution and harassment, banning and detention without trial. Yet he was always courteous, always a man of reason. His politics — it was not for nothing he was known as the father of the black consciousness movement — may not have suited our pro tempore rulers, but he was never in any conceivable way a threat to the security of the state.

If he had been, he would have been put on trial and convicted. Why else was he detained so often and for so long? Yet even after being in special branch custody for months on end, he was never charged with any offence which could possibly justify those long spells in detention.

He was charged earlier this year with subornation to perjury — and after a lengthy trial cleared of all charges. He was also charged with at least two counts of breaking his banning order. Those cases will never come before the courts now because Mr. Biko is dead. Because he was proved innocent on one charge, because he must be presumed innocent of breaking his banning order and because he was never charged with any more serious offence — let alone convicted — Steve Biko must be regarded as a victim of the kind of society South Africa has become.

He has become a victim of the society he tried to change. And although he is dead, his ideas will live on. While South Africa mourns today, that should be remembered. Steve Biko should be remembered as he would like to be remembered — a man who wanted love and reconciliation, not bitterness and hatred.

There will be justifiable anger at his death. But that energy should be channelled into working for the kind of South Africa he wanted, not into any violence or unrest. Steve Biko was a man of peace. Let him be remembered in the days and years ahead as he lived.
A tribute to Steve Biko

The many different faces of Steve Biko
I have just received the news that my most valued friend, Steve Biko, died in detention.

He was detained more than once. He experienced solitary confinement more than once. He was tortured and his cells were searched. He endured everything that could bring him down and he did not let it bring him down. And he did it again and again. His strength and courage were beyond anything I have ever experienced.

But that is not the story of the African who was in detention. That is the story of the African who was tortured and beaten. That is the story of the African who was put in solitary confinement. That is the story of the African who was denied access to his lawyer. That is the story of the African who was denied access to his food. That is the story of the African who was denied access to his family.

The African who was in detention was not the person who was tortured and beaten. The African who was in detention was the person who was denied access to his lawyer. The African who was in detention was the person who was denied access to his food. The African who was in detention was the person who was denied access to his family.

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death of a very dear comrade.

Mr Ray Swart, chairman of the Progressive People's Party, called for a judicial inquiry to erase all doubts about the death and outside of South Africa on the causes of the deaths in detention.

"I believe this is a case of once and for all the need for a judicial inquiry into the full-scale public service," said the PPF member.

Dr Alex Boraine, PFP Member for Pinelands, agreed that it was a case of once and for all, but he warned that Steve Biko was dead. Now that I have heard some of the sorrows' details, I am now aware that Steve Biko didn't die - he was killed by the system.

"I believe that the system is responsible for this death. I believe that the system is responsible for the death of a very dear comrade, a man who was passionate. They will no longer find reasonable men in the system," said Mr Mbulu Nkomo, South African party MP, said, only the post-mortem gave the cause of death and told all South Africans about what had caused Mr Biko's death. If Mr Kruger did not agree to the post-mortem, he would be held responsible immediately.

Mr Fred van Wyk, director of the Institute of Race Relations, described the death as a "great tragedy" for all South Africans.

"He was a great man. The system can only repeat its appeal to the people for a judicial commission of inquiry into the causes of the deaths in detention."

The New Republic Party MP for East London City, Mr Thabo Kgare, condemned the report that Mr Kruger resigned immediately.

"The minister of justice is expected to guide the justice system of our country and not one of the leaders of a democratic society," he said.

Mr Bell said that if the report was true, then the death of a highly rated leader of BPC would be an absolute tragedy.

"If this report is true, then the death of BPC's leader has been consistently linked to the deaths of other members of the Executive Committee and I have come to the conclusion that the action of the Nationalist government is the greatest threat to any hope of peaceful coexistence in South Africa."

"As the Minister of Justice has failed to report on the death of the BPC leader, the system of the BPC is corrupt and requires investigation," he said.

The 20 have died in 18 months

JOHANNESBURG - In the 18 months since March last year, 20 people have been killed while in detention by the Security Police.

The crimes included: 17 murders, one suicide, one rape and one murder by police custody. Three men died in August: Bayempi Masi, who died in Durban on August 1; David Hafejee, who died in Durban on August 3; and Mr El Nasser, who died in Cape Town on August 1.

So far only the cause of death of Mr Loza, a stroke, has been given by the police.

According to the police, the 22 deaths seven were suicide as a result of hanging, while three were the result of the detainees' jumping or falling from high buildings.

According to the SA Institute of Race Relations, the police have given the cause of death of 18 of the 20 people, including: 16 of the 17 murders, one suicide, one rape and one murder.

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The BPC statement today

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He said the BPC deeply mourned the death of Mr Biko, the"which has come at a time when the black consciousness philosophy is taking the initiative in the black community." He said Mr Biko was one of the most articulate and knowledgeable black consciousness and was a founder member of the BPC, whose death had nurtured and propagated black consciousness.

Commemorative service

GRAHAMSTOWN - There will be a special commemorative service at the Anglican Cathedral here at 1 PM today following Mr Biko's death.

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Dossier of deaths

AS FAR as can be ascertained, 44 people have died in detention under security laws since 1963, according to records kept by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Here is a list of the deaths, compiled from the SAIRR report:

- Looksmart Ngudle, died 5.9.63. Inquest verdict: "Suicide, hanging."
- Bellington Mampe, September 63, died 140 days after his detention. No further details given.
- James Tytta, 24.1.64. Found hanging in cell by scarf. No details of inquest.
- Sultan Saloojee, 9.6.64. Fell seven floors from the Grays, then Security Police headquarters in Johannesburg. Death from multiple injuries, "no irresistible force." No details of inquest.
- Penganosha Hoye, 9.6.65. "Death from natural causes." No further details.
- Hangulu Shoneyeka, 9.10.66. "Suicide." Death mentioned by the Minister of Justice in 1967 without mentioning identity; Shoneyeka's name given by Minister of Police in 1970 as one who committed suicide on 9.10.66.
- Ab Yan, 9.1.67. Died Silverton police cells. "Suicide by hanging." No details of inquest given.
- On 22.1.69, a case was mentioned in Parliament involving a detainee whose date of death and identity were not given.
- Cause of death "unknown."

Nicozidmas Kgoathe, 5.2.69. Post-mortem showed broncho-pneumonia, possibly as result of minor head injury; bruises and abrasions from having "slipped in shebeen." Doctor believed these injuries were due to assault. At inquest magistrate said that on evidence before him, he was unable to record a finding.


- Died H F Verwoerd Hospital, Pretoria.
- James Koloe, 10.3.69. Traces of copper shock in toe; bruises below ear, marks on neck, shoulder; haemorrhage at base of skull. Magistrate found "suicide by hanging" and death not due to offence on part of anyone. Died Pretoria prison local police.
- Claas Mayekiso, 1.6.69. "Natural cause." No further details available.


- Jacob Monnagotla, 10.9.69, in Pretoria. District surgeon found he died from "thrombosis.
- Imam Abdullah Baron, 27.9.69. Died Maitland, Cape, police cells. "Fell downstairs"; 26 bruises of different ages; broken rib; haematoma on back. Inquest magistrate unable to determine how balance of injuries sustained; but detainee died of heart trouble partly brought on by injuries.
- Mthayeni Cuthelsa, 21.7.71. First detained 21.12.70. Apparently allowed home then re-detained. From Pondoland, he was brought to Umtata hospital where his son fetched his body. Face swollen, bruised, weals on body, cut on head. Death due to natural causes was verdict of inquest on 8.7.71.

Joseph Mduli, 19.3.76. No Further details given. Mrs Mduli is suing Minister and Commissioner of Police for R5 000.

- Mapetla Mohapi, 5.7.66. No details given.
- Unknown black man, 6.10.76. Reported that police investigating death in Carleton police cells; believed man had head injuries; spokesman indicated allegations of assault involved in investigation.
- Edward Mxolo, 40. 9.10.76. Detained at The Fort 1.10.76. Allegedly died in detention.
- William Ndebele, 14.10.76. Arrested with other students at Modder B jail. No further details.
- Ernest Mamusi, 18.11.76. No further details.

Wellingtoin Munisile Tshabane, 11.12.76. Stated held in connection explosion Carlton Centre.

- George Both, 14.12.76. No details available.
- Dr Naisongh Nshushu, 9.1.77. No details given.
- Lawrence Ndzabga, 9.1.77. His wife also in detention. About to appear on charge when he died. No details given on cause of death.
- Elmer Matlele, 20.1.77. Detained after explosion in house at Pinville, Soweto. Wife also detained. No details on death.

Mathebe Marwale Mbelane, 15.2.77. Parents informed early in February that he was in detention. Aged 22.

- Twasifane Jobi, 12.2.77. No details given.
- Samuel Malinga, 22.2.77, in Maritzburg. Death due to "natural causes.
- Phakemile Availe, 7.7.77, in Kimberley. Aged 27. Fell from 6th floor of Kimberley police station.
- Eliza Loza, 1.8.77, in Cape Town. Inquest still to be held.

Hosen Haffejee, a dentist, in Durban on August 3 this year. Inquest still to be held.

Bayempi Emzizi, August this year. Inquest still to be held.

Total: 44 dead.

September 12, Steve Biko dies. Cause of death not stated.

- Two deaths of which seemed to be "political" suspects,
- but stated by Prisons Department spokesman to be awaiting trial prisoners, involved:
- Jacob Mashabane, 22, of Dube, Soweto. Student at Ngue University, Zululand. Found in his cell at The Fort on 5.10.76, "having committed suicide." Stated he would face charges of theft. Family performed funeral from 17th October to enable private post-mortem.
- Fenell Mogatuli, 22, said to have died on 20.9.76 from "natural causes" as result of suffocation from epileptic fit. Had been in detention since July. Stated he would face robbery charge.
Finest person I knew: Stubbs

MASERU — Fr Alered Stubbs former principal of the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice and for many years a friend of the Biko family, heard the news of Steve Biko’s death in Lesotho.

Fr Stubbs, whose visa facilities were withdrawn two months ago by order of the Minister of the Interior, issued this statement:

"Until now I have kept silence, because of the representations being made by the British Government and by the Archbishop of Cape Town and other church leaders in South Africa and Britain for the restoration of my visa facilities.

"But now I can keep silence no longer. Steve Biko was the finest human being I have known. He has been to me a son, a leader, and a friend. He is my brother in Christ. He had proved himself fit to take his place with Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe and the true leaders, not of the blacks only, but of all the people of South Africa.

"If I pray to God for forgiveness for those responsible for his death. They stand before his judgment seat now. Unless they repent they will never again know peace. The Vorster Government has put itself beyond the pale of civilisation, together with Russia and all other tyrannies where people are treated as things.

"I will return to the land I love when I am invited to do so by the true representatives of its people. Meanwhile I pray for South Africa before the cross of Christ." — DDR.

Address, Chamber of Mines Rhodesia, 9 April 1975.

Following statement is found: 'the availability of both now and in the future, has become much more since the government permitted Wenela to recruit from South African mines. This decision, which could have occurred in the mining industry, were made without notification with the Chamber. This was a grave departure from normal procedures but I am assured that it averted the more unfortunate consequences which were avoided by the co-operative attitude adopted 23 January 1975: Business and Financial Review, 24 April 1975.

The reported fall off in production noted in Grain Annual Report 1975, Salisbury.


atives in Salisbury explained these reasons as: ground work, being 'trouble makers' and being 'dis-
titled'.

and W.J. Breytenbach, The Black Worker of South Africa, No. 26, Pretoria, 1975, p.15, report a figure of 11 000 workers as reported by the 1970 Census in South Africa. They s Dept. of Bantu Affairs figures are much same, see Rhodesia Herald, 3 April 1976.

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Dean asks for inquiry

By Michael de Kock

EAST LONDON — The Dean of the Anglican Church of Grahamstown, the Rt Rev Kenneth Orman, said yesterday:

"We are concerned when any of our brother Christians suffer. Steve Biko's death, coming so soon after that of youth worker Phakamile Mahla, is bound to send Christians in this diocese to pray that justice may be seen and be done.

"After so many similar deaths of prisoners and detainees while undergoing interrogation, Synod asks the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, to set up a judicial inquiry into the reported fall off in production noted in Grain Board, Annual Report 1975, Salisbury.

The section are extracted from the Agreement contained on one page of the contract form signed by each contractee. Additional perspectives came from Wenela propaganda handed to contractees (documents in the vernacular translated by Wilbert Garaba).


Wenela representatives in Salisbury explained these reasons as: dislike of underground work, being 'trouble makers' and being 'disturbed' and 'unsettled'.

G.M.E. Leistner and W.J. Breytenbach, The Black Worker of South Africa, Africa Institute No. 26, Pretoria, 1975, p.15, report a figure of 11 000 black Rhodesian workers as reported by the 1970 Census in South Africa. This is undoubtedly low. Dept. of Bantu Affairs figures are much higher. For example, see Rhodesia Herald, 3 April 1976.

I am grateful to Nicholas Dziva who conducted the interviews in the vernacular.

When starting operations, the Acting Manager of Wenela (Mr. N.D. Nicolle) conducted an on the spot review of unemployment in and around Salisbury. From this cursory investigation, he was well-satisfied as to the extensive evidence of urban unemployment in Salisbury. It is also worth reporting the comment of the President of the South African Chamber of Mines that an off-take of 20 000 contractees 'would not make a dent in the local labour market'.

See Business Herald, 6 February 1976; and Financial Mail, 9 May 1975.

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It is an interesting point to be recorded that, according to the General Manager of Wenela in Rhodesia, the publication of political news indicating heightening of the local political crisis and/or possibility of change has brought about immediate fall-off in recruitment intake levels.

...
Journalists reject Kruger statement

EAST LONDON — It would be a tragedy if anyone, other than the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, and his security police, accepted responsibility for the prosecution of Mr. Steve Biko, who died in detention, said Mr. Vence yesterday.

Mr. Vence disagreed with the view of the Union of Black Journalists, Mr. Charles Nqakula, who said yesterday that Mr. Nqakula, who added the union's view to the list of comments on the death of the black consciousness leader who died in detention on Monday, added: "I would be a great shame if all South Africans do not condemn outright the country's system of detention without trial and call for the immediate end of this callous practice." He said if anyone should be answering questions at the present it was all those connected with Mr. Biko's detention.

"Whether we would like to be convinced — as so many of us are — that Mr. Biko was killed by the system, or we accept Mr. Kruger's version, the fact is that the death was because he was in detention."

He condemned Mr. Kruger's accusations made after Mr. Biko had died.

"This shows Mr Kruger and his system for what it is and all of it stinks," he added.

"The rot will not be found among the likes of Steve Biko but among the persecutors of those who denounce the system; those who denounce the inhuman system of apartheid," Mr. Nqakula said.

He said any suggestions that Mr. Biko propagated an illegal cause would be treated with the contempt they deserved.

"A number of us who have known Steve personally know he was opposed to black consciousness. In Venda, the very organisation he helped establish, the Black Peoples Congress, has no military ambitions." He said South Africa had shown Mr. Biko's death and the system responsible for it.

From Canberra, Australia, the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation telegraphed the Du
day Dispatch to say Mr. Biko's death "was a national humiliation and would "lead to official government protests and hostile receptions for the South African Ambas
dator."

Catholics shocked

EAST LONDON — The Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Rev. John P. Murphy, and the Catholic clergy of the Border area issued a statement yesterday following the shock death of black consciousness leader, Mr. Steve Biko.

"I was deeply shocked by the tragic news of Mr. Steve Biko's untimely death, and especially the circumstances in which it occurred."

"We wish to express our sincere condolences to his wife and family in their great loss," the statement said.

JFK comparison slated

PRETORIA — The Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, criticised the American Ambassador Andrew Young's comment on Mr. Biko's death.

Mr. Young had said Mr. Biko's death could be compared to the death of Pres Kennedy.

"I am amazed that he could compare these two people," Mr. Biko had told a Nude Privilege in 1970 that "there can be no change through evolution. The only change that can come about is through revolution." Mr. Kruger said at the National Congress yesterday.

Mr. Young had been correctly reported, and in the light of Mr. Biko's remarks, "then one wonders what supporters of the late Pres Kennedy would say about Mr. Young's remarks," he said.

Delay in autopsy findings

PRETORIA — The findings of the pathologist who conducted the post-mortem on Mr. Biko will not be known until this afternoon.

"The physical examination conducted by Prof. D. Loubser, the chief pathologist, ended at 4.30 p.m. yesterday."

Prof. Loubser conducted the examination yesterday, and said at 11.45 a.m. that objection to the findings will be submitted.

They asked that the pathologist be allowed to go on with the post-mortem on behalf of the family.

Prof. Loubser said his autopsy had resumed at 2 p.m. with Dr. J. de Glucksman, a Johannesburg pathologist, and a technical assistant, by examining the Biko family's behalf.

The important aspects of the autopsy had already been performed after 2 p.m. while Dr. Glucksman, his technical assistant and Prof. Simon had been in attendance.

Black Sash ask: Why?

JOHANNESBURG — The Black Sash movement staged a protest yesterday against the University of the Witwatersrand University for the killing of Mr. Biko.

The women are taking part in a one-hour protest. They declared their vigil not to correspond to the Racial Assemblies Act.

Mrs. Joyce Harris, an ex
cutive member of the Black Sash started the vigil at 7 p.m. last night. — SAPA.
Chiefer Mandela: He died

Mandela's death shocks over death

US expresses its

DAILY DISPATCH, THURSDAY, SE

EAST LONDON — The

Bishop: A Leader Lost

Bishop Bonn from the statement from the Christian Church as a world of deep concern in his own words. "The leader who was the voice of South Africa has passed on."

Mr. Mandela's death has left a deep sense of loss and grief. The world mourns his passing, and his legacy lives on.

EAST LONDON — The

Reader: A Black Perspective

Reader: A Leader Lost

In the struggle against apartheid, Mr. Mandela was a symbol of hope and inspiration to millions of South Africans. His leadership and vision for a democratic, free South Africa will be profoundly missed.

EAST LONDON — The

Too Young

Mandela: He died

EAST LONDON — The
Yet being human, Einstein understood these moments and his followers to be important. After all, he was a scientist and a philosopher, and his work on relativity and quantum mechanics changed the way we understand the universe.

On the other hand, the World War II was a catalyst for the advancement of physics, especially in the field of nuclear physics. The Manhattan Project, which led to the development of the atomic bomb, was a significant event in the history of science.

In conclusion, the contributions of Einstein and his contemporaries to the field of physics have had a profound impact on the development of modern science and technology.
AN INQUEST court will in due course establish the cause of Mr. Stephen Biko’s death, but it is already evident that the fact of it gives fresh urgency to the oft-repeated message that only a full judicial inquiry can remove the dark cloud of suspicion that hangs over the system of Security Police detention in South Africa.

Mr. Biko was the 19th detainee to die in custody in the past 18 months. That is an alarming and unacceptable stain on the record of a society that still reveres its democratic institutions and seeks to uphold the standards of Western civilisation. Whatever a man may have done, he should be safe in a police station.

The Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, who says that Mr. Biko died in hospital eight days after beginning a hunger strike, is showing more concern than hitherto about the effect of these deaths on the image of the police and the country, but he is still refusing a judicial inquiry.

“What are you trying to prove?” he asks. Can he really be unaware that after 19 deaths in as many months his credibility as a Minister is seriously at stake, or say nothing of the trust and confidence that the public should have in the custodians of law and order?

Mr. Kruger’s argument that there is always an inquest, which is a judicial inquiry, will not do. What is urgently needed is a thorough investigation of all aspects of detention by a commission with wider powers and terms of reference than any inquest magistrate has.

As a banned person since 1973, Mr. Biko may not be quoted even in death. But there is no doubt that he had authentic qualities of leadership and intellect. For large numbers of young Blacks he was the symbol of a new Black consciousness, pride and dignity. He was in and out of detention several times but was never convicted of any offence in a court of law.

Time may show that in a complex country that needs leaders rather than martyrs, Stephen Biko’s death was a tragedy for Blacks and Whites alike.

As for the storm of protest overseas, it is something of a backhanded compliment to South Africa that so much concern should be directed at a country that has about one percent of all the “political” detainees in Africa while little or nothing is said about the fate of tens of thousands of others obscured in totalitarian darkness elsewhere on the continent.
For the first time, the tradition of the Qalaqwa is observed in the presence of the Queen and other members of the royal family. The ceremony was held at the Palace, where the Queen was joined by members of the royal family and other dignitaries. The ceremony included the presentation of a wreath to the Queen, followed by speeches from various dignitaries. The ceremony was followed by a procession through the streets of the city, with the Queen and other members of the royal family leading the way. The procession was accompanied by music and dancing, and was a joyous occasion for the people of the city. Overall, the ceremony was a moving and memorable event, and a fitting tribute to the traditions of the Qalaqwa.
Kruger

ARGUS 15/4/77

‘unfit to hold office’

—Swartz

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — The handing over of the deposit to the leader of the Economic History is its findings. Economic historians have not looked for new fields of study but have been busy analyzing the long-term economic effects of the Civil War. The economic effects of the Civil War are not economic history alone. A second look at some of the economic history revealed interesting new conclusions.

Mr Ray Swart

Death by hunger strike

BOB HITCHCOCK, who served in two countries with the British Colonial Police and Prisons, in the 1940s, recalls the special assignment in which he fasted for some days on Signal Hill with the Rev Bernie Wrankmore, who was protesting against political detentions without trial.

Forced-feeding of "prisoners on hunger strike" is an acknowledged practice in many Western countries today. If the prisoner refuses liquids as well, a simple drip is used to hydrate him, introducing glucose and chemicals such as potassium, calcium and other chemicals. A trained medical orderly can administer this.

The British Colonial Police were meticulous about this in all the hot-spot situations in which they served - Palestine, Malaya, Aden, to mention a few.

The process of forcing the prisoner was not pleasant. He had to be a known terrorist, with blood on his hands.

The standing order was: When a prisoner goes on hunger strike, call in a medical expert on to admit artificial feeding before the prisoner shows signs of ill-health.

This was done not strictly out of humanity, but to protect the police and prison authorities from inevitable public criticism if the prisoner died.

I recall occasions in Palestine in the 1940s - in the Central Prison in the Russian Compound in Jerusalem - when the authorities called the Press as well as a medical expert in cases of hunger strikes by Stern Gang guerrillas.

In that way there were independent witnesses to the efforts of the authorities to keep hunger strikers nourished.

Similar techniques are used today by the British authorities in Ulster, Eire and England to combat "fasts to the death" by detained members of the IRA, though often some prisoners succeeded in their bids.

Mr Biko would feel uncomfortable at the notion of a punishment that strikes at the conscience. He was a one-time senior police officer in Ulster and Aden explained: "They protect the authorities from public backlash if the prisoner dies.

It is virtually impossible for a fit man of 30 years of age to die from hunger after seven days without food or liquid.

In that period he takes no liquids, dehydration could at least cause hallucinations.

A leading Johannesburg physician tells me: "After ten days to a fortnight without liquids you would be in a bad way, though if you were very fit and healthy you might survive that long.

The weight of a person when he starts a fast is highly relevant to how long he will survive. Biko was a fairly heavily-built young man. Bernie Wrankmore was a creature of good health, and still maintains that he did it because "God intimated to me that there was a stand to take on a vital issue.""

In a telephone conversation yesterday, he told me: "It’s not the Christian Institute and other bodies of that kind that need official probing, it’s the deaths in detention issue.

With his hunger strike, Bernie Wrankmore was in good company. The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, once went on one, too.

He was a young attorney then and a "general" in the Ossewabrandwag. General Smuts’ security police arrested him for allegedly harbouring a fugitive wartime interest.

Mr Vorster was locked up in a police cell and when his demands for a trial failed he fasted as a protest.

After a few days he was sent to Koffiefontein internment camp in the Free State, where he broke his hunger strike.

In 1957 A H O Selby, former general-secretary of the African Textile Workers’ Union, staged a hunger strike lasting 14 days. He fasted as a mark of sympathy with bus boycotters and also as a protest against the Government’s attitude to the boycott.

In 1969 Mrs Susan Gandhi, daughter-in-law of Mahatma Gandhi, fasted in Durban for five days in the hope that detainees would be released.

There have been many other protest hunger strikes in South Africa, several of them in protest against imprisonment without trial.

The protest fast is a weapon that strikes at the conscience.

Mahatma Gandhi, of course, was the most famous of all the hunger strikers during his campaign of passive resistance.

The longest recorded hunger strike in a prison was of 94 days. Of the ten Irish rebels who took part in the Cork Prison, Eire - nine survived.

On the 76th day, that was in 1920. In the same year a Sim Fein man, Terence MacSwiney, playwright, Mayor of Cork and an MP, died after a 72-day fast as a political protest.

At the inquest on the cause of death the jury found hæad to have been from "brain failure and acute delirium, following scurvy, due to exhaustion from a prolonged refusal to take food."

More recently, both the Irish and British authorities have generally woken up to the fact that force-feeding is the clever thing to do with the determined IRA hunger-striker in police or prison custody.

The last death from fasting in a British jail was on February 12, 1975 when Francis Sarges died in Wakefield Prison - but after a 61-day hunger-strike.
DURBAN. — Two people, Mr George Sithole, banned secretary of the Umlazi residents' association, and a woman, Miss Marion Zeeman, 32, were held for questioning by the security police here.

Miss Zeeman was arrested at her parents' home on Tuesday night and taken to police headquarters. She was released yesterday morning.

Mr Sithole was banned for five years in terms of the Internal Security Act in December last year following his release after four months in detention under the act.

He was restricted to Umlazi under the banning order.

SAPA

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For the interpretation of the inventory of will land

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on multispectral photography. NASA-USDA Foreign and Konge

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KNILLING, P. B., 1970. Physical and physiological basis for the


142
Biko 'leaves me cold'

Continued from page 1

Mr Young, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, on the death of Mr Biko. Mr Young compared the death to the deaths of President John Kennedy and US civil rights leader Martin Luther King. Mr Kruger said: "If he is correctly reported . a person wonders what the millions of supporters of the late Kennedy would say about that comment."

Describing Mr Biko as an advocate of violent change, Mr Kruger added: "What does Mr Young think of a person who does not want change through evolution but through violence."

Mr Kruger defended the failure of the police to force-feed Mr Biko -- on the grounds that had they touched him they would have faced accusations of a different sort. "If I was them, I would have said, 'do not touch him'. I would have said 'call a doctor'.

A speaker from the floor, Mr Chris Venter of Springs, had earlier hailed Mr Kruger as a man who allowed prisoners the democratic right of change not to eat.

During his speech, Mr Kruger commented: "It is very true what Mr Venter said. It is a democratic country.

Mr Biko, Mr Kruger continued, decided to go on a hunger strike after deliberating for 15 minutes on September 5 on whether to answer questions put to him by security police. During his detention in Pretoria, Mr Biko was examined by the district surgeon and the chief district surgeon, and on his transfer to prison in Pretoria, by the Pretoria district surgeon, Mr Kruger said.

Mr Kruger described how a prison warden in Pretoria looked through a peephole into the cell to see Mr Biko lying very still. "He did not touch him. Touch him and they say your fingerprints are there," Mr Kruger said.

the 1970 Nusas conference by Mr Biko, who died in detention on Monday night after an eight-day hunger strike.

"There can be no change through revolution," Mr Kruger quoted Mr Biko as saying. "The only change that can come about is through revolution. The time and the people have never been as ready as now."

Mr Kruger went on to take issue with the reported

Continued on page 2
CONFIRMATION

For the Confirmation I know that the Sunday 23rd, will be attended by many who will all been confirmed by this service.

It is to attend class preparation because some very regular to come with the encouragement to have by will continue to have by.

Probable is that many parents be to instruction confirmed. I encourage this the past and of the Church to encourage their attention to the preparation they have be able to influence them to become regular and faithful members of Christ's Church.

Biko - The Greatest Man I Have Ever Known

by Donald Woods
The death of Biko, a Black student at the University of Fort Hare, in 1977, led to widespread protests and demonstrations across South Africa. The incident highlighted the plight of oppressed students and the struggle for educational rights. The government's response was brutal, with police resorting to violence to suppress the growing unrest. The incidents at Fort Hare became a symbol of the wider struggle against apartheid. The protests and demonstrations continued, with students organizing and demanding reforms. The death of Biko and the subsequent protests paved the way for future generations to build on his legacy, fighting for freedom and equal rights for all. Today, his memory is honored as a testament to the power of nonviolent resistance in the fight against oppression.
Government's priority on the case of 'Steve Biko' must be seriously questioned.

"Of course," he continued, "the question to be answered is why Steve Biko and other black opponents of apartheid are in detention in the first place."

Mr. Diggie called for an internationally-sanctioned investigation into the death of Mr. Biko and the treatment of other political detainees in South African prisons.

In Johannesburg the British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir David Scott, said he had learnt with "profound shock of the tragic death of Mr. Steve Biko", the honorary president of the Black People's Convention.

Addressing a meeting of the Foreign Press Association, Sir David said:

"We do not yet know the full circumstances of his death, but it can only disappoint those who, like Mr. Biko, did firmly believe in a non-violent solution to South Africa's problems.

"I believe this is a sad day for all South Africans, both black and white."

* Lone members of the Black Sash started vigils opposite the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg yesterday with the placard "Steve Biko is dead - why?". The women took turns in one-hour shifts. Their vigils were alone in an attempt to protest without contravening the Racial Assemblies Act.

* The executive committee of the WP Council of Churches sent a telegram to the Secretary for Justice, Mr. J. P. J. Coetzee yesterday, expressing "deep shock at the death in detention of Steve Biko", and calling for an immediate judicial inquiry into it and other such deaths.

* The Coloured Representative Council unanimously adopted a motion of concern yesterday at the death of Mr. Biko and called for a judicial investigation.

* Roman Catholic students of the University of Cape Town attended a requiem Mass for Mr. Biko, held in Kolbe House yesterday afternoon by Father Moses Matolaengwe.

A mass meeting is planned at UCT at 1pm today. It will be addressed by the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr. Donald Woods, and a former Nasser president, Mr. Charles Nupen.

Mass meetings are planned at Wit-in Johannesburg and at the University of Natal in Durban.

* The Progressive Federal Party will hold a protest meeting in the Claremont Civic Centre next Wednesday, at 8:30pm. The speakers will be Mrs. Helen Suzman, Professor N. Olivier and Dr. Alex Borain. - Sapa-Reuters and Staff Reporters.

Noting that the aim was to be prepared for war against "fascist aggressors", Mr. Kruger commented: "That is rot, Sir."

Mr. Kruger went on to quote from another document calling for "poems that kill". It was issued by a black consciousness drama group.

The document said: "When white people read black poetry, it must sound like they are in a dark room and are hearing a voice threatening them. It must keep them upright."

Mr. Kruger then quoted from another document on Bantu education, which Mr. Kruger described as the product of "white intelligence and organization which was "given to them in love."

According to the document, the purpose of Bantu education was "stultification by education for domestication and subjugation". Documents like these "lay behind the trouble in Soweto schools", Mr. Kruger said.

To cheer the delegates, he added: "We seek peace. We seek progress. We want to help the people. Our hands are outstretched to help. They must not spit in the hand because then we will get really angry."
Chest operation on Sobukwe

Mr. ROBERT SOBUKWE, banned former leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, underwent a chest operation yesterday at the Groote Schuur Hospital.

Mrs. Veronica Sobukwe told the Cape Times that she had visited her husband after the operation, but he was still under sedation.

"My husband appeared to be all right, but I was told that the surgeon who had performed the operation wanted to see him tomorrow so that he could discuss the operation," Mrs. Sobukwe, a trained nurse, said.

"I don't know if Robert will have to undergo another operation. Before the operation he complained about chest pains. I still don't know what was wrong," she said.

Mr. Sobukwe, who was admitted to Groote Schuur Hospital on Monday, had to be given permission by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, to enter the hospital as he is a banned person and restricted to the Kimberley district.

When Mr. Sobukwe was given permission he was told he could go to any South African hospital of his choice and he chose Groote Schuur.


JACOIN, D. P. 1974. Air mass and circulation over the plateau and

JACKSON, S. P. 1976. Inland red photography as aid in ecological surveys.


VANCE CALLS FOR BIKO DEATH PROBE

GUY BERNARD

WASHINGTON — Steve Biko’s death was front-page news in Washington yesterday with the U.S. Government concerned and calling for a full investigation into the circumstances of his dying.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance issued a statement saying the United States was “shocked and saddened.”

He announced that the United States Government had “expressed deep concern to the South African Government over the circumstances in which this occurred without his family of his attorney being notified of any deterioration in the state of his health.

Investigations

“We believe that a full investigation into the circumstances surrounding Mr. Biko’s death is called for. Whatever the immediate cause he must be regarded as another victim of the apartheid system and the South African security legislation which supports that system.”

Senator Dick Clark, influential in shaping U.S. African policy, warned, “Failure of the South African Government to act promptly and effectively will likely result in further racial violence within South Africa and inevitably lead to a deterioration of relations between Pretoria and all members of the international community who stand for human decency.”

In a statement the Senate, Senator Clark called on “all those who stand for justice” to make the following appeals to the South African Government:

- To establish an impartial board of inquiry to thoroughly examine the circumstances surrounding Mr. Biko’s death and make full public declaration of all findings;
- To begin discussions with non-Government organisations like the Black People’s Convention on the subject of racial injustice and the constitutional structure of the country;
- To release immediately all political detainees or at the very least bring charges against them and allow them the right to be tried openly.

Moderate

Senator Clark was struck by Mr. Biko’s moderation and intelligence when the two met in South Africa last year.

The chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs African sub-committee went on: “Biko is the latest on the list of at least 20 persons who have died in South African prisons this year — and at least 23 who died last year.

These deaths have usually occurred in suspicious circumstances, often attributed to natural causes or to suicide.”

Senator Clark said the record of death in detention in the republic was “despicable.”

He said: “No observer of the South African scene can accept these flimsy explanations of what is more accurately a pattern of outright racial retribution, conducted by an authoritarian State which permits unconscionable attacks on the Black community.

Mr. Biko will now become a martyr in the struggle for racial equality in South Africa, a symbol of Black resistance to White oppression.”

A Mercury reporter says that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Kwazulu Chief Executive Minister, said yesterday that it would appear “that nobody detained by our police is safe.”

The death of Mr. Biko was “the most tragic incident of the system of apartheid. Only a country as mad as South Africa can waste such talent.”

“I am extremely distressed to hear of the death of Steve. I admired him greatly.

“Price that will have to be paid by this country for his death under those circumstances will be very high.”

“There have been many, many deaths in detention and we as Black people are convinced now that, for a Black man who enters a gaol it is almost like entering a grave.”

Mr. R. Ramesar, the NIC’s general secretary of the Natal Indian Congress said yesterday that Mr. Biko’s death followed a now very regular pattern of people losing their lives under conditions where they should be safe from harm.

“One begins to sense that this new zest for institutionalised violence against the Black people is quickening in the face of a government lacking any meaningful policy,” he said.

The report of the international commission, based on the statement of the South African commissioner, concludes that no evidence has been found to indicate any criminal action on the part of the police or other law enforcement agents.

The report states that the commission found no evidence to indicate any criminal action on the part of the police or other law enforcement agents.

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US slams death of Biko

BY MELANIE YAP

SHOCKED reaction to the death in detention of the black leader, Mr Steve Biko, mounted yesterday as the US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, called for a full investigation into the death of "another victim of the apartheid system".

As international calls for a public inquiry into all the circumstances surrounding Mr Biko's death gained momentum, South African organisations expressed condemnation and deep concern.

The Black People's Convention (BPC) said Mr Biko had not died in vain.

In Washington yesterday, Mr Vance said the United States was "shocked and saddened" by Mr Biko's death.

The United States Government had expressed "deep concern to the South African Government over the circumstances in which this occurred - without his family or his attorney being notified of any deterioration in the state of his health," Mr Vance said.

Mr Biko, 30, widely regarded as the founder of the black consciousness movement in South Africa, died in detention on Monday evening. The Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said Mr Biko died after refusing meals and water since September 5.

"We believe a full investigation into the circumstances surrounding Mr Biko's death is called for," Mr Vance said.

"Whatever the immediate causes, he must be regarded as another victim of the apartheid system and the South African security legislation which supports that system," Mr Vance said.

And in Johannesburg the South Africa Foundation, which seeks to promote South Africa's image overseas, said last night that the circumstances surrounding Mr Biko's death had been ineptly handled by Government officials.

The cartoon appeared to make fun of the tragedy of Steve Biko's death.
World shocked
at Biko death

FROM PAGE ONE

hour to make an end of apartheid," Bishop Thumbelgomery said from Bonn.

The assassination of Steve Biko means the end of apartheid and it is not strictly a political

Bishop in Munich, Radio Leipzig, who said that Mr Biko was a "gal-

lant son of South Africa".

The Basotho Government had asked South Africa to explain the "mysterious deaths" of detainees, the

bishops said.

Father Aagred Stubbs, former principal of the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice, said in Letshopo on the withering of his vision two months ago, "He had remained silent because of representa-
tions being made on his behalf, but Mr Biko's death had ended this.

"Steve Biko was the finest human being I've met. He had proved himself to a point, his presence was in the event, his voice was eloquent, his words were persuasive, his heart was compassionate, his

Mr Charles Ngulula, acting president of the Union of Black Journalists, said it would be a

tragedy if anyone - apart from Mr Kruger and his Security Police - accepted the explanation of Mr

"Biko's understanding of black consciousness was one of new dignity and respect, and never crude racism, the SACCO said.

The Black People's Convention (BPC) of which Mr Biko was honorary pre-
sident, said he and other black leaders had not died in vain.

"Mr Biko's death can only help to feed and fan the flames of liberation which can't be extinguished by reactionary forces which are at work against our struggle," the BPC said.

Mr R Ramesar, general secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, said Mr Biko's death followed what had become a regular pattern of loss of life.

The Coloured Representatives Council yesterday unanimously expressed its deep concern over the death of Mr Biko and called

a definition, but in order to ensure the assistance of fortune the previous humanists

Machiavelli deviated.

(8) Gilbert; p. 251; and

(9) Machiavelli; p. 251

(10) Cicero, quoted in Gilbert; p. 251

(11) Gilbert; p. 251

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
BIKO DEATH 'LEAVES ME COLD' SAYS MINISTER

Mercury Correspondent
PRETORIA — Mr. Steve Biko was a violent revolutionary whose death 'leaves me cold,' the Minister of Police, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, said yesterday.

Mr. Kruger told the Transvaal National Party Congress: "I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr. Biko. He leaves me cold.

He added: "I can say nothing to you. Any person who dies, I shall also be sorry if I die." (Laughter).

Mr. Kruger had earlier quoted from an address delivered to the 1970 Nusas conference by Mr. Biko, who died in detention after a seven-day hunger strike.

"There can be no change through revolution. The time and the people have never been as ready as now."

Mr. Kruger went on, to take issue with the reported comments of Mr. Andrew Young, United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

Mr. Young reportedly compared Mr. Biko's death to the deaths of President John Kennedy and Martin Luther King.

Mr. Kruger said: "If he is correctly reported, Mr. Young wonders what the millions of supporters of the late President Kennedy would say about that comment.

Describing Mr. Biko as an advocate of violent change, Mr. Kruger added: "What does Mr. Young think of a person who does not want change through evolution but through violence."

Mr. Kruger later defended the police's action to force feed Mr. Biko in Pretoria City Hall to cries of "sies" and "vulged." When they reached the entrance to the hall a harry man told them to "volut." As the two women, Mrs. Jill Wentzel, Transvaal chairwoman of the Black Sash, and Mrs. Esther Levittain, national secretary, got into their car several delegations pursued them.

There was no violence, but their car number was taken and a warning given: "we'll get you. You are looking for trouble. This is not Soweto."
Minister on Biko

Expressing the hope that his "South African" friends would take note, Mr. Kruger went on to quote from a "secret" document which he had not quoted before. Among the items of the "secret document" were:
- The counterinsurgency and silencing of racist propaganda;
- The tearing down of "illusion of racial order;"
- The violent destruction of international and national capitalism; and
- The undermining of "bourgeois institutions" in South Africa; and
- The building of a "people's army" to fight for and protect the revolution.

Committed

An extract from the document read: "The Black Consciousness movement is resolutely committed to the liberation struggle of the oppressed masses of Africa by building up a people's army."

Noting that the aim was to be prepared for war against "racist aggressors," Mr. Kruger commented: "That is revolting!"

He quoted from other documents on Bantu Education, the purpose of which was "stabilization by education for domestication and subjugation."

It was documents like that which led to the trouble in Soweto schools.

To cheers from the delegates, Mr. Kruger added: "We seek peace. We seek progress. We want to help the people. Our hands are stretched to help. They must not spit in the hand because then we will get really angry."

In cell

It was learned yesterday that Mr. Biko died in a prison cell and was not sent to hospital in Pretoria. Major General Jannie Roux, Deputy Commissioner of Prisons gave this information.

The original statement released by Mr. Kruger did not specify whether Mr. Biko had died in prison or hospital after his transfer to Pretoria on September 12.

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Chamber of Mines Rhodesia, 9 April 1975. The situation now and in the future has become much more complex than the government had permitted. It is a grave departure from previous procedures but I am assured that it will be necessary to maintain the programme. This was a grave departure from previous procedures but I am assured that it will be necessary to maintain the programme.


Interest rates in production noted in Grain Report 1975, Salisbury.

In this section are extracted from the Agreement contained on the contract form signed by each contractor. Additional details came from Wenela propaganda handed to contractors (document in vernacular translated by Wilber Garaba).


Representatives in Salisbury explained these reasons as:
- The underground work, being 'trouble makers' and being 'dis- and 'unsettled'.
- Leistner and W.J. Breytenbach, The Black Worker of South Africa, Institute No. 26, Pretoria, 1975, p.15, report a figure of 11,000 hondesan workers as reported by the 1970 Census in South Africa.
- The report was made in the Department of Bantu Affairs figures are much higher, according to the Southern Rhodesia Herald, 3 April 1976.

General Roux confirmed that Mr. Biko was not sent to hospital in Pretoria, but had been examined, treated, and were in Pretoria.

On his arrival in Pretoria.

An acting Manager of Wenela (Mr. N.D. Nicolle) recorded that, according to the manager of Wenela in Rhodesia, the publication of the "new" heightening of the local political crisis and/or irony of change has brought about immediate fall-off in recruitment levels.

1976; and Financial Mail, 9 May 1975.
Force-feeding may 'have saved life'

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.—Force-feeding could have kept Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention this week following an alleged hunger strike, alive indefinitely if no other factors were involved, Professor John Reid, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Natal, said today.

But according to legal opinion it would probably be a offence under common law 'to force feed anyone on a hunger strike' Professor Reid said that without force-feeding a man who was taking neither food nor water could reasonably be expected to die within eight days.

The Minister of Police, Mr J.J. Kruger, said yesterday Mr Biko died eight days after he began a hunger strike on September 16 during which time he refused to take food or water.

Professor Reid said force-feeding was a relatively simple procedure.

The person, if resisting, can be strapped down, a tube inserted through the mouth or nose to aspirate and a liquid diet poured through the tube.

If the process were repeated twice a day it would keep him alive indefinitely.

Professor Reid said the body lost an average of one litre of water a day which, if it was not replaced, would result in death after the loss of 15 to 20 percent of body water.

Dehydration would cause the loss of control of body temperature and the failure of the heart and kidneys.

According to legal opinion, suicide and attempted suicide is not a criminal offence in South Africa.

DOUBTFUL

An attempt to force-feed a detainee would therefore deprive him of one of his few remaining rights of protest.

The detainee would also be able to lay a charge of assault.

The police, could make an application to the court for permission to force feed a detainee but whether they would be successful is as doubtful.

However, prison regulations issued by the decree of the State President could affect the situation, according to the legal opinion sought.

A spokesman for the Department of Prisons said there were no regulations providing for the force-feeding of prisoners on hunger strikes.

We know the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress have done this in the past.

Biko did not want violence

Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention on Monday, rejected violence as a political weapon when giving evidence at the SASO terror trial last year.

This contrasts with the belief given by the Minister of Police, Mr J.J. Kruger, when he quoted Mr Biko as saying: "There can be no change through revolution. The only change that can come is through revolution."}

Call for judicial inquiry

The Argus Political Staff

THE Cape Nationalist newspaper has suggested that a judicial inquiry be held as soon as possible into the death of Mr Steve Biko.

The newspaper in an editorial that South Africa could not afford indefinitely the "sins of unbridled propaganda" about this issue.

"Let the facts become known, the blemish the blemish. And let no-one be set into motion to bring about the full truth," the newspaper said.

"And if nobody is to be blamed, then the present campaign must be exposed."

VIGILANCE

It had become necessary "more than ever" to be constantly alert to reports of the well-being and welfare of detainees and to ensure that there were no violations that could place the police and the prisons under suspicion. It deaths occurred it would be possible to prove with increasing emphasis that such occurred were beyond the control of the authorities.

Meanwhile, the Commissioner of Prisons, General W.M. du Preez, has declined to comment on reports that Mr Biko was in a prison cell, not in a prison hospital, at the time of his death.

THE black consciousness movement said:

We (the black consciousness movement) believe there is a way of getting to where we want to go through peaceful means. And the very fact that we've decided to actually form an above board movement implies we accepted certain limitations on our operations.
MR STEVE BIKO'S death in detention is bad enough. The Government's official reaction to it, as expressed by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, is shocking. 'I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. He leaves me cold,' the Minister told the Transvaal National Party congress yesterday. There was some laughter at the congress while Mr Kruger was talking about Mr Biko.

There is no laughter elsewhere. Mr Biko's death has not left Mr Cyrus Vance cold. He is Secretary of State of the world's most powerful nation. It has not left the British Ambassador in South Africa cold, nor the United Nations' Secretary General.

Mr Kruger and the rest of his Government may not be impressed by international condemnation. To be true, they have had so much of it they may consider themselves inured to it. But they can have no illusions about the threat to South Africa's interests, to its very independence in fact, that is implicit in international attitudes and policies towards this country. And when they think, as they obviously do, that the current outcry by their South African political opponents is intended merely to discredit the police and the Government, they should ponder also on the mournful fact that all South Africans suffer the shame of arbitrary arrest, indefinite detention, the string of detention deaths that preceded Mr Biko's and the incompetence and callousness that evidently marks our security system. All South Africans, the Nationalists' opponents no less, want their country's name cleared if it is possible to do so by a full inquiry into the circumstances that produced the Biko tragedy.

South Africans who are not Nationalists are sick and tired of the contumely and contempt that pours upon their heads as a result of Nationalist policies and actions, words and deeds. For heaven's sake Mr. Vorster, Mr Kruger and the rest, do something we can be proud of.
Biko could have united moderates
-U.S. writer

The Argus Bureau

NEW YORK. — How can a people as gifted, as courageous, as profound in their emotions as the whites of South Africa have made themselves stand in the world for deafness and for inhumanity? asks New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis.

The question, he says, tortures sympathetic visitors to 'that wonderful, terrible country. It clouds the hope that reason can avoid racial catastrophe.'

In a column reflecting the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko, Lewis writes:

‘If the white power structure that commands the politics of South Africa had given Steve Biko a chance, perhaps he could have brought people of reason together.

MOCKS’ REALITY

A DELEGATE to the National Party Congress in Pretoria, Miss E. J. Malan, centre, grabs the Black Sash wreath in memory of Stephen Biko after it had been laid in the congress hall by Black Sash members Mrs Esther Levitt and Mrs Jill Wentzel, left and right. The wreath was quickly ripped apart by angry delegates and shouts of abuse followed the Black Sash women out of the hall.
Biko death riddle—cell or hospital?

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Prisons Department is refusing to say officially whether Mr. Steve Biko died in hospital or in a prison cell in Pretoria.

This follows conflicting reports about where the black leader died. At no stage has either the Minister of Justice, Mr. J. J. Kruger, or the Prisons Department, said exactly where Mr. Biko died, following the Minister’s statement that he died after a seven-day hunger strike.

Mr. Shun Chetty, attorney acting for the Biko family, said yesterday he had not been told where the death took place.

In the first statement about the death, Mr. Kruger said: “he died in a hospital in Pretoria.” But according to a report this morning, the Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, Major General Dannie Roux, said that Mr. Biko died in a prison cell and was not taken to hospital.

Colonel H. J. Botha, the Department’s Press Liaison officer, said the department was attempting to get in touch with General Roux to gain confirmation of the report.

The Commissioner of Prisons, General W. J. M. du Toit, has declined to comment on the report that Mr. Biko died in a prison cell.

DENIAL

Colonel Botha said the department’s only statement at this stage was: “The Minister of Justice has issued a statement which has indicated that the entire matter is being investigated. The Commissioner of Prisons has no further comment at this stage.”

Meanwhile, Mr. Chetty has denied that he said anything to an American civil rights leader, Mr. Martin Luther King, which could be construed as indicating that Mr. Biko died as a result of brutality.

This follows a report in the Washington Post which quoted Mr. Arnold as saying that Mr. Chetty “hinted in a guarded telephone conversation that the evidence reveals that Biko died as a result of police brutality unleashed by...”
700 held at Biko protest

From page 1

Biko's death became known, has unreservedly denied that he said anything to an American civil rights worker, which could be construed as indicating that Mr. Biko died as a result of brutality.

This follows a report in the Washington Post which quoted Mr. Millard Wood, a director of the D.C. based Southern Area Project of the National Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law.

Mr. Arnold, who claimed that Mr. Chetty had attended the autopsy on Biko and had acted as a guard during the telephone conversation that the evidence reveals that Biko died as a result of police brutality caused by torture. Mr. Chetty confirmed that he was telephoned by Mr. Arnold from Washington and had a short conversation with him.

"But there is absolutely no question of my making such statements to him or even saying anything which could be construed as meaning what Arnold claims," said Mr. Chetty.

Mr. Chetty said several South African newspapers, including The Star, had

Own Correspondent Grahamstown

About 700 Fort Hare students were arrested today for holding an illegal gathering to honour the dead black consciousness leader, Mr. Steve Biko.

The meeting was held in defiance of an official refusal to issue the students with a permit to hold an open-air gathering.

Meanwhile, an order which would have banned until Saturday all campus gatherings of students at the University of Cape Town was cancelled today, said the chief magistrate of Wynberg, Mr. F. Berch.

Mr. Berch said the order was rescinded by the security police who later withdrew the request. The banning order would have affected a mass meeting on the death of Mr. Biko.

In Pretoria, the prisons Department is refusing to say whether Mr. Biko died in hospital or in a prison cell.

This follows conflicting reports about the whereabouts of the black leader's death.

Unavailable

Mr. Shum Chetty, the attorney acting for the Biko family said yesterday.
Another new aspect of New Econometric History, generally have
Economic historians, generally, have
been looking for new methods to certain areas of historical research.

Historians have found some impressive results from the new methods, but not all historians have been convinced. The New Econometric History can be divided into two main areas: one is the use of statistical methods to analyze economic data, and the other is the use of econometric models to predict future economic trends.

The New Econometric History has led to a better understanding of the economy, and has provided valuable insights into the workings of the economy. However, the methods used are not without their critics, and some historians argue that the emphasis on statistical analysis is too narrow and does not fully capture the complexity of economic phenomena.

The New Econometric History has also raised questions about the role of government in the economy, and has led to a greater emphasis on the importance of market forces. The methods used in the New Econometric History are not without their critics, and some historians argue that the emphasis on statistical analysis is too narrow and does not fully capture the complexity of economic phenomena.

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Biko protest at UCT: police ban withdrawn

An order which would have banned all gatherings of students at the University of Cape Town, apart from academic classes, between 10 am today and 10 am on Saturday, was cancelled soon after it was signed by the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr E. Rorich, today.

The order, which was issued in terms of Section 2 of the Emergency Assembly Act, would have prohibited student gatherings anywhere in the Wynberg district which were inside a building or outside. Mr Rorich said the order was requested by the Security Police who later withdrew the request.

STEVE BIKO

The banning order would have affected a mass meeting on the death of black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko at the UCT campus during the lunch hour today. It was arranged that the meeting would be addressed by Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch in East London, and Mr Charles Nkomo, former president of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

WREATH

Meanwhile, The Argus correspondent in East London reports that Rhodes University students held an all-night vigil on the campus in Grahamstown last night to protest against the death in detention of Mr Biko.

The vigil lasted from 6 pm yesterday to 6 am today. About 30 students took part each holding paraffin lanterns.

History is its findings. New Economic History with some interest, I hope, has adopted the new methods with enthusiasm, demonstrating their adaptability to certain areas of historical research.

Swoop by police at Biko service

The Argus Correspondent

FORT HARE. — Between 1,200 and 1,300 Fort Hare students have been arrested and detained here for holding a mass open-air meeting in contravention of the Prohibition of Gatherings Act.

The meeting was called by the students in memory of black leader Mr. Steve Biko and was held on the Fort Hare rugby field.

During the mass arrest there was no violence by police or students. The students almost willingly climbed into police vehicles, many giving the Black Power salute.

Yesterday a Students' Representative Council member approached theector, Professor J. M. de Wet, and asked to hold a memorial service for Mr. Biko. He also asked that lectures be suspended today.

'I have learnt with deep regret of the death of this black leader and sympathise with the feelings of the students in the matter said the professor.

A deputation from the Students' Representative Council has called on me and asked that lectures be suspended to allow a memorial service to be held.

'I agree.'
Death not in vain — BPC

EAST LONDON — The death of black consciousness leader Mr. Steve Biko is a picture of the violent police State that is South Africa. This was said in a special press release issued by the offices of the Black People's Convention in Johannesburg yesterday following the death of Mr. Biko who died while detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act in Pretoria on Monday night.

The statement reads: "Death in detention can never be said to be, or explained in natural terms. Mr. Steve Bantu Biko was forcibly removed from the care of and relative freedom of thought and home with no hint as to when he would be charged or released.

"Mr. Biko and other black political martyrs have not died in vain despite their death..." the statement reads, "the masses, their unconquerable ideas which they successfully preached to those who remain.

"We vow to continue from where they were forced to leave off and carry the struggle to its logical conclusion.

"The truth of human life and God is that life is God's. No man can hope to be absolved from taking that which is not his.

"Worse still, after keeping the victim under inhumane conditions, like many in the past, the draconian powers vested in the Security Police, have claimed the precious life of a man who wanted nothing else but the restitution of the dignity of the black man," the statement says.

Church body: it is horrifying

EAST LONDON — The death of black consciousness leader Mr. Steve Biko is the one of the most horrifying pieces of news to emerge from the sinister apparatus which keeps hundreds of people in detention without trial.

This was said by the president of the South African Council of Churches, Dr. Sam Mhle, in a statement released to the Daily Dispatch yesterday. The church leaders said the government must acknowledge that such actions are possible only because so many Christians in this country are not prepared to offer effective opposition to the Government's denial of human rights and those of its actions which do not accord with the example of Christ.

"We call upon all Christians to play a more positive role in changing the situation.

The church leaders said the government had to be guided by Christian norms and standards, but that assertion, in the minds of many, had long ceased to even approximate the truth.

"If this Government is concerned for the future of all people in this country, then we call on it to do away with part of the security apparatus which led to the death of so many in detention.

In their statement, they said: "At the same time we must acknowledge that such actions are possible only because so many Christians in this country are not prepared to offer effective opposition to the Government's denial of human rights and those of its actions which do not accord with the example of Christ.

Man of deep conviction

Mr. Steve Biko, a man of great personal charm and deep political conviction, was the foremost theorist of black consciousness.

He was one of the key men behind the formation of the Black People's Convention in 1972, a move which marked the formal spread of black consciousness from student ranks to the wider community.

Even after he was banned in March 1973 and his written works prohibited, as a consequence, he continued to influence the black consciousness movement by his refusal to be intimidated.

Many of the leaders who took over from Mr. Biko visited him singly to seek his guidance.

It was no coincidence that King William's Town became one of the strongest centres of black consciousness. Mr. Biko was confined there by his banning order.

Mr. Biko was an exponent of black consciousness as a race conscious philosophy, not a racist ideology, as a vehicle for pride in blackness, not a rationalisation of hatred for whites.

While he was an active member of Saso he persistently sought to prevent black consciousness from degenerating into mere negative hatred for whites.

— Patrick Laurence

A ban that goes to the
By GAVIN ROBSON

Newspapers are, however, permitted to publish experiences, facts and details of happenings experienced by Mr Steve Biko.

Mr Biko was the honorary President of the Black People's Convention.

He was a founder and member of the South African Students' Organisation - Saso.

Mr Biko was a founder and on the Board of Directors of the Zimzele Trust Fund — the fund which caters for former political prisoners, political detainees and their families.

Mr Biko was a prominent leader among the black consciousness movement.

He was a former Natal University medical student and until his death on Monday was reading for a law degree through the University of South Africa.

He was a married man with two sons aged six and two.

Mr Biko lived with his wife Ntsiki and family at a shack in a township home in Ginsberg near King William's Town.

He was serving his fourth year under a five-year banning order which restricted and confined him to the magisterial district of King William's Town.

Born in King William's Town in 1948, Mr Biko is the son of Mr and Mrs Alice Biko and the brother of Kaya, and two sisters, Bukelwa and Nombulele.

Mr Biko was educated at Fort Hare Grant Secondary School near King, studied for a period of time at Lionel College in Port Elizabeth and obtained his matriculation certificate at Marion Hill Catholic Church centre in Natal.

In 1966 he enrolled at the University of Natal to read for a degree in medicine.

In 1968 he founded the South African Students' Organisation and held the office of founder-President.

After completing his third year at the university, Mr Biko was banned from attending the university and in June 1972 took refuge with the Black Community Programmes in Durban.

In 1973 a five-year banning order was served on him, restricting him to the magisterial district of King William's Town.

He became the branch executive of the BCP for the Eastern Cape in 1973 and at the same time continued his studies by attending with the University of South Africa and until his death this week was reading for a law degree.

Mr Biko was barred from working for BCP in December 1973 because of a variation pertaining to his banning order which prohibited him from entering or being associated with the King William's Town BCP offices in Leopold Street.

At the start of the Zimzele Trust fund in 1976, Mr Biko was last year appointed Secretary General of the national organisation.

At the 1976 congress of the Black People's Convention held in Durban — a congress which he could not attend because of his banning order restrictions — Mr Biko was elected honorary president.

Mr Biko married his Umtata wife in Durban in 1971 and is the father of six-year-old son Kosinathi and two-year-old Samora.

Mr Biko has never been found guilty of any crime, nor had he ever been found guilty of any offence in a court of law.

Mr Biko was subjected to intensive Security Police harassment and interrogation and a barrage of cases had been preferred against him by the State.

Mr Biko was also subjected to over 100 days detention, of which part was in solitary confinement and during which time he was intensively interrogated.

In 1974 he was charged with contravening the terms of his banning order. The main count of the State charge alleged that he had received visitors illegally at his home in Ginsberg. The alternative charge that he had attended an illegal gathering in terms of the order.

He was brought before court, tried, found not guilty and discharged.

Mr Biko was again charged for contravening his banning orders after the State charged him for entering an educational institution in King in 1973 to write an examination.

The charge against him was 4% contravention of banning order; alternatively attending a social gathering illegally.

The case had not been concluded as of Mr Biko's death.

On July 5 this year Mr Biko and two other black consciousness leaders were arrested by the King William's Town Security Branch for alleged contravention of their five-year banning orders.

The case was formally remanded and to date was still not concluded.

On July 13 this year, Mr Biko was found not guilty and discharged on a charge of allegedly obstructing the course of justice.

Aguity and discharged on the alternative count of subornation to perjury.

The State claimed that before a trial in Grahamstown earlier this year Mr Biko instructed seven Forbes Grant Secondary School pupils to forge evidence; to say they were forced to make false police statements to the State BCP offices in Leopold Street.

After the victim's arrest at the meeting in Grahamstown where it was agreed to set fire to the building.

On March 21 this year he was arrested by King Security Branch police in a troop in which five other BCP members were also arrested and detained.

Mr Biko was arrested at 7:10 pm by the head of the King Security Police, Maj R H. Hansen and two other Security Police, while buying a packet of cigarettes at a local cafe.

On July 4 Mr Biko was again arrested by King Security Police — the third being ordered and carried out again by Maj Hansen and two other security police.

On July 10 he appeared briefly at a hearing in the King magistrates court on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The case was formally remanded to August this year and he was allowed free on R300 bail. The case was not concluded.

The most lengthy period of detention experienced by Mr Biko was in August last year.

On November 28 he was finally released after having spent 101 days in detention.

He had been held in the maximum security section of East London's Fort Glamorgan Prison. At the time of his detention he was being held in terms of Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

This was subsequently changed by the State to Section 2 of the Terrorism Act.

Mr Biko, following a charge for alleged violation of Section 2 of the Terrorism Act, in April last year, was issued by W/O G. Hattingh of the King Security Branch, with a summons to appear in court for a traffic violation allegedly not stopping at a stop sign.

He appeared in a court in King — on his own defence — and was found not guilty and discharged.

Last month Mr Biko was arrested by Security Police in Grahamstown and then taken to Port Elizabeth where he was detained together with the Eastern Cape Executive member of the BCP, Mr Peter Jones. Mr Biko and Mr Jones were detained under Section 8 of the Terrorism Act.

The circumstances of Mr Biko's arrest in Grahamstown were not known and...
Sen Clark: died a martyr

NEW YORK — Steve Biko's death has triggered an unprecedented wave of high-level American protest and the issue of deaths in detention will be taken up with the American Bar Association and the Internal Commission of Jurists.

The key African specialist, Sen Dick Clark, called Mr. Biko's death an outrage and hailed him as a martyr.

He called on the South African Government to get together with bodies like the Black People's Convention and begin discussions now on racial justice and the constitutional structure of the country and to release all political prisoners, or at least bring charges against them and allow them the right to be tried openly.

If the Government did not act promptly and effectively, further violence was likely, he warned, along with an inevitable deterioration in relations between Pretoria and all members of the international community who stand for human decency.

Sen Clark called South Africa's record of deaths grave.

EAST LONDON — Even after death a banned person may not be quoted in any newspaper, magazine or publication of any sort in South Africa.

Mr. Steve Biko was a banned person and thus could not be quoted.

Mr. Biko died while in detention in Pretoria on Monday night. He was detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Mr. Kruger, said Mr. Biko died in Pretoria on Monday night after having been on a hunger strike since September 5.

They said had the Government taken the initiative in talking to Mr. Biko, in working with him in a civilised manner instead of restricting him, the bleak picture with which South Africa is now faced might have been very different — TRR.

Judicial commission of inquiry into the whole issue of deaths in detention.

"Our hopes were disappointed, Mr. Kruger's reaction to Mr. Biko's death has only deepened the inhumanity of suspicion and bitterness surrounding this whole subject," the three church leaders said.

"We wish to make it clear that regardless of the actual causes of Mr. Biko's death, and those of other detainees, any system which allows people to be totally within the power of State officials and beyond contact with the normal safeguards of legal protection, is an evil and indefensible one.

"Mr. Kruger, and the whole political system which he supports and with which he is associated, have much to answer for," they said.

Including Mr. Biko, a man who was fit and healthy at the time of his detention just three weeks ago.

"Mr. Biko was a leader respected both in the country and internationally. He was a man who was respected by the Church as a Christian. He fired the imagination of young people throughout this land. His understanding of black consciousness was one of new dignity and self-respect, and never one of crude racism," they said.

They said had the Government taken the initiative in talking to Mr. Biko, in working with him in a civilised manner instead of restricting him, the bleak picture with which South Africa is now faced might have been very different — TRR.
Biko: demos occupy Foundation offices

LONDON — The offices of the South Africa Foundation were occupied for almost two hours by 40 members of the Southern African solidarity campaign protesting against the death of Mr Steve Biko.

Members of the campaign, who are mainly from the Socialist Workers Party, tried unsuccessfully to greet the Foundation's director here, Mr Roy Macnab, to sign a statement.

The statement condemned the "murder" of Mr Biko.

Demonstrators obeyed a police instruction to remove a banner from the railings outside the Foundation's office which overlooks Buckingham Palace.

They left peacefully after speaking to several newspapers and radio stations, but Mr Macnab said he would not press any charges.

Mr Macnab denied the demonstrators' claim that the had at one stage agreed to condemn the death of Mr Biko and the South African Government's handling of his case.

The claim was made by his spokesman, Mr John Usher, who was in telephone contact with SAPA during most of the occupation.

"I did nothing of the sort," Mr Macnab said. "I offered to send South Africans any protest they wanted to write out. They did not want this."

Mr Peter Sorour, director-general of the Foundation, said in Johannesburg last night circumstances leading to Mr Biko's death had been "ineptly handled" by Government officials.

"I don't want to comment on the tragedy of the loss of a human life, but as far as world opinion of South Africa is concerned, what is going to undo all the good we have been achieving," Mr Sorour said.

The Biko situation was similar to that of the Modderdam squatters where authorities had not been aware of the consequences of their actions — should have told the world well in advance all the facts and their reasons for taking particular actions, he said.

"If Mr Biko went on a hunger strike, it must have been obvious there was a possibility of his dying. Because of his nature in black politics — his name is known throughout the whole Western world — authorities should have foreseen the reaction if he should die.

"He should have been handled over to civil and health authorities and the world should have been informed that he had chosen to go on a hunger strike," Mr Sorour said.

The British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir David Scott, said in Johannesburg he had learnt of "the profound shock of the tragic death of Mr Biko."

Addressing a lunch-hour meeting of the Foreign Press Association, Sir David said: "We do not yet know the full circumstances of his death, but it can only distress those who, like Mr Biko, did firmly believe in a non-violent solution to South Africa's problems."

"I believe this is a sad day for all South Africans, both black and white."

The British Council of Churches yesterday appealed for an independent commission of inquiry into Mr Biko's death. The Council said Mr Biko was a committed Anglican Christian, well known for his "physical resilience, personal dignity and profound qualities of leadership."

In Washington, Congressman Charles Diggs said: "in light of past mysterious deaths of political prisoners the South African Government's credibility in the case of Steve Biko must be seriously questioned."

"Of course, the question to be answered is why Steve Biko died. It is either black opponents of apartheid were in detention in the first place."

The United Nations Secretary General, Dr Waldheim, expressed his regret at the "untimely death" of Mr Biko.

A United Nations spokesman said Dr Waldheim believed that "once again it emphasizes the importance of an urgent solution to the problem of apartheid in South Africa."

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement will mount a vigil outside the South Africa Embassy in London today in memory of Mr Biko.

Several church leaders and members of the governing Labour Party are expected at the hour-long lunchtime vigil on the pavement outside the embassy. — DDC-SAPA-RIS.
"My husband Steve Biko by Mrs Ntsiki Biko"

"Steve Biko was a good man, he was a good father, but above all he was a leader."

"He was a leader", said by mission hospital sister and wife of Mr Steve Biko, Mrs Ntsiki Biko, who spoke last night for the first time about her husband and father of their two children.

"His death in detention did not come unexpectedly to me. I knew that because he was a man of such firm conviction and beliefs only death could stop him from what he believed in.

"But I am not satisfied with the way in which the State has said he died," she said. The police said the first time she had heard of her husband's death was when she was notified by her sister, Nyanie, at the All Saints Mission, near Engcobo, Transkei.

"No policemen informed me, nobody told me and it was only through my sister-in-law, Bandi, and my sister that the news reached me. I only heard at 2pm on Tuesday.

"And for me it was a very sad moment. I was numb with shock. But I kept telling myself and will continue to tell myself that my husband died in a struggle, during a struggle for the liberation of the black man in South Africa."

Mounting Biko death

PRETORIA — Criticism of the police role in the death of Mr Steve Biko, the honorary president of the Black People's Convention, and calls for a judicial inquiry mounted yesterday.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, repeated at the Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria yesterday that Mr Biko was a violent revolutionary whose death left him cold.

"I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. He leaves me cold."

He added: "I can say nothing to you. Any person who dies, I shall also be sorry if I die."

Mr Kruger had earlier quoted from an address delivered in a 1978 Nasas conference by Mr Biko, who died in detention after a seven-day hunger strike.

"There can be no change through evolution," Mr Kruger quoted Mr Biko as saying. "The only change that can come about is through revolution. The time and the people have never been as ready as now."

Mr Kruger defended the failure of the police to force feed Mr Biko on the grounds that had they touched him they would have faced accusations of a different sort.

"If I was them, I would have said: Do not touch him. I would have said: Call a doctor."

A speaker from the floor, Mr Chris Venter of Springs, had earlier hailed Mr Kruger as a man who allowed prisoners the democratic right of choosing not to eat.

During his speech Mr Kruger commented: "It is very true what M. Venter said. It is a democratic country."

Mr Biko, Mr Kruger continued, decided to go on a hunger strike after deliberating for 15 minutes on September 8 on whether to answer questions put to him by Security Police.

During his detention in Port Elizabeth Mr Biko was examined by the district surgeon and the chief district surgeon and, on his transfer to Pretoria, by the Pretoria district surgeon, Mr Kruger said.

From PATRICK LAURENCE

Referring to newspaper criticism that the police had not called a private doctor, Mr Kruger said: "The district surgeon is a private doctor. We brought in a private specialist."

Mr Kruger described how Thorton warden looked through a peephole into the cell to see that Mr Biko was lying very still. "He did not touch him. He touched him and they say your fingerprints are there," he added.

Anticipating further hostile reaction to the death of Mr Biko, Mr Kruger referred to "secret documents" which proved "they are out for us."

On the facts that I have it looks to me that what had been done was done... I cannot see how we should have acted differently."

According to Sapa, Mr Kruger said the Government was prepared for a propaganda onslaught.

There had been a storm in opposition newspapers over Mr Biko's death before the results of the post-mortem were known.

"The English language press has long predicted that if Mr Biko or others are touched, all the propaganda machinery against South Africa will be intensified. We accept that," Mr Kruger said.

He said the Security Police knew that if they had done anything wrong he would be the first to take them to court. But there appeared to have been no irregularities regarding Mr Biko's arrest, detention or medical treatment.

Revolution is aim — Kruger

More world-wide reaction, full obituary, autopsy report delay — pages 8 and 9.

PRETORIA — The Minister of Justice Mr to fight for and protect the revolution.
"And I accept and believe that one has to expect casualties and more casualties to come as black consciousness progresses," Mrs Biko said.

Mrs Biko said for her six-year-old son, Nkosinathi, the news of the death of his father had been so hard to believe and accept.

"The children are missing him, they were always missing him because of his periods away from home because of detention.

"But for Nkosinathi it was the hardest. He is now old enough to know what we are talking about at home. And I could not hide the death of Steve from him.

"He is the child who can understand and when he said to me is my daddy dead, I had to tell him the truth," Mrs Biko said.

"I couldn't even bring myself to tell him that Steve was in detention again because he knew something was seriously wrong and said to me 'no mama, you must not lie I know he is dead'," she said.

For the 31-year-old mother, the most saddening moments at the home of her mother-in-law at this time was to see her two-year-old son running to pick up the telephone and call out to the family "Steve, Steve".

"He is still too small to know what is going on and thinks Steve will be on the phone," she said.

On the statement made by Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, that her husband had died from a self-inflicted hunger strike while in detention, Mrs Biko said: "I will never believe it".

"I don't believe what Mr Kruger has said at all. For a man like Steve, who was in good health, had nothing wrong with him before he was detained, a man who loved life, I can never believe he would have done such a thing.

"He had every reason to live and for me this statement is completely untrue," she said.

On Mr Kruger's remark that Mrs Biko was separated from the black consciousness leader, Mrs Biko said: "I don't know where he got that from. It is also not true, I have been working at a mission hospital in Transkei, and partly one of the reasons was that I could not get work where my husband was".

"But at this stage I am not prepared to discuss such a matter, nor am I prepared to say what action will take about the death of my husband.

"For me now I must try and get used to living without him. He is a great loss to me as his wife, to his children as their father, and of more importance to all the people of South Africa who loved and respected him as a leader," Mrs Biko said.

PRETORIA — Mr Steve Biko died in a prison cell and was not taken to hospital in Pretoria, the Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, Maj-Gen J. Roux, said yesterday.

The original statement released by the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, did not specify whether Mr Biko had died in prison or hospital after his transfer to Pretoria on September 12.

Immediately after his address to the Transvaal National Party congress yesterday, Mr Kruger was approached for clarification.

Mr Kruger said: "Here's the General. Ask him."

Gen Roux confirmed Mr Biko was not sent to hospital in Pretoria, but emphasised he had been examined and treated by a Pretoria district surgeon on his arrival in Pretoria.

In his address to the congress, Mr Kruger said Mr Biko had been transferred from Port Elizabeth to a prison in Pretoria where he could be kept under closer observation.

Mr Kruger described the Pretoria prison as "neutral ground" where Mr Biko was "totally out of Security Police hands" and under the care of men who knew nothing about him. — PC.

Wreath at Nat congress

PRETORIA — Two members of the Black Sash placed a wreath at the National Party congress yesterday in protest against the death of Mr Steve Biko.

After standing silently for seconds, they walked down the aisle from the front of the Pretoria City Hall to cries of "sies' and "veilgoed."

When they reached the entrance to the hall, they were jostled and pushed towards the stairs by a burly man. He told them to "voetsek."

There was no violence, but their car number was taken and a warning given: "We'll get you. You are looking for trouble. This is not Soweto."

Mrs Wentzel said afterwards: "We went there to demonstrate our anger that South Africa has been deprived of Steve Biko." — PC.

Funeral in JOHANNESBURG — last rites were made for the funeral place in King Williams September 25. — SAP
Five-year-old Renso Pretorius of East London salutes the big guns aboard the South African Navy’s President-class frigate, the SAS President Pretorius, when he went on board yesterday. The frigate, on a one-day visit, brought chief of the Navy, Adm. J. Johnson, on his last visit to East London before he retires at the end of the year. A kind sailor lent Renso his cap to make the salute “official.” (Another picture page 5).
WASHINGTON — The Carter Administration's "in-principle" agreement with the Soviet Union on a possible limited city-to-city airlink is reported to have been signed yesterday by Sec. of State Henry Kissinger and his Soviet counterpart.

In a VORSTOR FOR US Denied

VORSTOR FOR US Denied

WASHINGTON — SWAPANS — no longer able to report

the Fraser experiment, the report said.

Yesterday, President Jimmy Carter and Soviet

Sec. of State Henry Kissinger signed an

agreement in principle on a limited

city-to-city airlink.

The agreement was reached

after a series of meetings

between the two countries.

President Carter and

Sec. of State Henry Kissinger

signed the agreement.

The agreement calls for

limited city-to-city airlink.

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EAST LONDON—Rhodes University students, residents and a large crowd of Grahamstown's township community filled the Anglican Cathedral in High Street for a special commemorative service held at lunch-time yesterday following the death of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

The multiracial service, which was also interdenominational, saw hundreds of people filling the church pews, aisles and foyers as they came to pray for the South Africans who have died in detention and those still being detained without trial.

The multiracial service was led by Dr J. Moulder, a senior lecturer in philosophy at Rhodes, and the service was conducted by Prof Canon John Sugit of Grahamstown and six other ministers.

The special commemorative service was arranged by Mr Robert Taylor, a theology student at Rhodes, who said yesterday: "It was a service of prayer and intercession for South Africa which was brought about by the death of Mr Steve Biko and the other political detainees who have died in detention.

"It was felt the time is long overdue that Christians came together and did something about what is happening in this country.

"The Christian witness to what has been going on in South Africa has been negative in so far as only statements have really been evolving from the church and little positive action taken by Christians black and white," he said.

The service, which lasted over an hour, was spent mostly in prayer, he said.

"It was felt the Christian voice should be heard at this time of great sorrow, and it was hoped by all present at the commemorative service that what was said and prayed on would be continued and spread among all South Africans," he said.

—DDR
A South African tragedy

From time to time there take place events whose full import becomes apparent only years afterwards. It seems sadly probable that the death on Monday this week of Steve Biko will prove to be one of these. It has already sent a ripple of shock around the world, through black South Africans, and through sections of white opinion here too.

Nor can the business world remain unaffected. On June 15 last year it might have seemed that the enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in certain Soweto schools was of little consequence to the business community or to the economy as a whole. That illusion was exploded the following day. And today, 15 months later, the capital account of the balance of payments — to mention just one economic indicator — is still reflecting the repercussions of the nation-wide uprisings which were sparked off by the events of June 16 1976.

Biko is a great deal more than just a statistic. He is the 44th black South African to die while in the custody of the Security Police. He was — and will remain to his generation what the late Albert Luthuli was to his and what Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe are to theirs: a symbol, a hope, an inspiration.

World concern

Even if white South Africans and their government were unaware of Biko's importance, the outside world was not. His death was reported on the front page of the Washington Post and it was the main news item on page three of the New York Times.

US diplomatic officials in SA have already been ordered to conduct their own investigation into Biko's death. As the FM went to press, American Congressman Charles Diggs was preparing to call on Capitol Hill for an internationally-staffed board of inquiry. Senator Dick Clark, of Iowa, a leading Capitol Hill spokesman on Africa, said on Tuesday that South Africa's record of deaths in detention was "despicable. No observer of the South African scene can accept flimsy explanations of what is a pattern of outright racial repression conducted by an authoritarian state which permits unconscious attacks on the black community."

Biko's death was headline news in

Australia too. Petitions in the Australian Parliament are calling for an official protest and the Labour opposition has asked government to decide to accept the credentials of the new SA ambassador to Australia as a protest against the death of Biko and others in detention. A South African ship in Melbourne has already reportedly been blacklisted by trade unions and is unable to discharge its cargo.

which are calling for the black being of capital funds to SA. And hard-nosed foreign bankers will be even more reluctant to allocate funds to a country which they see as a potential minefield.

It is a bitter irony that it is only with his death that the name of Steve Biko will become a household word among whites in this country. It is an even more bitter irony that it is foreign governments and foreign pressure groups that have finally made Pretoria aware of the importance of this man.

Biko's name has long been revered in the black townships ever since he founded the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) in the late Sixties. As an ardent driving force and intellectual inspiration of the Black Consciousness movement, he was a leader of the blacks, a symbol of hope, and an inspiration to the millions of black people who have felt themselves oppressed and denied the chance for a peaceful racial accommodation.

There can be little doubt that it will strengthen the arguments of those who have long espoused the cause of peaceful change and who will therefore once again turn to violence. Arms caches have already been found; at least one urban terrorist operation has been carried out, and a number of political trials currently in progress indicate that guerrilla incursions across our borders have been planned.

In the short term, action under security laws will doubtless hold off these threats. But in the longer term, SA stands little more chance of crushing the black movement for liberation than did the colonial governments elsewhere on the continent.

SA is now at the crossroads as never before. Hopefully, it will take years before guerrilla activity poses a serious military threat. But if Pretoria continues to ban, detain and banish men like Biko, and brush aside groups like Soweto's Committee of Ten, that threat will assuredly come steadily closer.

There is only one way in which it can be avoided. And that is to sit down round a table with black political leaders (including those banned and detained) to work out by negotiation a peaceful future for all of us.


**Black cash no longer.

KNIGHTSBRIDGE — The rise of the black market in London and the rest of England has forced the government to act. The black market, which has been growing in recent years, is now so large that it is a threat to the economy. The government is now considering introducing a new currency to combat the black market.

**Net reaction called冷静．

A protest of health authorities, who have been calling for an immediate response to the crisis in South Africa, has been met with a mixed reaction. The government has announced that it will increase its aid to South Africa, but critics say more needs to be done.

**Biko: Professors call for inquiry.

Government mulls death to Biko's tribute.

The government is mulling a decision to award a tribute to Biko, the late anti-apartheid activist. The government has faced criticism for its handling of the Biko case in the past, and the tribute has been seen as a way to address those concerns.

**Editors pose questions.

The editors of the Daily Mirror and the Daily Mail have posed a series of questions to the government about its response to the crisis in South Africa. The questions, which cover a range of issues, have been met with a mixed reaction from the government.
Steve died on the battlefield. Says his sister.
authorities gave one of four reasons for his death it would be untrue — and one of them has been alleged, Mr Woods said at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing a meeting of more than 1,000 people, held to mark the death in detention of Mr Biko, he said he and Mr Biko were aware of the ever-present risk of his detention and the possibility that he might die there.

"Therefore we had an arrangement that if any of the four reasons for his death were alleged, I would know it was untrue. One of them has been alleged," Mr Woods, a close friend of Mr Biko, said.

This week the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, announced that Mr Biko had died after an eight-day hunger strike.

Students and staff of UCT, who were packed into the aisles of the lecture theatre, applauded loudly when Mr Woods entered.

"This is the big one," he said quietly. "The one they cannot get away with. The one they cannot explain away.

"The interrogation of Steve is over and the interrogation of the Minister of Justice is about to begin. Mr Kruger appeared to have acted facetiously — but the smile is going to be wiped off his face," Mr Woods said to loud applause.

Mr Kruger had committed several errors of judgment.

"I have written thousands of words about him and any suggestion by him that Steve was intent on violence is a lie. He was really the most warm and human person I have ever met. We had lots of fun together at the expense of the Special Branch."

He had the following questions:

"Why did the first version state that he had died in hospital and now the latest that he was found dead in his cell?

Why did Mr Kruger's first statement create the impression that the State, on its own initiative, had arranged that the post-mortem be conducted in the presence of pathologists nominated by representatives of Mr Biko's family, when the post-mortem had begun without the family's knowledge?

Why had Mr Kruger suggested that Mr Biko and his wife, Ntsikie, were estranged? She could not get work in the same town he was restricted to.

Why had Mr Kruger waited until after the death to accuse Mr Biko of inciting violence, yet had not prosecuted him while he had been alive?

Why was it that Mr Biko was referred to "as if he were a 6" doctors who found nothing wrong with him? Who were those doctors?

Why was it taking so long to release the post-mortem findings? Could not at least the unequivocal physical findings be released?

Mr Woods quoted Mr Kruger as having said he was confident that everything that could have been done to prevent Mr Biko's death had been done by his people.

"I challenge him today to test his confidence in his people, to resign if the truth comes out and contradicts their story.

"I hold him ultimately responsible for Steve's death because under him the statutes (I call them that because I cannot call them laws) were introduced for the abnormal exercise of law.

"I accuse him of giving the false impression to his people — they accuse documents. I could write documents myself and say that the Prime Minister has just become a card-carrying member of the Communist Party."

Reacting to a statement by Mr Chris Venter of Springs who reportedly said that Mr Kruger had been democratic by allowing people to starve to death, he said: "Mr Venter will be nailed for that (applause). He will be nailed in public and in a court of law — a refreshing change — no matter how long it takes."

Mr Woods called on all South Africans for a "major onslaught" by all civilised and constitutional means to bring the Government down.

"We must exploit the death of Steve Biko for the right purposes. He would have wanted us to channel our reaction in a cold, precise, unrelenting and rational way. Everything must be fully deliberated and carefully thought out.

"We must move against them on all fronts as a united people, bearing in mind that they are a tiny, pathetic minority," he concluded to a standing ovation which lasted for several minutes.

Former Nusas president Charles Nupen said that Mr Biko wanted to confront the system in a non-violent way.

"He challenged the whites of South Africa to discard their paternalism and racism as a prerequisite for their own freedom. He was committed to forming a political power base that would be able to negotiate freedom," he said. — DDC.

SIR DE VILLIERS

Graaff calls for probe

JOHANNESBURG — Sir De Villiers Graaff, interim leader of the New Republic Party, yesterday joined the call for a judicial inquiry into the death of Steve Biko.

Addressing students at Rand Afrikaans University, he said inquests into detainee deaths had proved unsatisfactory, and in the light of the 20 deaths it was now more than ever necessary for a judicial inquiry to be held.

In Pretoria, the NRP called on the Government to abolish detention without trial.

The party's Transvaal executive issued a statement expressing concern at Mr Biko's death, but emphasised that there was no doubt the cause of death.

"It is therefore wrong for both the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, or other persons or bodies to ascribe his unfortunate passing away to either a hunger strike or any other cause, until the results of the post-mortem are available. — SAPA.
EAST LONDON — Swapo has sent a message of condolences to the bereaved family of the black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

In a statement issued by the deputy chairman of Swapo, M NTUMIRI NOKANDA, yesterday, Swapo said, "Swapo of Namibia wishes to express condolences on behalf of the Namibian people, to the bereaved family of Steve Biko and to the oppressed people of South Africa on the shocking death of one of South Africa's most articulate, dynamic, gallant and courageous young leaders who died mysteriously while in detention."

"In expressing our condolences we think of the ponderable and valuable contributions Steve Biko had made as an exponent of black consciousness in South Africa.

The Swapo statement read: "We will remember him as a selfless and dedicated fighter against racism, oppression and exploitation. Fearlessly and tirelessly he championed the cause of freedom and self-expression in South Africa until he was battered and gagged by the South African legal machinery.

"However, his brilliant work and astoundingly insightful reflections on black consciousness are immortal and permanently inscribed in the minds and hearts of many people in South Africa — urging and generating them to more and more relentless and sacrificial deeds in their fight for liberation," the statement reads.

"Although Steve Biko's death is a terrible loss to the people of South Africa, his ideas and visions of a great, promising future are ours and the struggle for which he died will continue.

"Finally, we wish to remind you brothers and sisters, those who are in mourning and bereaved, that our struggle is your struggle and your struggle is ours." — SAPA.

Judicial inquiry urged

PRETORIA — Leading members of the Coloured and Indian communities yesterday called on the Government to appoint a judicial commission to inquire into the death of Mr Steve Biko.

The Coloured Representative Council have repeatedly condemned imprisonment without trial and detention in any shape or form. Yesterday the Coloured council executive said the only satisfactory way of clearing up any doubts was a full and open judicial inquiry. — DDC.

Placards torn down

PIETERMARITZBURG — Security branch men tore down placards at Natal University here yesterday shortly after a memorial service for Mr Steve Biko had started on the campus.

Minutes earlier, a notice from the chief magistrate banning any demonstrations on the campus for a 37-hour period in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act was served on a woman student in the SRC office at the university.

SRC members believe the notice was served following plans to stage a picket protest at the entrance of the university yesterday.

"But the picket protest was cancelled by the SRC on Wednesday after one SRC member, Miss P. Henderson, who was served with yesterday's banning notice had taken legal advice.

Meanwhile, a mass meeting will be held at the Durban campus of Natal University on Tuesday night to protest against the deaths in detention, Mr Roy Swart, chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, said yesterday. — DDC.

Umtata service

UMTATA — Residents of Umtata will hold a memorial service for the late Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention this week.

The multi-racial service will be held on Sunday at the Methodist Social Centre at Ncumbulana at 3pm and Rev P. V. Ntimtiti will deliver the sermon.
APE TOWN — A Grahamstown schoolteacher has issued a 3-day hunger strike against the death of the black leader who died in police detention.

The schoolteacher, Mrs Shirley Mould, wife of a senior lecturer in philosophy at Rhodes University, said she would be taking fluids for 4 days starting on Monday.

In Johannesburg, the national president of the Black Students Union, Mr Steve Biko, said he would be joining the fast in a personal capacity.

200 students arrested

ALICE — The police yesterday arrested 200 students at the University of Fort Hare while they were holding a mass memorial service on campus for black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

Krug: Biko was on a drip

PRETORIA — Mr Steve Biko had been fed intravenously during his treatment here this week, the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, said.

Mr Kruger said he could not give details of the treatment, but confirmed it was an intravenous drip.

Mr Biko died on Sunday night, after going on a hunger strike following his arrest in Grahamstown earlier this month.

There was a doctor treating him, I am not a medical man so don't know what the treatment was," Mr Kruger said.

"It was apparently some sort of feed. It was a drip.

"I hope other people — particularly leaders of the Christian church — experience their own horror and distress by joining the fast," Mrs Duncan said.

The strike fast, for five days, is to protest against the death of the black leader who died in police detention.

The fast, over eight days, is one of many demonstrations currently developing against the death of the black leader who died in police detention.

"I heard that a young South African politician of the same age as the late Steve Biko, and I am told he was not fed to mine the general clamour," the minister said yesterday.

Meanwhile, the Rev. Paul Houben, the Anglican priest who in 1972 fasted in Cape Town, said he would be joining the fast in a personal capacity.

Mr Kruger said the students welcomed the fast, but confirmed it was an intravenous drip.

He also confirmed that the student was at the National Party congress here that there had been a second death in Pretoria.

Maj C. J. Jordaan, a liaison officer for the Department of Prisons, confirmed yesterday that Capt. P. Loots died on Sunday.

A deputation from the SRC has called him to the hospital, but there was no response.

The witness said that stage students and police were in a state of great excitement and there were no independent witnesses.

The students, however, continued with their demonstration.

The witness said that while the police made them get into four large prison trucks and transported them to the Alice police station.

Mr Robert Taylor was one of more than 50 Rhodes University students who, starting from 7 am yesterday, walked singly to the doors of the Grahamstown Cathedral and back to the university administration block to mark the death of black youth leader and honorary president of the Black Peoples' Convention, Mr Steve Biko.

Their demonstration unti

The doctors agreed that all favourable factors, the longest a man could survive without any fluids in South African conditions would be seven days.
Peer says BPC head

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Biko: US is shocked, revolted

Eugene Hugo
WASHINGTON — The United States has reacted with shock and revulsion to the death of detention black leader Mr Steve Biko which will have a devastating effect on relations between South Africa and America.

The State Department has labelled Mr Biko a "victim of the apartheid system" and demanded a full investigation into the circumstances of his death.

Comments by the department, UN Ambassador Mr Andrew Young and Senator Clark indicate that the US accepts Mr Biko as one of the most important black leaders in South Africa and that he had totally underestimated the depth of the SA Government.

DIALOGUE

When Mr Biko told the US, it was not done enough to bring about majority rule in South Africa, the American administration went on to say to "re-establish contact and dialogue with him," said Senator Clark.

A leading senator said Mr Young was disgusted to hold dialogue with Mr Biko.

Senator Clark flew specially to the Eastern Cape to see him during his last visit to South Africa in 1976.

And Senator Clark said The Star "will now become a martyr in the struggle for racial equality in South Africa."

To Page 3, Col 2

The Government will not bow to local and international pressure to mount a special inquiry into the cause of death in detention of black leader Mr Steve Biko.

This was re-emphasised today by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, in an interview with The Star's political correspondent.

There is to be a normal inquest, which is not expected to be held for some months, following yesterday's interrupted post-mortem examination of the body of Mr Biko.

"We are going to have a post-mortem and we are going to have a full inquiry into the death. We are not going to have a special inquiry," Mr Kruger said.

He died on Monday at a Pretoria hospital. Mr Jimmy Kruger said his death followed a hunger strike which began on September 5.

The post-mortem into the death by State-appointed medical men began yesterday morning, five days after an inquest was held. Mr Biko's lawyer, Mr John Chetty, asked for a pathologist representing the families to attend.

The post-mortem resulted about 210 pm and finished about 4.15 pm yesterday. It has been made clear by the family's representatives that they do not consider the State acted properly in beginning the post-mortem without their representatives being present.

Sub judice

Mr Chetty was asked by The Star whether the pathologists' findings were consistent with the explanation of death given by Mr Kruger. Mr Chetty would only say: "Obviously I cannot answer that at this stage."

Religion Reporter

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has expressed "deepest sympathy and solidarity in Christ" with the family and friends of Mr Steve Biko.

A statement issued by the office of the conference's president, Archbishop Joseph Fitzgerald of Johannesburg today called for a full inquiry into Mr Biko's death in detention.

"As no crime has ever been proved against him in court, and he never feared to appear before the courts....even at high cost to himself, we must assume him to have been innocent of all allegations made against him," it continued the statement.

"The late Mr Biko was known as a man of outstanding ability, totally devoted to the cause of his people, which he saw as the cause of humanity."

No comment

Mr Biko's widow said today that for the moment she had no comment on her husband's death or on the events leading up to it.

Mrs Biko said she might be prepared to comment tomorrow. She declined to say whether she was taking legal advice or was contemplating any legal action.

The Justice spokesman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mrs Helen Suzman, said she found it astounding that Mr Kruger should have issued a statement giving the impression Mr Biko had died as a result of a hunger strike.

The Minister, by doing so, had anticipated the findings of the inquest, Mrs Suzman said.

She said she had asked why relatives of Mr Biko had not been told when he had become ill, instead of only after his death.

She said the real cause of Mr Biko's death could be to Page 3 Col 1
Kruger rejects world
Mr Biko's death was related as an 'outrage' on the Senate floor, as a "tragedy for the future of South Africa" at the United Nations.

Mr Young compared the death to loss of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King. "These losses," he said "cost nearly a decade of progress. Certainly a future and non-racial South Africa will mourn the loss of a dedicated native son, Mr Biko."

The State Department said whatever the immediate causes of Mr Biko's untimely death, he had to be regarded as another victim of apartheid.

"We have expressed deep concern to the South African Government over Mr Biko's death and the circumstances in which this occurred without his family or his attorney being notified of any deterioration in the state of his health."

"We believe a full investigation into the circumstances surrounding Mr Biko's death is called for."

The Biko affair has served only to harden, yet again, attitudes against South Africa as illustrated by the change in the once even-handed approach of Senator Clark.

In London, the South Africa version of the death has been quickly denied in Britain by those who knew him.

The Guardian newspaper, today points to Mr Biko as perhaps the only South African leader who could claim effective, mass support of the young radical urban blacks.

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To Ian Phimister for pointing this out to me.

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Interesting point to be recorded, according to the Manager of Wenela in Rhodesia, 9 April 1975. The statement is: "the availability and in the future, has become more important permitted Wenela to recruit more of the South Africans. This decision, which could help our mining industry, was made without the Chamber. This was a grave departure but I am assured that it was not at all regrettable."

The tragic death should lead to a public outcry. This appalling piece of legislation places people entirely in the hands of the police without the normal protection of the law.

What was needed was an inquiry into the overall picture of detainees' deaths and their causes by a completely independent body.


representatives in Salisbury explained these reasons as: of underground work, being 'trouble makers' and being 'dis- and 'unsettled'.

Kleistner and W.J. Breytenbach, The Black Worker of South Africa, Institute No. 26, Pretoria, 1975, p.15, report a figure of 11000 Rhodesian workers as reported by the 1970 Census in South Africa. undoubtedly low. Dept. of Bantu Affairs figures are much higher. For example, see Rhodesia Herald, 3 April 1976.

Teful to Nicholas Dziva who conducted the interviews in the area.

Drafting operations, the Acting Manager of Wenela (Mr. M.D. Nicolle) did an on the spot review of unemployment in and around Salisbury. His cursory investigation, he was well-satisfied as to the evidence of urban unemployment in Salisbury. It is also worth noting the comment of the President of the South African Mines that an off-take of 20 000 contractees 'would not dent the local labour market'.


Teful to Ian Phimister for pointing this out to me.
Biko went on hunger fast says Kruger

Pretoria Bureau

Black leader Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention on Monday, went on a hunger strike, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger said in Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Biko was in a Pretoria hospital at the time of his death. He had been transferred there from Port Elizabeth where he was being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

King William's Town security police informed Mr Biko's 37-year-old mother of her son's death early yesterday.

Mr Kruger released a statement after a series of delays early yesterday afternoon. A spokesman at his office said one of the delays was caused by Mr Kruger's wanting to see the Prime Minister before a statement was issued.

Mr Kruger said that since September 5 - about 20 days after his detention - Mr Biko had refused meals and threatened a hunger strike.

ARRESTED

Mr Kruger said: "Mr Biko and a coloured man were arrested at a road block near Grahamstown on August 18 after information was received that Mr Biko, who was restricted to the magisterial district of King William's Town, was travelling between Cape Town and King William's Town.

"He was arrested in connection with activities related to the riots in Port Elizabeth and, later, for drafting and distributing pamphlets which incited arson and violence. "He was detained at Walmer police station in Port Elizabeth."

"Since September 3 Mr Biko refused his meals and threatened a hunger strike. But he was regularly supplied with meals and water which he refused to consume."

"The district surgeon was called in on September 7 after Mr Biko appeared to be unwell. The doctor certified that he could not find anything wrong with him."

"On September 8 the police arranged that Mr Biko be examined again by the district surgeon as well as the chief district surgeon and, because they could diagnose no physical problem, they recommended that Mr Biko be sent to the prison hospital for intensive examination."

"A specialist examined him on the same day."

"On September 9, Mr Biko was examined again by a doctor who kept him for observation."

HOSPITAL

"On September 11 Mr Biko was removed from the prison hospital to Walmer police station on the recommendation of the district surgeon."

"By Sunday Mr Biko had still not eaten and appeared to be unwell. After consultation with the district surgeon it was decided to transfer him to Pretoria. He was taken to Pretoria the same night."

"On September 12 Mr Biko was again examined and medically treated by the district surgeon in Pretoria. He died the same night."

"His mother was informed of his death because his wife, who is separated from him, could not be traced."

"During his detention a magistrate visited Mr Biko on September 2, 2 according to the law," Mr Kruger said.

A post-mortem is to be undertaken by the chief state pathologist in the presence of a pathologist.
Marks were found on dead detainee

2.

The Clacolon test area was considered first. In the laboratory the photos, comprising the test area, were separated into two subtypes, the upland type and the floodplain type, which also included plant communities on a basalt sill, Cucu SSA, and those of the Molteno Red Beds, and the planform of the map (Fig. 1) which also included several waterways. The second was the floodplain type, which also included several waterways.

The area in the central part of the test site was studied, with the photos covering a 2m x 2m area, represented on six 20cm x 23cm photos.

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Data in this section are extracted from the Agreement contained on the reverse of the contract form signed by each contractee. Additional perspectives came from Menela propaganda handed to contractees (documents in the vernacular translated by Wilbert Garba).


Wenela representatives in Salisbury explained these reasons as: dislike of underground work, being 'trouble makers' and being 'disturbed' and 'unsettled'.

G.M.E. Leistner and W.J. Breytenbach, The Black Worker of South Africa, Africa Institute No. 26, Pretoria, 1975, p.15, report a figure of 11 000 black Rhodesian workers as reported by the 1970 Census in South Africa. This is undoubtedly low. Dept. of Bantu Affairs figures are much higher. For example, see Rhodesia Herald, 3 April 1976.

When starting operations, the Acting Manager of Menela (Mr. N.D. Nicolle) conducted an on the spot review of unemployment in and around Salisbury. From this cursory investigation, he was well-satisfied as to the extensive evidence of urban unemployment in Salisbury. It is also worth reporting the comment of the President of the South African Chamber of Mines that an off-take of 20 000 contractees 'would not make a dent in the local labour market'.

See Business Herald, 6 February 1976; and Financial Mail, 9 May 1975.

I am grateful to Ian Phimister for pointing this out to me.

It is an interesting point to be recorded that, according to the General Manager of Menela in Rhodesia, the publication of political news indicating heightening of the local political crisis and/or possibility of change has brought about immediate fall-off in recruitment intake levels.
Two brothers detained

DURBAN. — A second Umzazi man, Mr Sigcilo Sithole, has been detained and held for questioning, security police confirmed yesterday.

He was arrested in Umzazi on Tuesday at the same time as was his brother, Mr George Sithole, banquet secretary of the Umzazi Residents' Association, who is still in security police custody. — Sapa
Drips can keep men alive - doctors

325 - Belfho

THE CAPE TIMES, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1977
Huge Biko service planned

Political Reporter

Thousands of mourners are expected at Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto on Sunday at one of several services planned in memory of South African revolutionary leader, Steve Biko.

Services are being organised by the Black People's Convention for 2 pm on Sunday at Soweto in Pretoria, Durban, the Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal.

The South African Council of Churches announced that at 3 pm on Sunday a service will be held at the Johannesburg Central Methodist Mission.

A protest rally is to be held in Johannesburg City Hall on Monday at 1 pm. Main speakers will be Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, Dr Beyers Naude and ex-judge Mr Kowie Marais.

Mrs Suzman has meanwhile called on the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, to clear up the 'fishy discrepancies' in official statements arising out of the death of Steve Biko.

POLICE CELL?

The Minister must immediately clear up whether Mr Biko died in a police cell or in a prison hospital or in a normal hospital, she said.

Mrs Suzman, chief justice spokesman for the Progressive Federal Party, pointed to Mr Kruger's differing statements on whether Mr Biko was force-fed or not while on a hunger strike.

While addressing the National Party congress in Pretoria on Wednesday, Mr Kruger indicated that Mr Biko had not been force-fed. He said then: 'If I were them (the police) I would have said: Don't touch him. I would have detention.

Last night, Mr Kruger said that Mr Biko had been fed, irrevocably before he died.

IN HOSPITAL?

On the question of whether Mr Biko died in a hospital or in a police cell there is still no clarity.

About 250 wreaths in memory of the dead black leader, Mr Steve Biko, were laid in various parts of Johannesburg early today by members of the Transvaal region of the Black Sash. Mrs Pat Tucker, vice-chairwoman of the region, said the wreaths were laid in protest against the circumstances of Mr Biko's death and in a bid to make the public aware of the fact that 44 detainees had died in detention so far.

Thousands to mourn
The melancholy tale of Rico's harassment

Contents

BPD case for black consciousness

BLACK STUDENT STAMPED THE LAND PREACHING THE GOSPEL OF RESPECT FOR BLACK CULTURAL VALUES

The police report on the incident is as follows:

"On October 15, 1977, at 3:00 PM, a student, Rico, was approached by a group of police officers in the campus library. The students were discussing a play that was due to be performed later that evening. The officers asked Rico to leave the library and moved him to another part of the campus, away from the students. Rico was then searched and a small amount of marijuana was found on him. The officers then proceeded to question Rico about his involvement in the play and his association with the students. Rico denied any involvement and was released.

The incident was reported to the university administration, who conducted an investigation. The administration concluded that the officers had acted in a manner that was inappropriate and unjustified.

The university administration issued a statement expressing their concern about the incident and the actions of the officers. They stated that the university would take steps to ensure that such incidents do not happen again.

The students who were present in the library at the time of the incident also expressed their concern about the actions of the officers. They stated that they felt that the incident was a form of harassment and that it was not acceptable.

The incident has sparked a debate about the role of the police on campus and the treatment of students. Many students have called for reforms in the way the police interact with students and for greater respect for their rights and freedoms.

The university administration has stated that they are committed to improving the relationship between the police and the students and that they will take steps to address the concerns raised by the students.
Hungry to bed

WHEN somebody like the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Hendrik Schoeman, goes so far as to say that "nobody goes to bed hungry in South Africa" he is simply inviting criticism from people who are better placed than he to assess the position accurately.

His astonishing remark drew quick responses from two Coloured leaders who made it clear that the Minister in his ivory tower was out of touch with conditions in living areas outside those occupied by Whites.

There are statistics galore to prove that a high level of malnutrition exists among South Africa's less privileged inhabitants, and its precursor is frequently the uneasy sensation caused by want of food. Hunger is not confined to Africans, Coloureds and Indians, as many a poor White pensioner could testify.

The high and still rising price of food virtually guarantees that some low-income families will seek sleep on rumbling stonelaks. Ask any charity worker or sociologist.

It is unfortunately true that South Africa, which produces a huge surplus of food, has failed to devise a system to get at least some of it to those in need instead of exporting it, frequently at a loss. Certainly logistical and other economic difficulties will be encountered, but is it really beyond the wit of the Government to ensure that the young and the aged at least are spared the pangs of hunger?

A leading medical researcher of Pretoria University estimates that on average three children die every day in South Africa from the ravages of malnutrition, which every year kills at least 24 000 African children and 3 500 Coloured children under the age of five.

With figures like these available surely it is not unreasonable to expect a Cabinet Minister to disintegrate from expressing opinions that are not backed by fact.

9 April 1975. The availability of food became much more difficult without a grave departure from current policies which had been adopted.

Financial Review.

But noted in Grain Marketing, 9 April 1975.

and Financial Statements

reasons as:

and being 'dis-
curbed' and 'unsettled'.

66/ G.M.E. Leistner and W.J. Breytenbach, The Black Worker of South Africa, Africa Institute No. 26, Pretoria, 1975, p.15, report a figure of 11 000 black Rhodesian workers as reported by the 1970 Census in South Africa. This is undoubtedly low. Dept. of Bantu Affairs figures are much higher. For example, see Rhodesia Herald, 3 April 1976.

67/ I am grateful to Nicholas Dziva who conducted the interviews in the vernacular.

68/ When starting operations, the Acting Manager of Wenela (Mr. N.D. Nicolle) conducted an on the spot review of unemployment in and around Salisbury. From this cursory investigation, he was well-satisfied as to the extensive evidence of urban unemployment in Salisbury. It is also worth reporting the comment of the President of the South African Chamber of Mines that an off-take of 20 000 contractees would not make a dent in the local labour market.

69/ See Business Herald, 6 February 1976; and Financial Mail, 9 May 1975.

70/ I am grateful to Ian Phimister for pointing this out to me.

71/ It is an interesting point to be recorded that, according to the General Manager of Wenela in Rhodesia, the publication of political news indicating heightening of the local political crisis and/or possibility of change has brought about immediate fall-off in recruitment intake levels.

72/ ......
PRETORIA – Mr. Steve Biko had been fed intravenously during his treatment here before he died this week, the Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, said here last night.

Mr. Kruger said he could not give details of the treatment but confirmed that it was an intravenous drip.

"On Wednesday Mr. Kruger, after addressing the Transvaal National Party Congress, was reported to have said that failure of the police to force feed Mr. Biko would have been defensible because had they done so they would have faced accusations of a different sort.

Mr. Biko died on Sunday night after going on a hunger strike following his arrest in Grahamstown last month.

"There was a doctor treating him. I am not a medical man so I don't know what the treatment was," Mr. Kruger said.

"It was apparently some sort of feed. It was a drip." Mr. Kruger said full details of the treatment given to Mr. Biko might come out at the inquest, when doctors would probably give evidence.

He had as yet no indication when the inquest would be held.

From Johannesburg Sapa reports a call by Sir de Villiers Graaff, interim leader of the New Republic Party for a judicial inquiry into Mr. Biko's death.

Addressing students at Rand Afrikans University he said inquests into detaine deaths had proved unsatisfactory and in the light of the 20 deaths it was now more than ever necessary Colourised and Indian councils yesterday called for the Government to appoint a judicial commission to inquire into the deaths.

Protest

It was a means of protest against the evils of police treatment of students, he said.

Mr. McIntosh said it would prove that young men do not die after eight days without food, he added.

The McIntoshes will be drinking water during the fast and will be carrying on with normal activities.

They were taking water because it had been proved that if a man was not taking any fluids he would show signs of dehydration by the fourth day.

Yet the Government said he had been examined by a doctor who found nothing physically wrong with him, Mr. McIntosh said.

Their fast begins on Sunday at 7 a.m. and lasts until Sunday, September 25 at 7 p.m.

From London Sapa reports that senior British politicians, churchmen and trade unionists yesterday handed in a letter at the South African Embassy urging an international inquiry into Mr. Biko's death.

They were among the more than 100 demonstrators who picketed South Africa House in Trafalgar Square during the lunch hour.

Banners

The demonstrators carried banners and placards condemning the deaths in detention in South Africa, particularly Mr. Biko's, chanted slogans against the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, and sang "freedom songs.

Security guards prevented Bishop Colin Winter, the exiled Anglican Bishop of Salisbury, entering the embassy.

Chamber of Mines that an off-take of 20,000 contractees would not make a dent in the local labour market.

See Business Herald, 6 February 1976; and Financial Mail, 9 May 1975.

I am grateful to Ian Phimister for pointing this out to me.

It is an interesting point to be recorded that, according to the General Manager of Menela in Rhodesia, the publication of political news indicating heightening of the local political crisis and/or possibility of change has brought about immediate fall-off in recruitment intake levels.

......
1 200 held as Kruger told to quit

By MELANIE YAP

OPPOSITION PFP spokesmen yesterday called on the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, to resign over his "insensitive" reaction to the death of black leader, Mr Steve Biko.

In other developments yesterday, riot police with dogs arrested 1 200 Fort Hare University students after an open air memorial service for Mr Biko at the Eastern Cape campus.

Protest meetings were held in Durban and Cape Town and last night appeals for a judicial inquiry into Mr Biko's death and the abolition of detention without trial continued.

Kruger says Biko was fed on drip

Staff Reporter

MR JIMMY Kruger, Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, last night revealed that black leader, Mr Steve Biko, had been fed intravenously before he died.

He said he could not give details of the treatment before Mr Biko's death on Monday night, but confirmed it was an intravenous drip.

"There was a doctor," he said.

Medical man so I don't know what he did to him," Mr Kruger said.

"I don't know what treatment he was given," he added.

Mr Kruger said full details of the treatment given to Mr Biko would probably come out at the inquest when doctors gave evidence.

Two days ago, at the Transvaal National Party Congress in Pretoria, Mr Kruger defended the failure of the police to feed Mr Biko on the grounds that had they touched him they would have faced accusations of a different sort.

"If I was there, I would have said 'call a doctor,'" Mr Kruger told delegates.

Mr Kruger said that Mr Biko decided to go on a hunger strike after demonstrating to the Transvaal National Party congress amid laughter, of Mr Biko's "democratic right to go on a hunger strike.'"

If it is true that Mr Biko died in a prison cell, then there has been gross neglect of the treatment and dealing with an inmate who chose to starve to death. This all points to the terrible penalties of being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act," Mrs Susan said.

Last night Mr Kruger added to his earlier statements on Mr Biko's detention and death the fact that he had been intravenously fed before he died.

"I am not a medical man so I don't know what type of treatment he had been given," he said.

Apprently some sort of feed. It was a drip," he said.

Mr Kruger stated on Tuesday that Mr Biko had been transferred from Walmer police station to Pretoria the night before he died after being medically treated. Later at the Nat party congress he defended the failure of the police to feed Mr Biko on the grounds that they touched him they would face accusations of a different sort.

Mr Kruger was an "embarrassment not only to the Nat Party, but to the whole of South Africa."

Mr Kruger stated that the police had no disastrous repercussions among blacks and he calamities for the image of South Africa."

At Alice last night 1 200 Fort Hare University students were taken in batches of hundreds into the local magistrate's court where they were charged with attending a prohibited gathering.

Among them were more than 200 women students who were released on their own *umps."
Crisis deepens as students leave

D J Kriel, confirmed yesterday that a petrol bomb was thrown through the window of a hostel superintendent's house at the university on Wednesday night.

Two of the superintendent's children, one of whom is blind, were injured in the incident and had to be admitted to hospital.

Yesterday in Johannesburg, Mr Jaap Strydom, regional director of education in Soweto, said meetings would be held with parents at all the Soweto senior secondary schools on Saturday. Parents would be given the opportunity of making suggestions on how to end the two -month-old schools stalemate.

"If parents ask for an extension of the registration deadline, I feel sure the authorities would agree to this," Mr Strydom added.

A spokesman for the 600 Soweto teachers who last week announced that they would resign said yesterday that 250 teachers had signed forms stating they were resigning. A final statement on their resignations would be made today, he added.
answer questions

Krugger asked to

16/1/77

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Mr Hlaku Kenneth Rachidi, president of the Black People's Convention, pictured at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday. The general secretary of the BPC, Mr Thandisizwe Mazibuko, is on Mr Rachidi's right. The conference related to the death of Mr Biko.

Fort Hare authorities said yesterday afternoon that in spite of the small number of students left on the campus the university would not close and lectures would continue as usual. Normally there are about 1,600 students on the campus.

Meanwhile, at a protest meeting at the University of Natal, Durban, Mr Pink Haysom, the Nasas president, said it was shameful that it took the death of Mr Biko to make people aware of the number of deaths in detention and the increasing level of repression in South Africa.

The PPP Mr for Pinetown, Mr Graham McIntosh and his wife, Santie, said yesterday they would join a widespread eight-day hunger strike protest against Mr Biko's death.

In Maritzburg, South West Police were down planks at the University of Natal after a memorial service.

Kruger and other people to say he died as a result of a hunger strike, or by another cause, the NIP said.

The South African Indian Council and the Coloured Representative Council said "it was disturbing" that the Government had declined to order a full judicial inquiry into Mr Biko's death.

Johannesburg's Coloured Management Committee condemned detention without trial and Mr Albie Pop, committee member said: "To the upholders of the system responsible for his death — no matter what the post mortem may reveal — we say that for every Biko who dies under such circumstances, many more will rise to take his place."

The Afrikaans Nationalist newspaper, Die Burger, yesterday added its voice to international demands for a judicial inquiry.

"South Africa cannot
Biko death: Editor tells of secret code

Staff Reporter

STEVE BIKO and newspaper editor Mr Donald Woods had an arrangement that if the authorities gave one of four reasons for his death it would be untrue — and one of them has been alleged, Mr Woods told a mass meeting at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing a meeting of more than 1,000 people, held to mark the death in detention of Mr Biko on Monday night, he said he and Mr Biko were aware of the ever-present risk of his detention and the possibility that he might die there.

"Therefore we had an arrangement that if any of four reasons for his death were alleged, I would know it was untrue. One of them has been alleged," Mr Woods, editor of the East London Daily Dispatch and a close friend of Mr Biko, said.

This week the Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, announced that Mr Biko had died after an eight-day hunger strike.

"This is the big one," Mr Woods said. "The one they cannot get away with. The one that they cannot explain away."

"The interrogation of Steve is over and the interrogation of the Minister of Justice is about to begin."

Mr Woods said that allegations that Mr Biko was intent on violence were not true. "He was really the most warm and human person I have ever met. We had lots of fun together at the expense of the Special Branch."

He asked the following questions of the authorities:

- Why within the space of three days did the two versions of Mr Biko’s death differ?
- Why did the first version state that he had died in hospital and now the latest that he was found dead in his cell?
- Why did Mr Kruger’s first statement create the impression that the State, on its own initiative, had arranged that the post-mortem be conducted in the presence of pathologists nominated by representatives of Mr Biko’s family, when the post-mortem had begun without the family representative?
- Why had Mr Kruger suggested that Mr Biko and his wife, Ntsikile, were estranged? She could not get work in the same town in which he was restricted.
- Why had Mr Kruger waited till after the death to accuse Mr Biko of treacherous violation we had not seen.

- Why was Mr Biko referred to ‘five or six’ doctors when they found nothing wrong with him? Who are these doctors?
- Why is it taking so long to release the post-mortem findings? Could not at least the unequivocal physical findings be released?

Mr Woods quoted Mr Kruger as having said he was confident that everything that could have been done to prevent Mr Biko’s death had been done by his people.

"I challenge him today to test his confidence in his people, to resign if the truth comes out and contradicts their story.

"I hold him ultimately responsible for Steve’s death because under him the statutes (I call them that because I cannot call them laws) were introduced for the abnormal exercise of law.

"I accuse him of giving the false impression to his people — of creating an emotional atmosphere by producing another secret document.

"They do not accuse people — they accuse documents. I could write documents myself and say that the Prime Minister has just become a card-carrying member of the Communist Party."

Mr Woods criticized a statement by Mr Chris Venter of Springs, who reportedly told the Transvaal National Party congress that Mr Kruger had been democratic by allowing people to starve to death.

Mr Woods called on all South Africans for a “major onslaught” by all civilized and constitutional means to bring the government down.

"We must exploit the death of Steve Biko for the right purposes. He would have wanted us to channel our reaction to a cold, precise, unreferencing and rational way. Everything must be fully deliberated and carefully thought out.

"We must move against them on all fronts as a united people, bearing in mind that they are a tiny, pathetic minority," he concluded to a standing ovation which lasted several minutes.

Former Natsas president Mr Charles Nupen said Mr Biko wanted to confront the system in a non-violent way.

"He challenged the whites of South Africa to discard their paternalism and racialism as a prerequisite for their own freedom. He was committed to forming a political movement that would be able to exercise freedom in a way that would be acceptable to both white and black South Africans."

Hundreds of people packed a lecture theatre at UCT yesterday to listen to an address by Mr Donald Woods (right), editor of the East London Daily Dispatch.
State actions on call for check law experts
Nat paper condemns congress remarks

JOHANNESBURG. — In an editorial today, the Nationalist newspaper The Transvaal said it viewed the death of Mr Steve Biko in a very serious light.

The paper strongly denounced the reaction of delegates at the National Party Congress for laughing while the Minister of Justice, Mr J.J. Kruger, described events leading to Mr Biko's death.

It said: 'We want to express our condemnation over certain unfortunate remarks made at the National Party Congress over the death of Biko.'

MASS PROTEST

The paper said it had been inundated with questions from well-meaning people wanting to know why timely action had not been taken in Biko's case, and whether the authorities could not have seen what propaganda would be made out of it.

A mass protest meeting over the death of Mr Biko and over Section 6 of the Terrorism Act is to be held in the Johannesburg City Hall on Monday at 3 p.m.

The main speakers will be Mrs Helen Suren, MP for Houghton, Dr Breyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute, and former judge Mr Kowie Marais.
Thoughts can't be banned

BY DONALD WOODS

That is why the creed of our present rulers cannot survive. The thoughts of too many are against them, and ultimately they themselves are far too few. Steve Biko is dead, but his ideas continue to circulate among the people.

The Nationalists here have a similar misconception of the nature of what they are up against. Like the Kaffirs, they think the enemy is words, and that if they prevent certain words being uttered by certain people they have won. But their enemy is ideas. Thoughts, more than words. Words, after all, are merely the reflection of thoughts. The thoughts are the main thing, and you cannot legislate against thoughts. You cannot detain them or ban them or restrict them.

Biko: F detenti

From Mrs MARGARET NALMHERBE, chairman, Commission for Justice and Peace, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Town (12 Bouquet Street, Cape Town):

WE MOURN the death of Steve Biko as we mourned the deaths of all the others who have died in the loneliness and silence of detention, in solitary confinement, without charge or trial.

Our bishops have said that “people starved of freedom, deprived of their just rights and maltreated in their personal dignity will not until a proper balance of justice is achieved”, and we would add our voice to theirs in calling for a full judicial inquiry into this tragedy and for an end to the whole system of detention without trial which has so suffocated the name of South Africa.

Steve Biko the man is dead, but his spirit and what he stood for will live on.
US papers warn SA over Biko’s death

WASHINGTON. — The Washington Post said yesterday that, with the death of black South African leaders such as Steve Biko, the Pretoria government will "reap the whirlwind" for refusing to engage in a dialogue with its black majority.

"How is it that in the past year-and-a-half, no fewer than 20 black activists in South Africa have died while in police custody," the Post asks in an editorial.

Citing the death of Steve Biko, called by some the Martin Luther King of South Africa, and who died this week while in police custody, the Post said Mr Biko was:

"A man with an international reputation... that had established him as one of the ablest leaders for the government to deal with if it wished to channel rising black rage away from despair and violence.

"Pretoria would be surprised if there were to be some sort of public protest in South Africa as a result of Mr Biko's death. That would not doubt lead the Pretoria government's law and order types to identify the dead leader with disruption. But they are the guilty ones.

"Whether they actually had a hand in Mr Biko's death is one thing... In a broader context, those in South Africa who prevent blacks from establishing their own leadership corps, and who break off from meaningful dialogue with the black community, are sowing the wind.

"Without the Steve Biko, they will surely reap the whirlwind."

The New York Times said in an editorial:

"Steve Biko was perhaps the most impressive and influential leader among younger black South Africans, the major figure in his country's growing 'black consciousness' movement. His death on Monday night while in the custody of the police deprives South Africa of yet another moderate and responsible voice for evolutionary change. It also casts the gravest suspicion upon the South African Police, who say he succumbed as a result of a week-long hunger strike."

The newspaper says he was the 21st black to die in South African custody in the past 18 months.

"South Africa's government likes to celebrate its elaborate system of justice and its independent judiciary to rebut the charge that it has created a police state. Indeed, the government has had some sharp criticisms thrown out by judges who patiently were not in control. Yet that has not deterred it from making more arrests on 'terrorism' charges.

"At least 200 separate trials are now underway for 'terrorism', the label given to opposition to the established order and many defendants, who may be acquitted in these trials face re-arrest and detention without trial under the sweeping statute known as the Terrorism Act. Steve Biko was acquitted twice during the past year. And after each acquittal he was seized again under slightly altered charges.

"More than 700 people are under that kind of detention. How many of them will die for their convictions? And how long before the South African government learns that, with each such death, the chances for racial peace diminish?" — Cape Daily News

"— Cape Réuter-AP
1210 Fort Hare students in court

PORT ELIZABETH. – 1210 Fort Hare University students appeared briefly in a specially-convened court at the Alice police station last night on charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The students, who appeared in several groups, were arrested yesterday morning on the university sports field, following a mass meeting called as a memorial service for Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention in Pretoria on Monday.

All 750 men students were remanded till September 26.

They were taken away in police vehicles to Fort Beaufort and East London to await trial in the Alice Magistrate's Court.

The 460 women students were released on their own recognizances and warned to appear on October 17.

The women spent most of the day under police guard in the stand at the sports field after police broke up the mass meeting, and were taken to the police station late in the afternoon for the court appearance.

It is understood that most of the women students will return to the university and continue their studies till their trial.

The Alice magistrate, Mr B J Bester, took about four hours to postpone the cases and finished about 8.30 pm.
PRETORIA. — Mr Steven Biko was fed intravenously during his treatment here before he died this week, the Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, Mr J T Kruger, said here last night.

Mr Kruger said he could not give details of the treatment but confirmed that it was an intravenous drip.

"There was a doctor treating him. I am not a medical man so I don't know what the treatment was," Mr Kruger said.

"It was apparently some sort of food. It was a drip." Mr Kruger said full details of the treatment given to Mr Biko would probably emerge at the inquest, when doctors would probably give evidence. He had no indication when the inquest would be held.

Mr Kruger said in a TV interview last night: "That Sunday evening while still under the treatment — it was a feeding through the arm. You know I'm not a medical man and I speak under correction. But in the evening when the warder walked round he goes around and he has a look at all these people because of the fact that everyone is rather sensitive about possible suicides — and immediately he saw through the hole in the door that Mr Biko was lying very still and he immediately reported it. A doctor was called and Mr Biko was found to be dead."

Major-General Janie Roux, deputy commissioner of prison, said in Pretoria on Wednesday that Mr Steve Biko died in a prison cell and was not taken to hospital in Pretoria.

The original statement released by Mr Kruger did not specify whether Mr Biko had died in prison or hospital after his transfer to Pretoria on September 12.

General Roux confirmed that Mr Biko was not sent to hospital in Pretoria, but emphasized that he had been examined and treated by a district surgeon on his arrival in Pretoria.

Meanwhile, critical reaction to Mr Biko's death has come from Britain, West Germany, Holland, the homelands and throughout South Africa. Protest meetings and memorial services have been organized and many public figures have added their voices to the call for a full inquiry.

In London, senior British politicians, churchmen and trade unionists yesterday handed in a letter at the South African Embassy urging an international inquiry into Mr Biko's death.

They were among more than 100 demonstrators who picketed South Africa House on Trafalgar Square during lunch-hour...
Reaction to death of Mr. Steve Biko
Questions about Biko

The death of anyone in detention invariably provokes mistrust, suspicion, rumours. It is the nature of detention, specially under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, that this should be so. Detainees are placed beyond public scrutiny, beyond the ordinary lawful processes that distinguish democracies from dictatorships. This is why when tragedies such as the death of Steve Biko occur, the public should be told in the clearest possible way what happened and why. It cannot be said that in the Biko affair the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, and his officials have acted with due regard to the public interest and with an understanding of public concern about detention.

Today, at least four days after Mr Biko died, there are still doubts about where he died, when he died, how he died. First impressions were that he had died in a hospital; only later was it officially stated that he died in a prison cell. The Minister defended the police's failure to force-feed Biko on the grounds that if they had touched him they would have faced charges of irregularity. But last night he revealed that Mr Biko was fed intravenously during his hunger protest. He could not give details of the treatment. "I am not a medical man, so I don't know what the treatment was." But he is Minister of Justice, responsible for handling a matter in the fierce glare of international political attention, and should be expected by now to have a more precise knowledge of events preceding Mr Biko's death.

It remains also for Mr Kruger to explain why no effort was made to inform Mr Biko's family of his hunger strike; they were notified only of his death, three weeks after he was arrested, in a state of apparent perfect health. The family might well have been able to dissuade him from his fatal course.

The coming inquest will no doubt throw more light on Mr Biko's death. But more than this needs to be investigated. Calls for a judicial inquiry into the whole system of detention are well reasoned. Will the Government not listen to reason?
for Biko-Kruger

the creation of homogeneous societies out of the present heterogeneous one, he added.

'THREE HARMONY'

'Once we give the people in the other societies what they desire in ours, then they will be satisfied and we will live in harmony right up to the next generation.'

Teachers, like the police, were a vital pillar of the State.

'Yours is a task for which we can never pay you properly, because there is not enough money,' he said.

You are among the few leaders who will lead young South Africans in shaping the future. It is for you to decide whether this country is to go on the foundations we have laid.

'We in the National Front have committed ourselves to self-conversion, but you will work on the development of our policy.'

— Sapa and The Argus Correspondent.

World probe urged

LONDON. — British politicians, churchmen and trade unionists yesterday handed in a letter at the South African Embassy here urging an international inquiry into the death of Mr Biko.

They were among the more than 100 demonstrators who picketed the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square during the lunch hour.

The demonstrators carried banners and placards condemning the deaths in detention in South Africa, particularly that of Mr Biko, who had chanted slogans against the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, and sang 'Zwedzom' songs.

The letter was handed in by Mr Ian Mikardo, chairman of the Labour Party International Committee.

EXILED BISHOP

Bishop Colin Winter, exiled Anglican Bishop of Durban, tried to enter the Embassy with Mr Mikardo, but security guards prevented him.

The letter described Mr Biko as an outstanding and courageous opponent of apartheid.

Mr Biko was a man admired in South Africa and abroad for his contribution to the cause of justice and freedom in South Africa.

We know of the suffering he has been subjected to under the Suppression of Communism Act, of his detention in 1976 under the Internal Security Act and of the constant harassment he has faced from the South African Security Police. Such action is indefensible.

'The news of his death has shocked and outraged us. We would urge your Government to conduct an independent international inquiry to determine the circumstances of his death.'

SIGNATORIES

The letter was signed by, among others, Mr Mikardo and Bishop Winter, the general secretary of the Labour Party, Mr Ron Hayward, the leader of the Liberal Party, Mr David Steel, the chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Rob Hughes, MP, the assistant general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, Mr Alex Kitson, the general secretary of the Catholic Church, and Mr Harry Morton.

Their organizations were among those represented by picketers.

Others included the African National Congress, the Pan-African Congress of Azania, the Communist Party, the National Union of Students, the Southern African Solidarity Campaign, the Catholic Church, the Christian Council for South Africa and Eliza. — Sapa.

Call for judicial inquiry

The Argus Political Staff

A MEETING of the Western Cape Province regional council of the New Republic Party decided unanimously last night to call for a judicial inquiry into the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

The meeting, held under the chairmanship of Mr Lionel Murray, MP for Green Point, and attended by the interim leader of the NRP, Mr de Villiers Graaff, adopted a resolution asking for a thorough and impartial inquiry into the death of Mr Biko.

The resolution noted that the new government of South Africa was essential that a full public disclosure be made on:

1. The nature of his detention.
2. The cause of his death.
3. The extent to which his family was informed as to his state of health while in detention.
4. The facts concerning the case of Mr Biko's death.
5. The extent to which the family was kept informed as to his state of health while in detention.
6. The resolution continued: 'The council believes that these facts cannot be established by normal inquest proceedings and therefore demands a thorough and impartial inquiry and report by a judge of the Supreme Court.'

MORE CONFUSION

Mr Murray said today there was more confusion about whether Mr Biko died in prison or in hospital. There was also confusion as to the nature of the inquest to be held to which he was subjected.

The Minister of Justice (Mr J. T. Kruger) will not be asked to conduct a full judicial inquiry. — Mr Murray.

INDEX

Mr J. T. KRUGER — 'I'm not a medical man...'

Services in major centres

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Thousands of mourners are expected to attend the funeral of Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention at Pretoria on Monday.

The services, which are being organized by the Black People's Convention, are planned for Pretoria, Pretoria, Durban, Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal.

A spokesman in Johannesburg said today that the funeral had been taken place as to whether the American Ambassador, Mr. William Bowdler, would attend Mr Biko's funeral.

'INADEQUATE'

In a statement today, Mr Fred van Wyk, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said:...
INTERVENTIONAL DRIP

THE ARGUS, FRID.
An Afrikaner, with a background a consciousness of black consciousness, Professor N. J. Olivier, formerly of the University of Natal, said that the government’s attitude was threatened.

"I can’t understand how Mr Kruger will not grasp the concept of black consciousness," he said this week. The Afrikaner himself travelled to South Africa. When black consciousness evolves, you cannot eliminate it, you have to accommodate it.

He pressed for consultation with black leaders, not "black stooges. Steve Biko was a voice to be listened to," he said.

He said that the so-called "black consciousness movement" was not a threat to the system, and that it rejected the whole system

He explained the difference between the two:

"I believe black power is applicable in already open societies, but blacks are a minority. In "African" society there is no open society. It can only be created by blacks once the government is constitutionally elected by the majority."

He said this meant he believed in democracy. The party should be called "African", he said. They wanted the establishment of a black community.

The following year he was served with a five-year banning order restricting him to a small area.

The government has been criticized for taking him out of the running of the BCP branch.

At the same time he studied for a law degree through the University of South Africa.

Later he was arrested and charged with contravening the terms of his banning order for writing an examination in a local school building.

It was in 1974 that the Security Police, attention to Mr Biko in particular, and more generally to the BCP, which is mostly in between detentions, Mr Biko was arrested and brought to court under various charges four times.

But on all four occasions he was acquitted.

The first two times he was brought to court, the Security Police accused him of breaching the terms of his banning order.

He was found guilty.

His banning order was extended to five years, and he was also charged with violating his banning order.

The case was set for September last year, but in August he was arrested by Captain P. A. Schoeman of the Eastern Cape Security Police and detained until November.

So the case was put off until March 28 this year.

But in the meantime, he was again arrested by Captain Schoeman and charged with sabotage for property.

After a long and successful case in which the defence costs alone amounted to R35,000, a magistrate once again acquitted Mr Biko.

The case in which he was charged for writing an examination was set for September 28 this year.

In July this year Mr. Biko and two others were arrested and charged for contravening banning orders. They were to have appeared in court on Wednesday next week.
Black Sash lays 250 wreaths in Jo'burg

Staff Reporter

MIXED reaction greeted members of the Black Sash yesterday when they laid 250 wreaths in Johannesburg to remind the public of the importance of the death of Black leader Mr Steve Biko.

While a group of blacks gave the thumbs-up sign to some of the wreath-laying women, a white woman said: "I hope you're going to do this for Jesus Christ on Good Friday."

"Why don't you go and marry one of them," a white man shouted from his car as Mrs Pat Tucker, Transvaal vice-chairman of the Black Sash, laid a wreath.

A black man told her: "We can still hope."

The wreaths — made by members of the Black Sash from wire coat hangers, cypresses and laurel leaves — were hooked on to waste bins along Louis Botha Avenue, Oxford Road and Jan Smuts Avenue from 8 am yesterday.

Twenty were laid on the University of the Witwatersrand campus and six on the Rand Afrikaans University campus.

Others were laid at points in the city centre including the City Hall, Carlton Centre and Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Another was tied to a fence opposite the West Rand Administration Board office in Albert Street.

By noon, most of the wreaths had been removed.
Forge-Teaing is Thory Issue

Two unyearned.

The speaker's

An...
Biko post-mortem given top priority

By SHEILA WING

THE POST-MORTEM on Mr Steve Biko was being treated as a priority case, Professor J Louber, the State pathologist who conducted the autopsy, said yesterday.

He said his entire Pretoria laboratory and sections of two other laboratories had been working on the examination since Tuesday morning.

"Normally it could take up to four weeks before the results of a post-mortem are ready but we are treating this as a priority case," he said.

"The results should be ready earlier at the rate we are going, but I can't make any promises," he added.

Professor Louber said certain technical procedures would take some time — for example, tissues had to be left in a fixative before further examination.

While no body organs had been sent away for examination, certain specimens were undergoing laboratory tests, he said.

Professor Louber would not specify what these were.

Professor Louber said he and eight other people had attended Tuesday's post-mortem examination on Mr Biko.

These included Dr Jonathan Gluckman, the private pathologist called in by the Biko family and Dr Gluckman's assistant, Professor I Simons, head of the department of pathology at Pretoria University.

Asked whether an inquest would be held immediately after the post-mortem was completed, Professor Louber said the decision rested with the judiciary. An inquest was not automatic and this depended on how he decided to handle the case. The State could alternatively press charges or drop the matter entirely.

Professor Louber said the date of an inquest, if one was held, depended on the priority of the case. It varied enormously from case to case like Mr Biko's would be expedited.

The Rand Daily Mail

Priority given to post-mortem

From PAGE ONE

East London correspondent reports that the United Nations Committee against Apartheid last night said the world should expel South Africa from the international community for the murdering of Steve Biko.

'And in Johannesburg,' Mr Donald Woods, editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, put his career on the line in a challenge to the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, to tell the truth of Mr Biko's death before post-mortem results were released.

At a meeting of students at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday, Mr Woods, a friend of Mr Biko, said he would give up journalism if it was proved Mr Biko died as a result of a hunger strike.

'WATERGATE'

'I don't think the Minister knew what happened to Steve Biko at the time he issued his statement of a hunger strike. We have here a sort of Watergate,' Mr Woods told nearly 1 500 students.

Mr Woods said Mr Biko had not died of starvation or by any act of his own.

"It was a question of what was done to him," he said.

Mr Woods challenged Mr Kruger to resign if the post-mortem results revealed the Minister had been wrong in explaining Mr Biko's death.

"It's a question of his guilt or innocence," Mr Woods said.

"We all have our own Watergate," he said, "and it can happen anywhere, to anyone."
SA: Waiting for voice of sanity

Wk Argus 17/9/77

Politics
Phoenix

In a certain sense, the State President would again have the powers of President Paul Kruger. Perhaps an unfortunate simile, if it is recalled where President Kruger ended his days. For where in the world would a latter-day Kruger find a Swiss Clarines?

One ray of light

A majority of 425 against 12 is solid. Enough. And by this overwhelming vote a group of delegates at the Transvaal congress of the National Party voted against legislation to place a ban on mixed sports clubs, a decision which was accepted by the full congress without dissent.
It may even be enough to keep Dr. Andries Treurnicht quiet on the issue of mixed sport.
Not all the news from the Transvaal congress was depressing.
Little to inspire

THE four provincial congresses of the National Party have come and gone. Little has emerged to give a feeling of confidence for the future. What did come to light, bit by bit, was some information about the new constitutional plan. It entrenches the "separateness" of whites, coloured and Indians, with a mixed Cabinet Council as the only body to discuss matters of common concern. How three "parliaments" can rule in one country without many practical difficulties and deadlocks arising, has not been explained. What is common concern or not, has not been spelt out. There is general apprehension about clothing the State President with executive powers. Overall there is a marked lack of public enthusiasm for the plan.

The glaring weakness is the lack of provision for urban blacks. And although it has been announced that the Government will take a new look at the living conditions of urban Africans (something which is long overdue) it has been emphasised that even new generations born in the cities will have to exercise their political rights in the distant homelands. Why delay the obvious and increase the tensions building up? It is clear that within the next few years the Government will have to make provision for urban blacks. Why not do it now?

The Government is moving too late and too slowly. In what had odour it is, has been shown by the outcry over the death of Mr Steve Biko in detention. And the handling of the matter by the Minister of Police, Mr J. T. Kruger, has strengthened the view that the Government is incapable of ruling the country fairly and efficiently.
Kruger 'totally unfit' for post — Swart, Murray

Weekend Argus Correspondent
DURBAN — It has been 'a disheartening week' for Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, says Mr. Ray Swart, national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party.

His handling of the Steve Biko episode had brought South Africa into further disrepute and caused great division within the country, Mr Swart said.

'Mr Kruger shows that he lacks compassion, sensitivity and wisdom, apart from any other deficiencies,' Mr Swart said.

'His performance at the Transvaal National Party congress will be regretted by every South African ambassador around the world because it is absolutely indefensible.'

CREDIBILITY

His conflicting statements regarding the circumstances of Mr Biko's death have also thrown grave doubt on his credibility and have emphasized that there is a desperate need for a full-scale judicial inquiry into this tragedy,' Mr Swart said.

'I think what is certain, however, is that Mr Kruger has shown himself totally unfit to hold the office which he does. He has become one of South Africa's biggest liabilities.'

UNFIT

The New Republic Party spokesman on justice, Mr. Lionel Murray, said: 'Mr Kruger's initial statement of personal innocence at the death of Mr Steve Biko has been followed by explanation after explanation which has only added to the confusion and has shown him to be totally unfit to discharge the sensitive duties of Minister of Justice.'
Body back in King

KING WILLIAMS TOWN — The body of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, who died while in police detention, was handed over to the Biko family by Maj R. Hansen, head of the Security Police here, yesterday morning.

Maj Hansen personally led the family a little after 8 am and informed them that Biko's body was available.

The family has entrusted the body to an undertaker while funeral arrangements are made.

The Black People's Convention, of which Mr Biko was honorary life president, is working closely with the Biko family about funeral arrangements.

The organisation's international secretary for religion, recreation, sport and culture, Mr Vuyisile Mdleleni of Johannesburg, has already arrived in King William's Town to represent the organisation.

Editor challenges Kruger on Biko's death

JOHANNESBURG — The editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr D. J. Woods, publicly challenged the Minster of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, yesterday over the manner of the death of black leader Steve Biko in detention.

Speaking at a mass meeting at Witwatersrand University, Mr Woods made a public vow that he would resign his job and quit journalism if the post-mortem findings supported the hunger-strike theory — provided Mr Kruger would also publicly vow to resign as Minister and quit politics if the post-mortem indicated another cause of death.

“Surely Mr Kruger has confidence in his security police and believes their version of what happened — well, here's his chance to prove it,” he said.

But he should do so before the post-mortem findings were disclosed, as it was “easy to be wise after the event,” and after all he had made the public statement which immediately followed.

“Remember now, and recall it later, that the Minister publicly said everything possible had been done for Steve, and that not a finger had been laid on him.

“But I say it was not a question of what was done for him — it was a question of what was done to him. And the findings will reveal for all to see what version is the truth,” he said.

He also accused Government Ministers, specifically Mr Kruger, of creating a climate of response with tough-sounding speeches at party congresses which encouraged certain elements in the security police to excess zeal in the exercise of what they regarded as their duty.

He suggested Mr Kruger should call in the security police concerned and ask them again exactly what had happened.

“We have asked Mr Kruger lots of questions, but he hasn’t got the right answers,” he said. “Maybe that is because, as he says, Biko to have had peaceful objectives could be produced. Mr Kruger said that what had to be refuted was a quotation from Mr Biko about revolutionary and not evolutionary change.

Mr Kruger also denied implying that Mr Biko was estranged from his wife. What he had said was that Mr Biko was separated from his wife who did not live with him.

I challenge Mr Woods to say this is untrue. The fact is that his wife was not living with him and the police could not trace her.”

Asked about a claim that the post-mortem examination by state pathologists had begun before the pathologist appointed by Mr Biko’s family had arrived, he said the police could give no details.

“I do not know at all what happened. I said the post-mortem examination would be performed by state pathologists and that a pathologist appointed by the family would be...
him that by the time.

the friends of Steve Biko, 

have fined him with him he 

won’t be cold — he will be 

hot.”

Asked to comment on the 

statement by Mr. Woods, Mr Kruger said he 

had never stated that Mr. Biko 

had started himself to 

death.

“I never suggested at 

any stage that Mr. Biko 

starved himself to death. 

I gave categorically the fact 

that he had gone on a 

hunger strike. That was 

given to me by the police. 

I never said that was the 

cause of death.”

To have stated the cause 

of death would have been 

to anticipate post-

mortem finding.

Asked why he had not 

previously mentioned the 

fact that Mr. Biko had been 

given an intravenous drip, 

Mr. Kruger referred to a 

statement on September 

13 in which he had said 

Mr. Biko was examined and 

medically treated by a 

district surgeon in Pretoria.

“He was treated 

medically by a doctor. I 

stated to the press that I 

am not a qualified doctor 

and I did not say what the 

treatment was.”

Mr. Kruger repeated that 

Mr. Biko had been found in 

connection with the riots in 

Pretoria and with the drafting and distributing of 

pamphlets inciting arson and 

riots.

“They were going to 

charge him. There is no 

doubt about it. They were 

preparing a charge. In any 

case he was caught out-

side his restricted area, 

but the gravamen of the 

charge was that he was 

the pamphlets.”

Asked whether this 

meant that Mr. Kruger was 

satisfied that Mr. Biko 

was not a man of peace, he 

said: “It is a matter of fact.

A man has died and it is 

not for me to start throw-

ing mud at Mr. Biko.”

Referring to claims that 

quotations showing Mr. 

not know,”

Mr. Kruger said he had 

never prejudged the case, 

but had stated the law 

provided for an inquest 

which in his view had 

always been sufficient.

Asked why Mr. Biko 
died in a cell when he 

had been transferred from 

Port Elizabeth to Pretoria 

for medical treatment, Mr. 

Kruger said Mr. Biko was 

a prisoner.

“Had he lived, he would 

probably have been sent 
to a prison hospital. Mr. 

Kruger said he was unable 
to give the time that Mr. 

Biko had arrived at prison 
on September 12 and the 
time he had died the same 
day.”

Mr. Kruger also said in 

a separate statement he 

was contemplating taking 

private legal action 

against Mr. Woods, in con-

nection with a statement 

by Mr. Woods published in 

the Rand Daily Mail on 

September 14.

“Commenting last night, 

Mr. Woods said: “I hope he 
does. I’m waiting for 
him.” — DDO-SAPA.

Post

JOHANNESBURG — The 

post mortem on Mr. Steve 

Biko was being treated as 
a priority case, Prof. J. 

Loubser, the State 

pathologist who conducted 

the autopsy, said 
yesterday.

He said his entire 

Pretoria laboratory, as 

well as some of the 

other laboratories, had 

been working on the 

examination since Tuesday 
morning.

“Normally it could take 

up to four weeks before 
the results of a post 

mortem are ready but we 

are treating this as a 

priority case,” he said.

“The results should be 

Addressing the United 

Nations Committee 

against Apartheid, Mr. Leslie 

Harriman of Nigeria said: 

“The death of Steve Biko is a 

crime against the United 

Nations and the inter-

national community.

“While we must call on 

nations of the world to 

stay the hands of the 
racists in South Africa, to 

wage the apartheid 

regime from the inter-

national community, and 
to join the efforts of 

the national liberation 

movement to destroy the 

regime before further ex-

cesses occur in the 
country,” Mr. Harriman 
said.

Meanwhile, memorial 

services throughout 

the country have been plan-

ned for tomorrow after-

noon by the Black 

Peoples’ Convention of 

which Mr. Biko was 

honorary president.

The Western Province 

regional committee of the 

New Republic Party has 
demanded “a thorough in-

quiry and trial by a judge of the Supreme 

Court” into Mr. Biko’s 

death in detention.

Certain factors could 

not be established by 

the normal inquest procedures 

and the NRP wanted a 

public disclosure of 

reasons for Mr. Biko’s 

detention, his cause of 

death and to what extent 

his family had been kept 

informed on his health 

while in detention, in-
terim chairman Mr. Lionel 

Murray said yesterday.

Prof. W. G. Van Wyk, 

Dean of the Faculty of Law, 

and Prof. J. H. van Rooyen, 

head of the Institute of 

Criminology at the 

University of Cape Town, 
said no allegations 

brought against Mr. Biko 
could be accepted because 

he could not contradict, 

explain or deny them.

“We assume that Mr. Biko 

was legally innocent of 

any crime. We unders-

stand that he was under 

arrest on a criminal 

charge when detained, 
or was he convicted of 

any offence,” they said.

Two African news-

papers, Die Transvaal and 

Ooggenblad, yesterday 
said it was essential to 

hold an independent in-

vestigation into Mr. Biko’s 

death. The inquiry should 

go beyond the police 

procedures to answer 

questions raised by 

the public, they said.

order an inquiry into the 

death while at the same 
time suggesting that they 
did not believe Mr. Biko 
died because of a hunger 

strike.

“Something else must 
have happened to him, 

but we are not implying 

that he was perhaps assaulted or 

tortured.”

The paper said they 

believed the full story of 

his death had not been 
told.

Prof. David Welsh 
yesterday repudiated the 

use of a single quotation 

by Mr. Kruger to “prove” 

that Mr. Biko was a violent 

revolutionary.

Prof. Welsh, professor of 

African government at the 

University of Cape Town, 
is writing a book on stu-

dent movements — including 

the movement founded by 

Mr. Biko, the South Af-

ican Students Organisation.

He has read most of the 

original Saso documents, 

as well as the speeches 

and writings of Mr. Biko.

On Wednesday, Mr. 

Kruger quoted three 

sentences from an address 
given to the 1970 conven-

tion of the National 

Union of South African 

Students by Mr. Biko.

The sentences read:

“There can be no change 

evolved through revolution. The 

only change that can come 

about is through revolution. The 
time and the space have never 

been as ready as now.”

From that Mr Kruger 

concluded that Mr. Biko 

was an advocate of 

violence, describing him as 

“a person who does not 

want any change through 

evolution but through 

violence.”

But Prof. Welsh said, it 

did not follow that Mr. 

Biko was propagating 

violence.

“What Mr Biko was 

knocking was the view 

that there could be 

gradual change through 

the qualified franchise 

and so on,” Prof Welsh 
said.

“Nothing I have ever 

read in Steve Biko’s 

written works suggests 

that he believed in violent 

revolution.”

In Bonn, member of the 

ruling Social Democratic Party said Mr. Biko “has become a victim 

of the inhuman apartheid 
system and of machinery 

of suppression.”
The United Nations Committee against Apartheid said last night the world should expel South Africa from the international community because of the circumstances of the death of Mr Steve Biko.

Mrs Alice Biko, mother of Mr Steve Biko and grandmother of the black consciousness leader's two young sons, Nkosinathi, 8 (left) and Samora, 2, with the two children at her home in Ginsberg, near King William's Town, shortly after her son's body was brought to King William's Town yesterday.
ortem gets top priority

ready earlier at the rate we are going — but I can't make any promises," he said.

Prof Louwerse said certain technical procedures would take some time — for example, tissues had to be left in a fixative before further examination.

While no body organs had been sent away for examination, certain specimens were undergoing laboratory tests, he said.

Prof Louwerse would not specify what these were. "It is confidential," he said.

Prof Louwerse said he and eight others had attended Tuesday's post mortem examination on Mr Biko.

The others were two members of his own laboratory staff, Dr John Gluckman, the private pathologist called in by the Biko family, Dr Gluckman's assistant, Prof J. Simon, head of the Department of Pathology at Pretoria University, and three technical assistants attached to the police.

Asked whether an inquest would be held immediately after the post mortem was completed, Prof Louwerse said the decision rested with the judiciary.

Dr Gluckman said it would take at least two weeks before the results of Mr Biko's post mortem were ready as there was a great deal to be done.

"It's hard to say exactly how long it will take. That rests with Prof Louwerse's department."

Meanwhile, the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr J. E. Nothing, SC, said yesterday he would decide after receiving the docket on investigations into Mr Biko's death whether there was to be an inquest or a criminal prosecution. — DDC.
Callous and Inert
Attorney denies remarks about autopsy findings

EAST LONDON — A Johannesburg attorney has flatly denied all remarks attributed to him by United States newspapers and the Johannesburg newspaper, The Citizen, concerning autopsy findings on the death of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

Mr Shun Chetty, the instructing attorney appointed by the Biko family to represent them following the death of Mr Biko while in detention, was reacting to news reports that he had been quoted and referred to in American newspapers about the body of Mr Biko.

Mr Chetty was reacting in particular to a report which appeared in the American newspaper, The Washington Post, which carried comments of an interview with him about the autopsy and which was used as a front page story in the Wednesday edition of The Citizen.

"I reject outright the statements attributed to me by the Washington Post with the utmost contempt. Statements attributed to me by the newspaper that I had spoken to a Mr Millard Arnold, a director of the Southern Africa project of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law, and saying that I informed Mr Arnold that I had attended the autopsy on Biko, is the most despicable form of irresponsible, contemptuous and misrepresented reporting."

"And The Citizen carried a front page story on Wednesday which carries the story of me being engaged in guarded conversations and having 'untrue' that 'the evidence reveals that Biko died as a result of police brutality caused by torture' attributed to me through a conversation with a Mr Arnold is completely untrue," Mr Chetty said.

The Johannesburg attorney said he had been extremely angered and distressed when he read the Johannesburg newspaper report and when he learnt of US newspapers attributing remarks to him.

"The position with the Washington Post is complete distortion and I deny ever having made a single statement to them about anything of the post-mortem conducted on Mr Biko."

"I will be taking steps against the Washington Post for this dishonorable act of journalism. The action taken will be of the highest order," he said.

"I have been contacted by every newspaper group in South Africa, many journalists have been trying to contact me for comment on the post-mortem. I have not said a single word about the post-mortem to a single journalist and I am furious at what has appeared in The Citizen and US newspapers," Mr Chetty said.

"Such reports only lead to rumors beginning to circulate and I am disgusted at such reporting which could only be counter-productive to the interests of the Biko family who I represent," the attorney said.—DDR

A blow for reconciliation

NAIROBI — Steve Biko's death "will most certainly harden black anger and make reconciliation between blacks and whites in South Africa virtually impossible" according to Canon Burgess Carr, general-secretary of the Nairobi-based All Africa Conference of Churches.

He expressed shock and deep sadness at Biko's death in a message sent yesterday to the South African Council of Churches.

In the message, Canon Carr appealed to the South African Government to ensure the safety of detainees. — SAPA-AP.

Doctor: drip can last weeks

CAPE TOWN — A medical practitioner has said that were unconscious, or unwilling as was the case
Kruger slated over conflicting reports

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, has been severely criticised by the Transvaal Nationalist conference for his latest statement that the death of Mr. Steve Biko was due to a natural cause. The statement has been described as "utterly incomprehensible."

On Thursday, Mr. Kruger disclosed that Mr. Biko was fed on an intravenous drip before he died.

Reacting to this statement, Mrs. Sheena Duncan, national president of the Women's League, said, "It is not surprising if one in or outside South Africa believes any statement made by Mr. Kruger."

"We are not surprised that Mr. Kruger has issued yet another version of the facts after his display of callousness at the Transvaal Nationalist conference," she said.

Dr. Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute, said, "I find it extremely disturbing that Mr. Kruger is changing his story as to what happened to Mr. Biko during his time of detention."

"One cannot blame the public and especially the black population if there is increasing incredibility of the statements made by the Minister."

"For the sake of truth and the regaining of trust of the whole world it is of the utmost importance that the Minister comes to the clear with a detailed statement of what actually happened."

Dr. R.E. van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape, said: "This is one area that is still uncertain. Was Biko either fed intravenously or force-fed? If he was fed intravenously as claimed by the Minister, why was the treatment not continued to the point of full recovery? Also, if he was fed intravenously, why was the treatment not continued to the point of full recovery?"

The letter was signed by among others, Mr. Mikardo and Bishop Winter, the general secretary of the Labour Party, Mr. Ron Hayward, the leader of the Liberal Party, Mr. David Steel, the chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr. Bob Hughes MP, the assistant general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, Mr. Alex Kitson, the general secretary of Amnesty International, Mr. Martin Ennals, and the general secretary of the British Council of Churches, Mr. Harry Morton.

Their organisations were among those represented at the picket. Others included the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Zulu, the Communist Party, the National Union of Students, the Southern African Solidarity Campaign, and the Christian Concern for Southern Africa and Elsas.

International inquiry urged

LONDON — Senior British politicians, churchmen and trade unionists yesterday handed in a letter to the South African Embassy here urging an international inquiry into the death of black consciousness leader, Mr. Steve Biko.

They were among the more than 100 demonstrators who picketed South Africa House on Trafalgar Square during the lunch hour yesterday.

The demonstrators carried banners and placards condemning the deaths in detention in South Africa, particularly Mr. Biko's, chanted slogans against the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster and sang freedom songs.

The letter was handed in by Mr. Ian Mikardo, the chairman of the Labour Party International Committee.

Bishop Colin Winter, the exiled Anglican bishop of Damaraland, tried to enter the embassy with Mr. Mikardo, but security guards stopped him.

Zambia call for oil embargo

LUSAKA — Zambia's newspapers have condemned South Africa's decision to keep Mr. Steve Biko in detention.

The party-owned Times of Zambia said: "The Afrikaners need more than a man to change their ways. Only the threat of an oil embargo could force them to change."

When the talks between the South African Government and five Western powers over SWA were another clear manifestation of the West's naivete in dealing with the South Africans," the Times said.

The Government-owned Zambia Daily Mail said South Africa's position was fast becoming indefensible.

What was happening in South Africa today was an assault on all that was best in the human race," the Mail said.

"It cannot be allowed to go on much longer. The world must not allow such shocking incidents to go on forever without anyone lifting a finger against the brutes who form the Afrikaner ruling clique."

"Steven Biko, though black, was a human being like Mr. Vorster. He definitely had much better intellect and tough moral fibre than Mr. Vorster."

The Mail said the voice against injustice was shocking the conscience of the world. Very soon it would shock the conscience of "the decent few" in the South African white community. — SAPA.
in detention and a dead man tells no tale." The day of death Mr. Biko was a chimera of all deaths in detention and notionally, would erase from the minds of sane blacks and whites in this country.

"On behalf of all true loving Christians," Mr. Ntintini said, "we deplore the death of Mr. Biko. His death would shock and outrage our government to an extent that would urge your government to permit an independent, international inquiry into the

Pupils stay away in honour

Johannesburg—Pupils at all Alexandra township schools yesterday made a brief appearance at school, then stayed away for the rest of the day in honour of Mr. Biko.

An Alexandra school teacher—who did not wish to be identified—said yesterday students at the secondary school all reported to school and assembled for the usual morning prayer.

But instead of going to their classes, the students held a prayer meeting, this time in honour of Mr. Biko.

They later left the school premises.

A chain reaction followed. Pupils at primary schools followed the senior students.

Officials of the Alexandra School Board were not available for comment yesterday.—DCC.

Memorial services

Johannesburg—The Black People's Convention is organizing church services throughout the country in memory of the political leader, Mr. Steve Biko.

Thousands of mourners are expected to attend a service at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto tomorrow afternoon. Other services being organized by the BPC include those at Orlando, Turbain, the Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal.

The South African Council of Churches has announced it will hold a half-hour afternoon service at the Cape Methodist Mission in Johannesburg. SAPA.

"He was a man admired in South Africa and abroad for the contribution he made for the cause of justice and freedom in South Africa."

"We are in the terrible suffering he has experienced in his banning under the Suppression of Communism Act, of his detention in 1976 under the Internal Security Act and of the constant harassment faced from the South African Security police. Such action is in itself indefensible."

"The news of his death has shocked and outraged the government to an extent that would urge your government to permit an independent, international inquiry into the cause of the death of Mr. Biko."

The two groups are the World University Service and the World International University Exchange Fund. Both are based in Geneva and claim to have close links to Mr. Biko and his supporters.

"We were fit and strong when he was detained a fortnight ago and made to starve. We do not die after a seven-day hunger strike such as the one undertaken by Mr. Biko," the two groups said in a joint statement.

"The explanations given so far by the South African government of the cause of death are totally inadequate," the two organizations said, demanding an independent judicial inquiry.

Such an inquiry and publication of the full medical report would be in the interest of South Africa as well as the victim's friends around the world, "otherwise there will be a lot of unrest and maybe violence," the statement concluded. SAPA/AF

Wreaths get hostile reaction

Johannesburg—Hostile white reaction and encouragement black action greeted members of the Black Sash yesterday when they laid 200 wreaths around the publics of the importance of the death of Steve Biko.

A group of blacks gave the Bophuthatswana sign to some of the wreath-bearing women. "Why don't you go and marry one of them," a white man shouted from his car as Mrs. Pat Tucker, chairwoman of the Black Sash, deposited a wreath.

The wreaths were also given by South African women from witwatersrand and six and Rand African University campus.

Others were laid at police stations in the city. By noon yesterday, most of the wreaths had been removed.—DCC.
**Biko was a germ person says BC**

He said there were things which were inexpressible. "When I heard of his death I was left speechless and I said to myself - for how long will this ungodly and indescribable evil of death in detention continue."

He said abstaining from food for only a few days would not kill any healthy person. Mr. Ntiniil said there was a man at the Union College, Pietermaritzburg, Mr. Mandla Manibuko, who fainted twice for 40 days and nights and he was still alive.

Mr. Ntiniil said he personally fasted for a week and never died. "Whatever caused the death of Steve Biko, the fact remains that he died."

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**Democrats expect more casualties**

EAST LONDON — The Transkei Democratic Party has issued a statement on behalf of their detained party leader, Mr. B. Nokazi, and other members presently in detention in Transkei, expressing their sympathy to the family of Mr. Steve Biko, who died while in detention.

In a statement released by the regional secretary of the party, Mr. Mangcogwana, yesterday, the group of condolence read: "On behalf of the DTP, the regional secretary and members in detention, the DTP wishes to associate itself with all the sympathizers and mourners of black consciousness leader, Mr. Steve Biko.

"We express our sympathy to the family of Mr. Steve Biko for the great loss that is now suffered following the death of Mr. Biko. But there is nothing to fear, God is with us.""

"The Nationalist Government message of separate development is clearly, especially if one looks at the statements made by Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger.

"We are happy that through his lips the world has now seen the black man in South Africa is tormented. We are expecting lots of casualties but the struggle will survive.

"Nothing will stop the struggle. You were our pride, and we black and moderate whites mourn your tragic death," the statement said. — DDR

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**Reporters told to leave meeting**

CAPE TOWN — Reporters were asked to leave a mass meeting at the University of the Western Cape yesterday afternoon after the chaplain of the university, Dr. Aba Boesa, addressed about 30 students on the subject of black consciousness and Mr. Steve Biko.

The claims of "those white pigs must leave" — they are the same people who murdered Biko and similar claims — were made by the chairman of the Student Representative Council.

"Mr. Biko's death lies with the people who have formed the establishment and also with those who support this establishment."

"The answer to his death lies with those whose roles have not been raised against this establishment."

"Black consciousness is a positive counter to the negative propaganda it is given by the present establishment."

Boesa said South Africa was not a democracy, but a pigmented democracy which righted itself to people dependent on the colour of their skins.

"There was a time when the Coloured people were exploited because they were not allowed to look closer to the white. Black consciousness made people realise they are black and equal in their own and God-given rights that no white man had the right to take from them."

Steve Biko had been trying to make black people understand this," he added. — SAPA

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**NRP supports forced feeding**

DURBAN — Legalising forced feeding of detainees under the Medical Act has been sponsored by the National Party, said Mr. Steve Biko.

Mr. Biko issued this statement after a joint meeting of the party’s parliamentary and provincial caucuses.

"I have always supported the Minister, Dr. M. Kruuger, for saying Mr. Biko's death left him "cold."

"The combined cause is displayed at the attitude of the Minister, for making political capital at a National Party congress over the unfortunate death of Mr. Biko, and for his callous and inhuman statement," Mr. We said.

The Natal leader of the party said the committee also believed the question of legalising forced feeding under the Medical Act should be seriously considered.

"This proposition will diminish the ty's aberrance and threat of national emergency.

"This is the only way we can be justified," Mr. We calls for a judicial inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the death of Mr. Biko and approved by the National Party Council. — DDC
The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa's Press reaction to the death of Mr. Steve Biko in prison has been praised by BBC Radio in its world service.

The Press was playing a vital role as a guardian of freedom in South Africa, said a commentator.

But people should spare a thought for prisoners in the Soviet Union and all the unexplained deaths there. The protection offered by a free Press was denied them, he said.

"Despite the fact that people have lost their freedom, we still accept the hypocrisy as Soviet Union officials berate South Africa for her inhumanity.

"The Soviet Union is much further down the path of intolerance than South Africa. They are not prepared to be questioned publicly and have learned the lesson of the big lie" said the commentator.

In South Africa there was a slim chance that the truth would be known regarding the detainee's death. Because of an inquiry others might be saved.

"But had Biko died in Russia we would probably have never heard, any newspaper in Russia would have published the story."

"The Press reaction, World opinion has been reported and Government statements have been published alongside demands for public inquiries into Mr. Biko's death," he said.
Mr Kruger said he was contemplating taking private legal action against Mr Woods following his statement in the Rand Daily Mail on September 14.

"Mr Woods today told The Star's Political Reporter: "I hope he does sue me. I'm ready for him."

Reacting to the Minister's statement denying that he had ever said Mr Biko had starved himself to death, Mr Woods said: "The whole country knows the implications of the three successive statements in public by Mr Kruger were that Steve Biko's alleged hunger strike had led to his death.

"The only way to settle the matter is to hasten the release of the post-mortem findings."

Yesterday, addressing students at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Woods pledged he would resign his position as editor of the Daily Dispatch if it was found Mr Biko had died from a hunger strike.

He called on the Minister to resign his job and leave politics if the Minister was proved wrong.)
Police watch Biko rallies

A close watch is to be kept by police this weekend at rallies arranged by "Black People's Convention" in memory of Dr. Steve Biko, who died in detention earlier this week.

Rallies have been organised in Durban, Pretoria, the Eastern Cape, the Northern Transvaal and in Transvaal. Thousands of mourners are expected at today's Benoni funeral.

Catholics Church tomorrow afternoon.

The Youth African Council of Churches is to hold a service at the Johannesburg central Methodist Mission at 3 pm tomorrow.

Commenting on the proposed rallies, the Deputy Commissioner of Police in charge of riot control Maj. Gen. D. Kriel said today that police were aware of the plans for the mass rally in Soweto tomorrow.

He said police throughout the country would keep a close watch on rallies in their area.

"Our job is to see that the law is observed," he said.
Mr Vorster said the death was "very unfortunate" but added that "Mr Biko's role had been exaggerated."

**Delhi, 18 July 1977**

The Prime Minister was interviewed in Pretoria by Mr Seymour Topping, managing editor of the New York Times who is on a tour of Africa.

Mr Topping said the interview was blunt. Speaking deliberately and defiantly, Mr Vorster warned the United States he would resist US "blatant meddling" in the internal affairs of South Africa.

Points made by Mr Vorster were:

- The South African Government was bracing to withstand any economic sanctions or oil boycott that might be imposed as a consequence of the dispute over the future of Rhodesia or opposition to apartheid.
- US policy was fast reaching the stage "where we feel the United States wants to prescribe to us how we should run our country internally and that is, of course, unacceptable to us."

**Failed**

- The Carter administration had failed to replicate a remark by Vice President Walter Mondale, in Vienna in May which implied the US favoured one-man-one-vote elections in South Africa, which would lead to black majority rule.

- The Prime Minister said such a policy represented "blatant meddling in South African affairs," and he did not believe the American people would approve of the Carter administration prescribing what form of government should obtain in South Africa.

- The Nationalist Government intended to pursue a policy of "fully elected" community councils, gradually taking over all local government in the black townships situated in the territory now reserved to total white control.
The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, has promised a full inquiry into the death in detention of Black Consciousness leader Mr. Steve Biko.

Autopsy sets top priority for inquiry, the Star Bureau reports.

Biko probe pledges, very unfortunate.
Kruger: I deny death statement

SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said yesterday he had never stated that Mr Steve Biko, the detained black activist, had starved himself to death in prison.

Mr Kruger also said that Mr Biko would have been charged with drafting and distributing pamphlets inciting people to arson and rioting.

Interviewed in Pretoria after widespread reaction to Mr Biko’s death on Monday, he advised people to await the post-mortem report on the cause of the death.

"I am aware of local and international reactions. I think it all very premature. I think everybody should base their attitude on the report from the doctors," Mr Kruger said.

"I gave categorically the fact that he had gone on a hunger strike. That was given to me by the police. I never said that was the cause of death."

Mr Kruger said he had not stated this was so.

"I never suggested at any stage that Mr Biko starved himself to death. Mr Biko said to me he would not live with him."

Mr Kruger said he had not starved himself to death, Mr Kruger said he had not stated this was so.

"I never suggested at any stage that Mr Biko starved himself to death. Mr Biko said to me he would not live with him."

"When he arrived and how he arrived I do not know."

Mr Kruger said he had never prejudged the case, but had stated the law provided for an inquest which in his view had always been sufficient.

Mr Kruger said he had never prejudged the case, but had stated the law provided for an inquest which in his view had always been sufficient.

Asked why Mr Biko had died in a cell when he had been transferred from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria for medical treatment, Mr Kruger said Mr Biko was a prisoner. Had he lived he would probably have been sent to a prison hospital.

"Mr Biko was sent up by warrant to Pretoria on September 12. The first place you take a man with a warrant in a prison is to a cell."

"In this case he was put in a cell and the district surgeon was phoned. It was for him to have a look at the man and he would probably have been transferred to the prison hospital."

Mr Kruger said he was unable to give the time when Mr Biko arrived at prison on September 12 and the time he had died the same day. — Sapa.
survey

understand

Biko — the failure to

by Gerald Shaw

The Death of Steve Biko

2/5-2/6/1977

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The Making of a Black Comrade: Jolie Louie Fuh

In the 1970s, the Black community's activism was at its peak. The struggle for civil rights and equality had been ongoing for decades, but it was during this time that a new generation of activists emerged. Among them was Jolie Louie Fuh, a young woman who became an integral part of the movement.

Jolie Louie Fuh was born and raised in a working-class neighborhood on the North Side of Chicago. She attended local schools and was active in her church and community. As a teenager, she became involved in the civil rights movement and started attending protests and rallies.

In the late '60s, Jolie attended a demonstration against police brutality. It was here that she met other activists who would later becomeclose friends. They talked about the need for a more organized and structured approach to the movement. Jolie was inspired by their ideas and decided to become more involved.

She started attending meetings and workshops held by the National Black Liberation Party (NBQP). Here, she learned more about the history of the struggle and the importance of building a strong network of support. Jolie was particularly drawn to the party's emphasis on self-defense and the need to arm themselves to protect communities from police violence.

As Jolie became more involved with the NBQP, she started attending workshops and meetings on self-defense and community organizing. She was introduced to the concept of community policing and how to defend oneself and one's community. Jolie was skeptical at first, but as she learned more, she became convinced of the need for armed self-defense.

Jolie's dedication and willingness to learn more about her community and the struggle for justice earned her the respect of her fellow activists. She was soon appointed as a delegate to the party's national convention, where she listened to the speeches and debates and took notes on the discussions.

Jolie's experiences at the convention were eye-opening. She was shocked by the level of poverty and inequality that existed in her community and the country as a whole. She saw firsthand the impact that systemic racism had on the lives of her fellow Black Americans. These experiences reinforced her resolve to become a more active and effective member of the movement.

Jolie's activism continued to grow, and she became involved in local organizing efforts. She helped to form a community defense group that worked to protect residents from police intimidation and violence. Jolie was a strong leader and was respected by her fellow activists for her dedication and commitment.

In the 1980s, Jolie's activism shifted towards political organizing. She became involved in the movement for Black power and worked to build a strong base of support for the Black Liberation Party (BLP). Jolie was a fierce advocate for the BLP and was known for her fiery speeches and passionate speeches.

Jolie's leadership was instrumental in the success of the BLP's political campaigns. She was a key figure in the party's efforts to win elections and to build a base of support among Black voters. Jolie was a tireless worker and was known for her dedication to the movement.

Jolie Louie Fuh passed away in 1990, but her legacy lives on. She was a dedicated and volunteer who gave her life to the struggle for justice. Jolie's spirit and commitment to the movement continue to inspire new generations of activists.
Inquest or prosecution: Nothing to decide

THE Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr J E Nothing, SC, said yesterday he would decide after receiving the docket on investigations into the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko, whether there was to be an inquest or a criminal prosecution.

"Once investigations into Mr Biko's death have been completed the docket will be forwarded to my office," said Mr Nothing.

"I will then decide, upon the contents of the docket, whether an inquest is to be held."

He said the decision as to where and when an inquest would be held rested with the magistrate of the area in which the death had occurred.

"An inquest is held whenever death is due to unnatural circumstances. However, if the facts contained in the docket demand that a criminal prosecution be conducted, such prosecution is instituted and no inquest is held." — Saps.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

(8) Gilbert; p. 239

(9) Machiavelli, Book V, Chapter VII, p. 251; and Gilbert p. 237

(10) Cleese, quoted in Gilbert; p. 210

(11) Gilbert; p. 194
Staff Reporter

Mr Alex Kekana, "mayor" of the Pretoria township of Mamelodi, yesterday added his tribute to Mr Biko, whom he met twice at church meetings in Durban.

"He was a true Christian," Mr Kekana said: "It is hard for me to believe that he could kill himself. He was a great leader, and his death must have shocked the whole of Africa."

In Grahamstown yesterday, Rhodes University students were joined by five members of the academic staff in a solemn walk from the steps of the administrative block to the cathedral doors. They carried a wreath in memory of Mr Biko.

"I, too, am surprised," Dr Robert Sobukwe, the former Secretary of the African National Congress, said yesterday: "He was a rare combination of both a scholar and an assassinated leader."

Dr Sobukwe said that he was shocked by the news of Mr Biko's death. "I knew him as a great man," he said. "He will be greatly missed."

The Pretoria service will be at the NGK Church in Pretoria Section C. The Durban service will be at St Michael's Cathedral.

Mr Biko was born in 1946 in the Transvaal. He was a teacher and a politician, and was a member of the ANC. He was known for his anti-apartheid stance and his work as a writer and activist.

Acknowledgements

(8) Gilbert, p. 239

(9) Machiavelli, Book V, Chapter VII, p. 251; and Gilbert, p. 237

(10) Cicero, quoted in Gilbert, p. 210

(11) Gilbert, p. 194
Press 'pigs' are told to leave

CAPE TOWN.—White reporters were asked to leave a meeting at the coloured University of the Western Cape yesterday after the chairman, Dr Alan Boesak, had addressed about 300 students on black consciousness and Mr Steve Biko.

Sole of the students shouted: "Those white pigs must leave... they are the same people who murdered Biko."

In his address, Dr Boesak said: "The answer to Biko's death lies with the people who form the present establishment and with those who support it. Black consciousness is a positive counter to the negative connotation it is given by the present establishment."

Dr Boesak said South Africa was not a democracy but a pigemocracy. The rights given to people depended on the colour of their skins.

At one time the coloured people were angry because they were not allowed to be closer to the whites.

Black consciousness made people realize they had a dignity of their own and had God-given rights that no white man had the right to give or take from them.

Steve Biko had been trying to make black people understand this.—Sapa.
Kruger's Biko quote slammed

By PATRICK LAURENCE

Professor David Welsh, professor of African government at the University of Cape Town yesterday, lambasted authorities in particular the police for the mistreatment of the late Steve Biko. By reference to a quotation he made during the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) congress in 1976, Welsh declared that Biko was a violent revolutionary.

On Wednesday, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, quoted three sentences from an address given to the 1970 conference of the South African Students (NUSAS) by Mr. Biko. The sentences read:

"There can be no change through revolution. The only change that can come about is through revolution. The time and the people have never been as ready as now."

"From that Mr. Kruger concluded that Mr. Biko was an advocate of violence and described him as "a person who does not want change through revolution but through violence.""

But, Professor Welsh said, it did not follow that Mr. Biko was propagating violence:

"What Mr. Biko was knocking was the view that there could be gradual change through the qualified franchise and so on."

Professor Welsh said:

"Nothing I have ever read in Steve Biko's written works suggests that he believed in violent revolution."

"I take a poor view of Mr. Kruger's insensitivity and the grotesque injustice of damaging a dead man who is unable to defend himself."

"How convenient it is for Mr. Kruger to be able to give himself instant dispensation from the law and to quote a banned person while that man's friends are denied the same right."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS
A TRAGIC BLUNDER

THERE HAVE been some prize ministerial blunders in nearly 30 years of Nationalist rule but it is hard to recall any as deplorable or disastrous as Mr. Jimmy Kruger's handling of the Steve Biko affair this week.

Out of his own mouth, which he would have done well to keep shut most of the time, the Minister of Justice and Police has created the impression that he is callous, neglectful of the national interest, ill-informed and contradictory.

Mr. Kruger's remark that the death of Mr. Biko while in the custody of the Security Police "leaves me cold" ranks with Dr. Carel de Wet's infamous comment after the Sharpeville shooting -- and it may have done even more damage. If Mr. Kruger is really so unfeeling about Mr. Biko's death, that is his personal misfortune. But when he is foolish enough to say it in public in the full knowledge of the dead man's national and international stature as a Black leader, then it becomes a national misfortune for which South Africa will pay heavily.

Differing official versions of what happened also reflect badly on the Minister and his departments. First he says Mr. Biko died in hospital; then that he died in a prison cell; and barely 24 hours after insisting that no attempt was made to violate Mr. Biko's "rights" by force-feeding him, Mr. Kruger reveals that the prisoner was fed intravenously. Why, then, was the drip-feed not used sooner?

Why was it not announced that Mr. Biko, whom the Minister knew to be "hot property" politically, had gone on a hunger strike, and why were his relatives not informed and consulted? If he incited people to violence and preached revolution, as Mr. Kruger says he did, why was he not prosecuted? Mr. Kruger selectively breaks the ban on quoting Mr. Biko to suit his purposes, but will he allow the same privilege to those who maintain that Mr. Biko was not a violent revolutionist?

Mr. Kruger's chilling four words -- "it leaves me cold" -- provide yet another reason for a full judicial inquiry into why so many detainees die in custody. Ministers should by their example set the tone of their departments and be models of conduct for their subordinates. Mr. Kruger's display of indifference is not the sort of example one would wish for. A judicial commission may think it necessary to put more emphasis on the humane aspects of the administration of justice.

Ironically it was Mr. Kruger himself who gave permission for the banned and restricted Black leader, Mr. Robert Sobukwe, to have treatment for a chest complaint this week at Groote Schuur, the country's most famous hospital. What, one wonders, would Mr. Kruger have done if he had known that Steve Biko was dying in a cell in Pretoria about the same time? And if he did not know, why wasn't he told?
insists Kruger

I didn't say that
Pamphlets

"I intend exposing those pamphlets in the newspapers," he said.

"I think the question has been asked whether Mr. Biko would eventually be charged," Mr. Kruger said a case would have been brought.

They were going to charge him, there was no doubt about it. They were preparing a charge.

"In any case, he was caught outside his restricted area. But the gravamen of the charge was the pamphlets," the Minister said.

To the cheers of approval from students in the Great Hall of the University of the Witwatersrand Mr. Woods said: "If I am proved wrong I will resign, go out of journalism, and never write another word. But if Mr. Kruger is wrong I challenge him to resign and go out of politics completely."

Friend

Mr. Woods, a close friend of Mr. Biko, said they had often discussed the possibility of Mr. Biko being detained.

One of the pledges made by Mr. Biko was that if he was detained he would not go on a hunger strike.

Mr. Woods said many things might have happened to Mr. Biko after his detention but on the question of hunger strike he said: "Steven would never, never have cracked on that one."

Prof. Loebler said his entire Pretoria laboratory, as well as sections of two other laboratories, had been working on the pathological examination since Tuesday morning, a Mercury correspondent reported.

"Normally it could take up to four weeks before the results of a post-mortem are ready but we are treating this as a priority case," he said.

"The results should be ready earlier at the rate we are going — but I can't make any promises," he added.

Legalising race rioting of detail — worse than proper medical control — should be seriously considered, Mr. Warwick Webber, Natal leader of the New Republic Party said at Shongweni yesterday.

Mr. Webber made this statement after a joint meeting of the party's parliamentary and provincial caucuses.

Following strident worldwide reaction to the death of Black Consciousness leader Mr. Steve Biko in detention on Monday, Mr. Webber slammed the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, for saying the death of the detainee had left him "cold."

"The combined caucus is disgusted at the attitude of the minister, both for making political capital at a National Party congress over the unfortunate death of Mr. Biko and for his callous and heartless statement," said Mr. Webber.

The Natal leader of the party said, the combined caucus also believed that legalization of forced feeding under proper medical control for detainees should be seriously considered.

He said this proposition in no way diminished the party's "abhorrence" of detention without trial except in times of a proclaimed national emergency.

Our King William's Town correspondent writes that the body of Mr. Biko was yesterday morning handed over to his family by Major R. Hansen, head of the local Security Police.

The Black People's Convention, of which Mr. Biko had been honorary life president, is working with the Biko family on the burial arrangements.
Woods offers to quit if Biko did die of hunger

THE EDITOR of the Daily Dispatch, Mr D J Woods, publicly challenged the Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, yesterday over the manner of the death of black leader Steve Biko in detention.

Speaking at a mass meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Woods made a vow that he would resign his job and quit journalism if the post-mortem findings supported the hunger-strike theory - provided Mr Kruger would also publicly vow to resign as minister and quit politics if the post-mortem indicated another cause of death.

"Surely Kruger has confidence in his security police and believes their version of what happened - well, here's his chance to prove it," he said.

But he should do so before the post-mortem findings were disclosed, as it was "easy to be wise after the event", and after all he had made three public statements which implied the hunger-strike theory.

Excess zeal

"Remember now, and recall it later, that the minister publicly said everything possible had been done for Steve, and that not a finger had been laid on him.

"But I say it was a question of what was done for him - it was a question of what was done to him. And the findings will reveal for all to see what version is the truth," he said.

He also accused government ministers, specifically Mr Kruger, of creating a climate of response with tough-sounding speeches at party congresses which encouraged certain elements in the security police to excess zeal in the exercise of what they regarded as their duty.

He suggested Mr Kruger should call in the security police concerned and ask them again exactly what had happened.

"We have asked Mr Kruger lots of questions, but he hasn't got the right answers," he said. "Maybe that is because as he says, the death of Steve Biko leaves him cold. I ask him to make sure that the time we, the friends of Steve Biko, have finished with him he won't be cold - he will be hot."

Asked to comment on the statement by Mr Woods, Mr Kruger said he had never stated that Mr Biko had starved himself to death.

Two Afrikaans newspapers, Die Transvaler and Oggendblad, yesterday said it was essential to hold an intensive investigation into Mr Biko's death. The inquiry should go beyond normal procedures to answer questions raised by the public, they said.

Die Transvaler's editorial expressed disapproval of "certain unfortunate remarks" made at the Transvaal National Party congress and Oggendblad said it believed the full story of Mr Biko's death had not been told.

Meanwhile, two legal authorities at the University of Cape Town yesterday issued a public declaration of grief at the "demolition" of the rule of law by the government's security regulations and called for full restoration of judicial supervision over the actions of executive government.

The declaration was signed by Professor W J B Dean, dean of the law faculty, and Professor J H van Rooyen, head of the university's Institute of Criminology. It reads: "We express our deepest concern at another death in detention. No death of a fellow South African can leave us cold.

"We assume that Mr Steve Biko was legally innocent of any crime. We understand that he was not under arrest on a criminal charge when he was detained, nor was he convicted of any offence. No allegations brought against him at this stage can be accepted, for they can no longer be subject to contradiction, explanation or denial by Mr Biko."

"We re-affirm our belief in the rule of law as part of our heritage. We grieve at its demolition by this government's security laws. We urge that judicial supervision over the actions of the executive must be fully restored."

"As loyal South Africans, concerned for our country and our children, we dissociate ourselves from the attitude towards Mr Biko's death displayed by the Minister of Justice."

Horror

Mr Kruger, has refused to meet members of the Black Sash. The Black Sash had hoped to express its "horror at the death of Steve Biko and others in detention", Mrs Shauna Duncan, national president of the Black Sash, said yesterday.

"We would have liked an opportunity to express to Mr Kruger face to face our shock and disbelief that members of his party congress laughed at the death of a man," Mrs Duncan said.

Protest meeting

The Progressive Federal Party has planned a public meeting in the Robertson Town Hall on Monday night to protest at Mr Biko's death.

Speaking on the subject of death in detention will be the party's MP for Finbels, Dr Alex Boraine, the national chairman of the Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, and the PFP MP for Edenvale, Mr Nic Olivier.

The Western Province regional council of the New Republic Party has meanwhile expressed deep concern at Mr Biko's death and called for a thorough judicial inquiry.

After a meeting on Thursday night, the council said in a statement that in the interests of...
Biko post-mortem is priority case

OWN CORRESPONDENT
JOHANNESBURG. - The post-mortem on Mr Steven Biko was being treated as a priority case, Professor J Loubsier, the state pathologist who conducted the autopsy, said yesterday.

He said his entire Pretoria laboratory, as well as sections of two other laboratories, had been working on the examination since Tuesday morning.

"Normally it could take up to four weeks before the results of a post-mortem are ready, but we are treating this as a priority case," he said.

"The result should be ready earlier at the rate we are going - but I can't make any promises," he said. Certain technical procedures would take time. While no body organs had been sent away for examination, certain specimens were undergoing laboratory tests, he said.

Professor Loubsier said he and eight others attended Tuesday's post-mortem examination. The others were two members of his own laboratory staff, Dr John Gluckman, the private pathologist called in by the Biko family, Dr Gluckman's assistant, Professor I Simon, head of the department of Pathology at Pretoria University, and three technical assistants attached to the police.

Asked whether an inquest would be held immediately after the post-mortem was completed, Professor Loubsier said the decision rested with the judiciary.

An inquest was not automatic and the attorney general has said he would decide after receiving the doctor's report whether there was to be an inquest or a criminal prosecution.

"Once investigations into Mr Biko's death have been completed the docket will be forwarded to my office," he said.

The body of Mr Biko was yesterday handed over to the Biko family by Major R Hanssen, head of the King William's Town security police.

Major Hanssen telephoned the family yesterday morning and informed them Mr Biko's body was available at the police mortuary and the family could collect it.

The Times 17/9/77
Kruger: I never said he starved

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger’s fourth public statement since the death of Mr Steve Biko has “sown complete and utter confusion in the public mind”, Mr Ray Swart, acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said last night.

On the SABC-TV news last night, Mr Kruger said he had never suggested at any stage that Mr Biko had starved himself to death.

In a statement last night he said: “I gave categorically the fact that he had gone on a hunger strike. That was given to me by the police. I never said that was the cause of death,” Mr Kruger said.

Mr Helen Suzman, PFP MP, said it might well be true that Mr Kruger had never used those precise words, but all the inferences had been drawn from his earlier statements gave people to believe that the hunger strike was a “very relevant factor”.

In his first statement issued on Tuesday this week Mr Kruger said Mr Biko had refused meals since Monday, September 5. Two days later, on September 7, a district surgeon was called in “after he appeared to be unwell”.

The following day, after being examined by both the district surgeon and the chief district surgeon “who could diagnose no physical problem”, Mr Biko was examined by a specialist.

By Sunday, September 11, “he still had not eaten and still appeared to be unwell”. He died the following night after being examined and medically treated by a district surgeon in Pretoria, Mr Kruger said.

• On Wednesday this week Mr Kruger told the Transvaal National Party congress that police had not force-fed Mr Biko because they would have faced different sorts of accusations had they touched him.

• On Thursday he released a statement that Mr Biko had been given “some sort of feed. It was a drip.” Not being a medical man, he could not say what the treatment given to Mr Biko had been, he said.

Last night he said he had stated the cause of Mr Biko’s death would have been anticipating the post-mortem finding which was not yet available.

Minister denies breach of confidence

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, denied yesterday that he had breached a confidence with Mr Donald Woods, the editor of the Daily Dispatch.

Mr Kruger said he would see his lawyer following a statement by Mr Woods published in the Rand Daily Mail on September 14.

Mr Woods stated that, following a discussion in confidence with Mr Kruger, he had subsequently been charged.

Mr Kruger told journalists yesterday that he had not breached this confidence after Mr Woods told him privately that he (Mr Woods) had been harassed by a security police officer.

Mr Kruger confirmed that Mr Woods’s visit had been primarily to plead for an end to the restrictions on Mr Steven Biko.

Mr Kruger said Mr Woods came to his house, spoke for two hours instead of the half-hour he had asked for.

Would have been charged

Mr Kruger also revealed that Mr Biko would have been charged with drafting and distributing pamphlets inciting people to arson and rioting.

On the widespread reaction to Mr Biko’s death, Mr Kruger advised people to wait for the post-mortem report.

“I am aware of local and international reaction. I think it is all very premature. I think everybody should take the attitude that I have taken, that I am awaiting the report from the doctors.”

Asked why he had not made mention initially of the fact that Mr Biko had been given an intravenous drip, Mr Kruger referred to his first statement on Tuesday, September 13.

In this he had said Mr Biko was examined and medically treated by a district surgeon in Pretoria.

“He was treated medically by a doctor. I stated to the press that I am not a qualified doctor and I did not say what the treatment was.”

When Mr Kruger stated that Mr Biko had been given a drip, he had again said categorically he did not know the nature of the drip. “There is no inconsistency whatsoever,” he said.

Continued on page 2
Mother fears for safety of son—held with Steve Biko

By Juliet Bell

THE mother of Mr. Peter Jones, 27, detained with Mr. Steve Biko last month, has heard nothing about her son for four weeks and fears for his safety.

"The last time I saw my son," said Mrs. Anne Samboer, 33, of the Strand, "was the day before he was detained in Grahamstown on August 18th."

Mr. Jones works in King William's Town for the Black Community Programme and was in Cape Town the afternoon before he was arrested with Mr. Biko.

They were in the same car, when they were detained by Security Police."Peter said that...whole afternoon with me," said his mother.

He slept most of the time and I made him supper. He was alone and never spoke of a friend being with him in Cape Town.

He was perfectly well at the time."

"QUESTIONED" she first heard of her son's arrest through newspapers, and it was nearly a week before she heard from him again.

The police came to her house to tell her of it.

"They questioned me closely on Peter's movements," said Mrs. Samboer.

"They wanted to know if he was alone in Cape Town or if "a friend" was with him. They also asked what he had talked about.

When Mrs. Samboer—her first husband died many years ago—asked if she could visit her son in detention, she was told they would let her know.

"GOOD SON"

But she has not been told anything and has asked East London attorneys to find out what they can.

She believes he is being kept in Port Elizabeth, detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

"Peter showed no interest in politics at university," said Mrs. Samboer. "He was a good son and always sent me money every month."

Mrs. Samboer now fears for her son's safety.

"He was well before," she said. "I don't know what happened to him."

"I trust the police," she added. "I know they are doing their best to find him."

"I only hope he will be found safe and sound," she concluded. "And I will do everything possible to help him when he is found."
Mr Vorster should intervene

MR VORSTER should now publicly intervene in the crisis which has developed following the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko. He should then:

1. Dismiss Mr Kruger from the Cabinet.
2. Appoint a judicial commission preferably headed by a Judge of Appeal, to investigate Mr Biko’s death as a matter of urgency.
3. Appoint separately and simultaneously a judicial commission to investigate the succession of deaths in detention over the past 18 months and to make recommendations to ensure proper supervision and control over all those held by the police and prisoner authorities.

Whatever Mr Kruger now says in attempting to explain away his callous and confusing statements about the circumstances of Mr Biko’s death he will only add to public anger at home and intensify protest abroad.

It may well be that Mr Kruger and others of his Cabinet colleagues and party supporters are quite unable to comprehend the intensity of feelings running throughout the country; but they cannot but be aware of the intensity of these feelings. They must know that incalculable harm has been done to the standing of South Africa in the Free World. They must know that a new martyr has been created among blacks seeking political reforms.

At this point in time South Africa cannot afford the repugnance of those in the West still willing to negotiate with us over the crisis in southern Africa. Nor can we afford to create martyrs in the political crisis at home.

From a purely party political point of view Mr Vorster may be reluctant to act against Mr Kruger because of the official portrayal of Mr Biko as an “enemy” of the establishment. However for the good of the nation he has no option but to demonstrate to the world his own official concern for Mr Biko’s death and his concern for South Africa’s reputation as a nation which lives by civilised standards.

That is why he should order an immediate inquiry by a senior judge into the affair.

The broader inquiry would necessarily take longer but the public at home and the world at large would tolerate protracted investigations once it had been shown that they were not intended to stall immediate action.

The crisis is worsening. The Prime Minister has a clear duty to
Biko: Last straw for the West

Steve Biko's death in custody has almost certainly done more damage to South Africa's image in Britain and the United States than he could have achieved alive through a thousand speeches.

This is a sober assessment based on the views of people in both the American and British capitals who have their finger on the pulse of both public and political opinion.

From Washington Executive Biza reports that the death of the best-known black political leader outside the homeland and Rhodes Island would have far-reaching consequences for relationships between the US and South Africa.

There has been a hardening of attitudes against South Africa in Washington and fears have been expressed that it would be the last straw that pushes the Western powers into withholding their votes at the United Nations.

There, as in Britain, the major factor influencing thinking both among government officials and opinion formers was the remark by the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, that Mr Biko's death "leaves me cold."

The Sunday Tribune's London Bureau reports that even the most pro-South African observers have no doubt that the straw will be repeatedly used as an indication of a callous and inhumane society.

So few will the barmers of delegates at the National Party congress in Porters when the subject of Mr Biko's death was discussed.

Other reasons

With police standing by throughout the country to preserve order at rallies organised for today by the Black Consciousness Movement in honour of Mr Biko, it was learned in Pretoria that the results of a post mortem on Mr Biko earlier this week will be known sooner than expected.

The chief pathologist, Professor D. B. Lambrush, said the post mortem was being treated as a priority case. He believed that if the Transvaal Province's Acting Medical Officer decided that an inquest should be held it too would be held as soon as possible.

East London newspaper editor Mr Donald Woods again claimed yesterday that Mr Biko had never been on a hunger strike and said that the reason for his death had nothing to do with hunger.

Mr Woods said he and Mr Biko had even discussed what it is believed should be Mr Biko's immediate release in security police custody.

Mr Woods agreed that any official statement which said he had committed suicide either by hanging, suffocation or starvation would not be accepted, said Mr Woods. "The other explanations we said we would reject was death by starvation after a hunger strike."

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, has denied stating Mr Biko starved himself to death in prison. Mr Woods will be in Durban on Tuesday night to address a meeting of protest against Mr Biko's death in detention. It has been organised by, among others, the Progressive Federal Party.

The meeting is at the St Thomas Church Hall, Musgrave Road.

Nat Press view

Reporting to the Steve Biko affair, the Africanns Sunday newspaper Rapport said today: "One can only shake one's head when it comes to the handling of Biko's death."

"So many contradictory statements have been issued that they have confounded the sincerest rather than calmed it."

"We will probably be accused of saying the same as South Africa's critics, but Minister Kruger should consider holding a general inquiry into deaths in detention. The list is getting unseemingly long."

"He and the Security Police's reputation that is at stake, is it South Africa's."

Rapport said the law providing for detentions without trial "remains an embarrassment we would sooner do without. Detentions without trial are a sore point in South Africa's politics."

"No decent South African likes them, even though reasonable people accept that these laws are necessary to protect the State."

Rapport also refers to the barmers at the Transvaal congress of the National Party when Mr Biko's death was discussed and says "all Nationalists are not capable of the lack of feeling shown at the congress last week."

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vives lost their husbands...

"He was pre-sacrifice his life"

WHEN the telephone rings in the Biko house in Ginsberg Location, little Samantha Biko, 2, runs to it shouting: "Steve, Steve!"

Samantha is too young to understand that his father, detained by the Security Police in August, is dead and will not telephone or come home.

But for the rest of Steve Biko's family his death is the worst of their fears come true.

"I think Steve expected to die in the hands of the Security Police. I think all of us expected it," said the wife of Steve Biko, Ntsiki Biko.

"But Steve was prepared to sacrifice his life for the black cause. He felt his work was so important that even if he died it would be worth it," said his mother, Mrs Alice Biko.

Flowers
The Biko house is the same as hundreds of others lining the dusty street.

It is distinguished by the flowers in the garden and the tiny patch of lawn.

In the lounge under a sign "God is Love" Steve Biko's mother Mrs Alice Biko receives the condolences of a stream of Steve's followers.

By PETER MANN

In the bedroom, Mrs Ntsiki Biko deals with the telephone which rings every time she puts it down and speaks of her life with the man regarded as the spiritual leader of black people.

"I do not believe Steve died as a result of a seven-day hunger strike. I will never believe that," said her mother.

"Steve was a big man, a fit man. I want to know what happened."

"Mr Kruger said Steve was a violent revolutionary. He was not."

"I want to make that clear. Steve was a man of peace. His philosophy was always to sit down and talk things over."

"Steve was never convicted of a criminal offence. People must remember that."

"The police have also said we were separated. That is not true. I only left to work in Trandell in August. Three weeks before Steve was detained."

"I had to go because I had to work."

"Steve was a good father. The hardest part for me is the children. Ntsikasha is six years old and he understands what has happened.

"When I came back after hearing Steve was dead, I asked where Steve was."

"You know, he's in detention in Pretoria," I said. He replied, "Don't worry, Mommy, I know where he is."

"I was right behind. Steve, I was with him. He was a good man and a good leader."

"Although he was harassed by the Security Police it never got him down. I remember when he was first banned in March 1973."

"He was offered R30 a month to live on by the Security Police, but I refused to take it. He didn't want charity."

"It cost about R20 000 to defend Steve against actions brought by the police."

"Once they charged Steve with not stopping at a stop sign. The charge was brought by a security policeman. That was silly funny."

"The evidence was that this man was sitting in the back of the car. To see Steve go through the stop sign he would have had to stand up. Steve was acquitted."

"The Security Police charged Steve four times. They never won a case."

calls for an end to the scandal...

LD HEART OF
And that macabre joke that fills me with shame

In any case a Minister of Justice should never "be left cold" by death in detention. In the eyes of the world he is responsible for it. If I were Minister of Justice and a man died in detention, I would — however personally blameless I was — take the responsibility for it. But it is clear that the present Minister does not see things that way.

The sympathy of many of us — who are not left cold by this event — goes out to Mrs Steve Biko, her children, and Mr Biko's mother.

But our sympathy must go out to ourselves as well, and to our country, which was assailed without must be assailed by this bitter blow from within.

I have no doubt that the death of Mr Biko will take a place in our history, beside Soweto and Sharpeville, and will be remembered when Blood River and the Anglo-Boer War have been forgotten.

It would appear that the laughing Transvaal congress has no conception of the gravity
IT IS time to bring the scandal of death in detention to an end. The members of the National Party may think there's a funny side to it, but it threatens to bring death to them too, and to the Afrikanerdom they profess to defend.

The callousness of the Minister of Justice is beyond belief. What merit does he find in joking about death on an occasion such as this? What does it show — wit, toughness, and a sturdy realism? Or does it show a stupidity also beyond belief?

What would the Nationalist reaction have been if a black speaker had made similar remarks to a black meeting on the occasion of the death, say, of a white minister of state? Their anger would have been extreme, and they would have regarded such behaviour as a proof of the innate savagery of black people.

Professor Marius Barnard has expressed the feelings of innumerable South Africans in his notable words: "I have spent 30 years working with life and death, and no death has ever left me feeling cold or indifferent."

That is the voice of humanity speaking, not the mindless oratory that is poured out at party congresses.

If Mr. Kruger is left cold by the death of a man in detention, then he is left cold. But he should not say so in public, and certainly not on an occasion like this, when a great part of the nation is stunned with anger and grief.
Steve Biko... a leader still

By DICK USHER

It was this refusal to bend at threat of violence, which some people see as arrogance, which probably made Steve so unpopular with the police in King Williams' Town.

At the time of his death he had been taken to court for times in three years on charges ranging from breaking the terms of his parole. He was also charged with another of a pending against him when he was taken into detention on August 18.

At the time he was detained he was with Mr. Peter Jones, secretary of the Black People's Convention, of which Biko was honorary president.

He was elected to the office at the 1976 congress of the organization, a meeting he could not attend because of his having other restrictions.

Although he was only 30 at the time of his death, the BPC was only one of a series of Black organizations he had either founded or played a vital role in founding. In 1968, while studying medicine at the University of Natal, he helped found the South African Students' Association and became its founder president.

He was later banned from attending the university and in June 1973 took up an appointment with the Black Community Programmes in Durban; in 1973 he was banned with seven other leaders of the BPC.

The banning order restricted him to the metropolitan district of King Williams' Town and when he arrived there he became the Eastern Cape executive for the BCP. But an amendment of his banning order prohibited him from entering or being associated with the BCP office in King Williams' Town, effectively barring him from working for the organization.

In 1975 he started the Zindzi Trust Foundation and was appointed executive-general of the organization last year.

I remember him as quiet, spoken, but when he was in meetings or dealing with groups of people there was never any doubts about his dominating the proceedings. He could take control of a meeting even from the back of a room, easily and naturally as some people blow their notes.

No fuss, no drama, but when he spoke people listened, mostly because what he had to say was always important, well thought out and logically presented.

He was one of those people whom one could be a pleasure to listen to. He was also a pleasure to be with. He had great warmth, humour and compassion to add to his intellect and wisdom.

It is possible to praise someone too highly after he has died, but some people deserve it.

Some people are great enough to have been the burden of others' praises without demanding it and because the praise is only a fraction of the truth.

Steve was a leader while he lived, he was a leader when he died, and in the way of such things he will be a leader— even now he is dead.
...of deaths in

KRUGER

of this event. I like to think that there were some who did not join in the laughter when the Minister was joking about death, not only because of its tastelessness, but also because they realised that the significance of this death was totally uncomprehended by this arrogant assembly.

The Government is making one thing more and more clear. They will treat with no militant black leader whatsoever. They should have a respect for militancy, having had their own Strydoms and Vorsters. But they do not. The destination of any militant leader is almost sure to be detention. Any black man who thinks that he has a right equal to any white man to move about South Africa freely, and to share equally in its resources, and to share equally in its government, will end up in detention.

But there is a possibility more grave than that, the possibility that he may die there. When one examines the statistics, it does indeed seem to be a possibility. Twenty deaths in 18 months is a figure that cannot lightly be explained away. The people of the country are profoundly distrustful of the way in which the Security Police operate. And in my opinion they have every right to be.

* * *

If there is one thing that fills me with deep anxiety about the future, it is the apparent inability of our rulers to understand the consequences — for themselves as well as for us — of such an event as the death of Steve Biko in
Standing on the steps of the courthouse door, Doris Nichols has tears in her eyes.

"I can't believe it," she says. "I never thought I would be here."

The court is in session, and Doris is there to hear the verdict in her husband's murder trial. She has been living in a state of constant fear since the day her husband was arrested.

Doris' husband, John, was found dead in their home with signs of a struggle. The police say they have enough evidence to convict him of murder.

"I never knew my husband was capable of doing anything like this," Doris says. "I thought I knew him, but I didn't."

Doris' family and friends are gathered outside the courthouse, waiting for the verdict. They are all hoping for a not guilty verdict, but they know it's unlikely.

"I don't know what I'm going to do if he's found guilty," Doris says. "I'll have to find a way to move on, but it will be hard."

The judge announces the verdict, and the room falls silent. The jury found John Nichols guilty of murder.

"I can't believe it," Doris says again. "I didn't expect this."

Doris' family and friends all hug each other, offering comfort to each other in this difficult time.

"We'll get through this," one of her friends says. "We're family, and we'll support each other through this."

Doris looks down at the ground, tears streaming down her face. "I just don't know what I'm going to do," she says. "I feel like my life is over."
G’N DWANG

TEEN ’N

EETSTAKING

DIE dood van mr. Steve Biko en die storm wat daarna losgebars het, bring die kwessie van dwangvoeding van gevangenes sterk op die voorgrond.

Mnr. Biko het beswak nadat hy sewe dae lank kos en water geweet het.

Dit al geruime tyd die beleid van die gevangenis-owerheid in Suid-Afrika om nie dwangvoeding toe te pas nie, sê prof. S. A. Strauss, hoof van die departement van geregelte geneeskunde aan Unisa. Dwangvoeding kan toegepas aanranding wees, maar hy kan hom nie voorstel dat ‘n hof iemand ‘n suike omstandighede aan aanranding skuldig skou bevind nie.

Die beleid word ook in Europese lande gevolg. Ingevolge die Stuttgart-konvensie mag dwangvoeding van ‘n gevangene in geeneen van die Europese lande toegepas word. Die woorde as ‘n gevangene se reg beskou om sy eie lewe deur seftverho- ring te neem indien hy so besluit.

Protes woude

In Brittanje was dit steeds die beleid om dwangvoeding toe te pas indien ‘n gevangene se toestand so versleg is dat sy lewe in gevaar is. Maar vandat Brittanje hom by die Euromark aangegaan het, gely het die Stuttgart-konvensie ook daar. So is daar in enkele gevalle in die laaste paar jaar toegelaat dat f terse gevangene hul lewe noem.

Intussen word die inter- nasionale en plaaslike prote- tedie doed van mr. Biko, voort. Berigte in deurband het nuus omtrent die Bert Lance-aksiesaai” haas opgedonder; borger Hennie Pret- torius uit Washington.

“Ske wees vanhun artikel dat Biko se dood afloopt, dit is almal wat daar algemien as ongewenst gestempel word. Toe dit deur die hoofartikels van New York Times en kleiner dailies word deur Biko die 21ste swartman was wat die afgelope agtereind meerin in aanhouding gestel het.

In Amerikaanse kringe word gesê: Suid-Afrika pluk die taptyt onder die voete van Biko is in hegtonis geneem in verband met die onluste in Port Elizabeth, en die op- stel en verspreiding van pam- fletten waarin menne tot brand-, stuiting en onluste aangeheis word.

Die Biko-geval is erg oor- dryf, sê die eerste minister ’n oorhandh met die New York Times. Hy stem nie saam met die sienswyse van Mrs. Cyrtus Vance, Amerikaanse minister van buite- landse sake, dat mr. Biko moontlik die belangrikste jong swart leier was nie.

“Ek glo nie meer as een uit honderd het voor sy dood geweet of hy was nie, sê skielik is hy die grootste swart leier in Suid-Afrika”.

Geval na die PPP se eis om die besluit van die Minister van Justisie, mr. Jimmy Kruger, het mr. Vor- ster gesê: “Dit was voorbarige oordeel. Daar kom ‘n geregel- lijke onderzoek. Almal met ikens van die saak sal getuig.”

(Sapa—Reuter—A.F.)
WHY Mr KRUGER SHOULD GO

THE Government has repeatedly condemned what it regards to be two of the most unforgivable crimes any South African can commit. The first is to damage the country’s name abroad. The second is to damage race relations at home.

This week a Cabinet Minister committed both offences. And since there is no indication that he understands what he ought to do next, the Government should do it for him.

The Prime Minister should remove the Minister of Justice and Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, from his sensitive office forthwith.

This is not an occasion for scoring political points. Many Nationalists — among them the ones who didn’t laugh at Mr Kruger’s Biko “jokes” this week — are as appalled as we are at his handling of a dangerous situation. And we believe that the country at large cannot afford to protect a Minister who is either too insensitive to foresee the consequences of his actions or too reckless to care.

Here is part of the indictment against Mr Kruger:

• He treated the death of Mr Steve Biko in detention as a suitable subject for sniggering.
• He produced an explanation of the death that was not only unsatisfactory but so ill-informed that he had later to contradict himself on the force-feeding of Mr Biko and then “explain” himself all over again. There are two possible explanations for these remarkable manoeuvres: Either his own policemen misled him or he had trouble to inquire deeply enough.
• He is resorting to post-mortem smear in an attempt to do what his security force and the courts were unable to do in Mr Biko’s lifetime — convict him of revolutionary crimes.
• He refuses to institute an authoritative judicial inquiry in the face of widespread anxiety and overseas contumely. He also insults every concerned countryman by suggesting that all they want to do is blacken the name of the police force. He is wrong. They are trying to find reassurance after 21 detaine deaths in 18 months.
• He has created new enemies in our midst. To justify himself he has lumped together Black consciousness with Black power and revolution, ensuring still more polarisation.
• He failed to do the sensible, responsible thing and reveal that Mr Biko was on a hunger strike when it began. Either he did not know it was happening or he did not care. Neither explanation constitutes a defence.

Immediate world reaction gives us a foretaste of the damage done abroad. This damage will be compounded many times in the months to come; we will not easily live down the image Mr Kruger has painted of all South African Whites. At home, the consequences of his responses will be felt again and again as the message strikes home to Black people.

Only his departure can begin to undo the harm.

THIS WEEK A BLACK MAN DIED IN DETENTION

Blunders graveyard

Transvaal congresses of the National Party are seldom, if ever, light-hearted affairs.

This year’s gathering in the Pretoria City Hall was no different. And while some delegates clearly appreciated the macabre brand of humour which Mr Jimmy Kruger introduced just before its end, there were just as clearly many of his senior party colleagues who were deeply upset by it.

Mr Kruger, Minister of Justice and Police, told his audience about the death of a man called Steve Biko who had died in detention.

He had been congratulated from the floor by a delegate from Springs for being so democratic as to allow Mr Biko to exercise his right to starve himself to death.

Mr Kruger responded well to the graveyard humour.

“One of my lieutenants committed suicide in prison yesterday,” he said. “But I didn’t commit the prisoners.”

He said it was unfortunate that any official of his departments should have touched Mr Biko and tried to stop his hunger strike. Someone would have found a thumbprint on Mr Biko and would have alleged assault.

He added that he was not happy about the death of the prisoner — but then he stressed that he was not sad either. It merely left him cold.

Though Mr Kruger’s routine was obviously appreciated by some — as shown by the laughter that greeted one of his remarks — it is pity that he did not see the shock on the faces of some of his colleagues to whom the death in detention of a powerful Black leader was anything but a joke.

Top Nat MP Mr Henrie van der Walt, for one, looked as if he would dearly have preferred to share the platform with the Minister at that stage.

Senior Nationalists told me afterwards that not only had Mr Kruger focused more international hostility on South Africa through his behaviour, but that they considered the University of Natal.

• July 1973 — banned for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act.
• July 1973 — restricted to

charged alternatively with attending an illegal gathering in terms of the ban.

Found not guilty and ac-

THE shock death in detention this week of Black consciousness leader Steve Biko concludes a strange story of constant harassment and painstaking watchfulness on the part of the Security Police.

The 30-year-old former student at the University of Natal.

By KITT KATZIN

charged alternatively

with attending an illegal gathering in terms of the ban.

Found not guilty and ac-

Acme
and jokes

But unlike 44 before him, his passing echoed

In countries overseas it is common practice to announce hunger strikes by prisoners immediately so they can be protected from subsequent allegations of malpractice or negligence.

Mr Kruger joined in a joint statement at the National Party congress in Pretoria and said: "I am not at all surprised that Mr Biko leaves me cold."

But in an interview for American television on Thursday he appeared deeply concerned about the death.

He revealed the last-ditch efforts to meet Mr Biko in prison, but failed. He said: "I have been told that "Mr Biko had... passed away."

To his family in Ladysmith, Mr Kruger also gave a different message from his statement to the Pretoria congress: "I am sorry about Mr Biko's death," he said.

At the Pretoria congress Mr Kruger quoted Mr Biko, a binned person. Other people and newspapers — many of whom claim Mr Kruger has given a distorted picture of Mr Biko — are prohibited from quoting the other side of the story unless Mr Kruger gives permission.

Mr Kruger quoted Mr Biko as having preached revolution as early as 1939. He did not indicate why Mr Biko was not prosecuted even though he appears at least a solid principle against incitement. Instead Mr Biko was charged and acquitted

Richard Smith

NAT PARTY CONGRESS
PRETORIA

What are they all laughing at?!

Inquirystem needed

By JENNII

Witnesses have often been turned down by inquest magistrates on the grounds that their evidence was not relevant to an individual death.

But the most important difference of all, say the lawyers, is that magistrates are State employees, who work closely with the police and who were once prosecutors.

"The magistrate is dependent for promotion on the same minister who wants a "satisfactory" verdict from the inquest," said Prof Dagard.

Judges, on the other hand, have a background of independence that does not link them with the Department of Justice.

They have security of tenure, once appointed, and can be expected to be fairly independent, says Prof Dagard.

However independent

He had been held in maximum security hospital, Fort Giamorgan Prison, East London. Was often placed in solitary confinement and extensively interrogated.


March 1977 — Appears in East London Regional Court on two charges of contravening restrictions imposed by his banning order.

April 1977 — Appears on charge of course of justice, alternatively with indemne to perjury.

July 1977 — Arrested by Security Police in King William's Town for allegedly contraverring restrictions imposed by his banning order.

July 1977 — Mr Biko appears in King William's Town on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Released on R200 bail.

July 1977 — Found not guilty in East London Regional Court of inciting State witnesses to commit perjury.

The Magistrate, Mr P van Zyl, said Mr Biko's evidence

Mr Kruger during that period on numerous other charges, including one of failing to stop at a stop sign. The charge was brought by a security policeman.

Police harassment

him from participating in the activities of the Black Consciousness Programme.

1972 - Also charged with breaking his banning order by entering a King William's Town educational institution to write a Unisa examination.

The case not concluded when he died this week.

April 1976 — Mr Biko again charged with breaking his banning order. He is discharged but the case cost him R500.

April 1976 — A Security member gives him a summons for allegedly not stopping at a stop sign. He appears in his own defence and is acquitted.

June 1976 — Gives evidence at the trial of nine SASO and BCP members charged under the Terrorism Act in the Pretoria Supreme Court.


November 1976 — Released after 101 days in detention in East London. Still under banning orders and cannot be quoted.

His wife, Mrs Ntsiki Biko, says her husband lost 15 kilograms in weight, though she believed he was well treated.

He had been held in maximum security hospital, Fort Giamorgan Prison, East London. Was often placed in solitary confinement and extensively interrogated.


March 1977 — Appears in East London Regional Court on two charges of contravening restrictions imposed by his banning order.

Case remanded to September 25, and placed under Security Police detention at Fort Giamorgan.

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The Magistrate, Mr P van Zyl, said Mr Biko's evidence
and courageous an individual magistrate may be, his status as a Department of Justice employee immediately links him in the public mind with the Government which employs him. 

Lawyers and doctors have commented to the Express on whether force-feeding could constitute an assault.

Many doctors told the Express that while technically, force-feeding an unwilling patient might constitute an assault, they felt doctors had an ethical and moral duty to save a healthy man from death, even against his will.

Professor S A Strauss, head of the Department of Criminal Procedure at Unisa, stressed the distinction between the legal and moral position.

While doctors had no legal obligation to revive a hunger striker against his will, they might be considered, bound by their Hippocratic Oath, to do so.

Lawyers asked whether Mr Kruger genuine believed that a resuscitated hunger striker could bring successful assault charges against the doctor or policeman who saved him.

To force-feed a hunger striker was "as much a case of assault as to forcibly snatch a man from the leg of a building from which he is determined to jump to his death", said one lawyer.

The Express has established that the Department of Prisons has a state policy not to force-feed hunger strikers.

This is in contrast to growing trend abroad of force-feeding on the grounds that it ultimately protects the police from charges of negligence.

Overseas statistics show that while force-feeding is a controversial issue in certain former South African Army hunger strikers a decade ago, it is now on the increase.

 statewide witnesses were R35,000 — and Mrs Biko says: "It gets expensive to be at odds with the Security Police — even if one is always acquitted."

August 19 — Arrested again together with the branch executive of the BCP, Mr Peter Jones, under Section Six of Terrorism Act.

Held in the Walmer Police Station, Port Elizabeth, and transferred to Pretoria last Sunday.

He is the 45th known South African to die in detention — and the 20th in 18 months.

He was still a banned man when he died — and he was never found guilty of any offence in a court of law in South Africa.
Nat turmoil over Kruger

By HUGH MURRAY
Political Editor

THE death in detention of 30-year-old Black consciousness leader Steve Biko has unleashed the biggest crisis yet in the career of Justice, Police and Prisons Minister, Mr Jimmy Kruger.

He stands accused by some of his most senior colleagues of having blundered unforgivably in his handling of the Biko affair. And one of his benchmarks in Parliament told me that many nationalists would be satisfied only if Mr Kruger was publicly rebuked by the Prime Minister.

Mr Vorster appears already to have taken a diametrically opposite line to Mr Kruger — with whom he had lunch on Saturday. Mr Vorster described the matter to the New York Times as "very unfortunate" and promised a judicial inquiry would be held.

In an interview at the Pretoria residence of Mr Vorster yesterday, he disclosed to me important new information. Among other things he said:

- As far as he was concerned, Biko's death was not suicide.
- He had not been aware Mr Biko was on a hunger strike, or that he had been ill, until the day of his death, when he issued a statement.

Mr Vorster's flippancy at the NP's Pretoria Congress, is only one of the reasons some of his colleagues have been angered.

Mr Kruger's flippantness at the ANC's congress was considered by him to be similar to the way Mr Vorster handled the Government.

Mr Vorster's promise of a judicial inquiry into Biko's death with some scepticism.

That they point out that it does not necessarily mean a full judicial commission of inquiry. Professor John Dugard of the Witwatersrand University's law faculty says the term "judicial" simply means a legal proceeding.

"A judicial inquiry in South Africa can be held before a judge, a magistrate or even a magistrates' commissioner," he explained.

According to the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape, Mr C N van der Walt, no decision had been made to prosecute Mr Biko.

"Nothing was placed before me for decision," he said. "I have heard that the police were investigating Mr Biko's case, but I have no idea what the proposed charges were."

Any decision to prosecute is made by the Attorney-General's office after considering police reports. Mr Kruger claimed in an interview on Friday that "there was no doubt" Mr Biko would have been charged, had he lived.

Biko's death, by Minister

MR JIMMY KRUGER, Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, yesterday disclosed in an interview with the Sunday Express a number of vital new facts relating to the death in detention of Black leader Steve Biko.

Political editor Hugh Murray saw Mr Kruger at his official residence in Pretoria. This, in question and answer form, is the interview:

Q. In your speech at the Transvaal Congress you quoted Steve Biko as calling for revolution in 1970. On what occasion did he do that?
A. I think it was the occasion of the Naswa conference in 1970 or the SASO conference. I am not sure.

Q. Why wasn't he prosecuted for what he did?
A. I knew that Biko had been taken in but I didn't know all the things.

Q. You didn't know he was ill in other words?
A. That's right.

Q. Since you must have realised the implications of Biko's death do you not consider it to have been ill-advised to treat the matter so lightly at the congress?
A. I didn't think then that the matter was treated lightly. I deny treating it lightly. The whole congress was taken totally out of context.

Q. Why do you not regard the Biko case as a possible suicide?
A. I don't know what it is but it doesn't seem to me to be a suicide.

Q. Were you consulted on overriding the man's democratic wish not to be fed?
A. The man was given doctor's attention. The doctor prescribed something and it was done.

Q. But right at the last moment. What strikes me as being strange, is that a medical orderly was not in attendance although the man must have been in the terminal stages of his life.
A. You know you really amuse me Mr Murray. Honestly, it was quite clear that the police got certificate from the doc that he could find not wrong. Then another doc...
I am not stating whether I am satisfied or not. I have already categorically said that I am awaiting the medical reports and then I will consider the other matters. I am not stating one way or the other the position is.

Q. How close attention have you personally given to Biko’s files in the past?
A. When Mr Donald Woods asked me to lift the ban on Biko I had the file sent up. As a matter of fact on that particular file on the further information I got we stopped him from being associated with the BPC (Black People's Convention).

Q. Have you seen the post-mortem report on Biko?
A. No.
Q. You have said in the past that opportunities for detainees to commit suicide would be guarded against much more carefully in future.
A. No. I said we take all possible precautions to see that people don’t covertly suicide. That’s an entirely different thing to Mr Biko’s case.

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**Lunchtime protest**

A CITIZENS' protest meeting will be held in Johannesburg’s City Hall at lunchtime tomorrow to allow people to voice their objections to detention without trial and commemorate the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

The meeting, organised by the Progressive Federal Party, will be addressed by Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, the Reverend Beyers Naude, and Mr Kowie Marais.
Kruger has abused his powers - Suzman

Tim Patten, Political Reporter

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, today accused the Minister of Police, Mr. Kruger, of "gross callousness" in his handling of the death of black leader Steve Biko, and called on him to resign immediately.

Addressing a lunch-hour protest meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall, she said Mr Kruger had abused the powers given to him by Parliament, and jeopardised South Africa's claim to be numbered among the civilised nations of the world.

"Mrs Suzman placed the blame for Mr Biko's death squarely on Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

"I say unequivocally that Section 6 of the Terrorism Act killed Steve Biko — just as Section 6 has killed some 20 other unfortunate people during the last 18 months."

But she said, Steve Biko "would not have died in vain if the vicious law that was the root cause of his and other deaths was struck from the Statute Book, and if the citizens of South Africa began to recoil from the vast arbitrary powers given to Ministers.

STILL HUNDREDS

"Steve Biko will not have died in vain if the lockdown citizens of South Africa rose themselves from their apathy and their fear to work to get rid of this destructive Government," she said.

While protesting and mourning the death of Mr Biko, people should not forget the others that had died and the hundreds still languishing in detention under Section 6." Instead of seeking a dialogue with the National Party, the congress by killing Biko's death left him cold.

Kruger challenged on 'koud' claim

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A senior lecturer in Afrikaans and Nederlands at the University of Natal today challenged the explanation by the Minister of Police, Mr. Kruger, of the phrase "It leaves me cold," which he used last week to describe his feelings about the death in detention of Mr. Steve Biko.

Mr. Kruger said at the weekend that the sentence did not mean the same as the English expression "It leaves me cold."

Mr. Kruger said: "I meant I was neutral. I meant I was not emotional about it. I could not say I was in mourning — that would have been hypocritical."

A. H. de Vries, senior lecturer in the department of Afrikaans and Nederlands, said today: "The expression is literally the same as the English expression "It leaves me cold."

Mr. Graham McIntosh, MP for Pinelands, said today paralleled: "Being drawn between the death of Mr. Biko and the ganging down of a security policeman at his home in Durban were a sign of how the government had succeeded in 'brain-washing' the public."

Mr. McIntosh, who with his wife Sante started an eight-day hunger strike yesterday to protest against the death of Mr. Biko, said: "Both deaths are deplorable, but Sergeant Nkosi's death appears to be a revenge murder of the classic type in which the South African Police are leaving no stone unturned to find the murderers."

"Steve Biko died under as yet unexplained circumstances, while in the safe hands of police custody. He is the 44th detainee to have died in police custody."

Mr. Suzman said she would not attempt to anticipate the post-mortem findings, although Mr. Kruger had "undoubtedly tried to lead us to believe that a hunger strike was the cause of Steve Biko's death."
Nats are to blame for Biko’s death

Staff Reporters
ABOUT 10,000 people, mainly students,上游ed Dr Albert Moloto yesterday when he told them: “Vandler and this Government are responsible for the death of Steve Biko.”

Dr Molato representing the African National Congress was speaking at a memorial service in the Regina Mundi church hall in Rockville, Soweto.

“We do not care what the post-mortem will say and I have never seen or heard of a post-mortem that takes a month,” he said.

He called on the people attending the service to be “faithful and loyal” to the ideals of Biko.

“Biko has not died in vain. There are hundreds of Biko around,” he added.

Mr George Wamvho, chairman of the Johannesburg branch of the Black People’s Convention, said in his address: “Today, Steve the man has been silenced, but Steve the spirit and pillar of black consciousness will live on.”

A spokesman for the Soweto students’ representative council called on Soweto businessmen to close their shops between 9 and 10 am every day this week to observe the death of Mr Biko.

He said there would be several other memorial services held in Soweto during the week “even if we are harassed.”

At the start of the service a SABC TV crew and a representative of the Citizen were ordered to leave the hall.

At another memorial service at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, the president of the Federal Seminary at Maritzburg said the Minister of Justice, Mr Krogers, should not make positive statements about what happened to Mr Biko and other detainees who died in jail when he was not absolutely sure of the facts.

The Rev Simon Gqubule told 300 people that many questions remained unanswered and South Africans were haunted by imaginations of what happened to people in detention.

The service was organised by the South African Council of Churches.

More than 500 people attended a Nedbank Reek in Mamelodi, Pretoria.

Speakers said Mr Biko’s death would be to the blacks like the death of the former Prime Minister Dr Verwoerd to the Afrikaners.

More than 500 people attended a Nedbank Reek in Mamelodi, Pretoria.

A police spokesman said last night that the day had passed peacefully and no violence had been reported.

Major-General David Kidd, assistant commissioner in charge of riot control, said police had taken every precaution and that a watch had been kept on all memorial service venues.
Detention is a sore point, says Rapport

By MELANIE YAP

SEVERAL Nationalist newspapers have expressed concern about the recent developments in the case of Steve Biko's death. Among them is the Sunday paper, Rapport, which yesterday said this in an editorial:

"Detention without trial is a sore point in the South African political order. Nationalist editor George Vorster is always at the forefront of those concerned to prevent the recurrence of the Biko situation."

The paper went on to say:

"The price put on people's freedom is often the greatest difference between civilized and other societies."

"If the death of Steve Biko has again revealed this feeling, on his death itself, there is little to say because too few real facts are known."

"The handling of the affair so far has only made one's head spin."

"Now already, only days after his death, there have been so many conflicting statements that it is difficult to get a correct version."

"He died in a hospital, no, in the police station."

"He died on account of a hunger strike, no, was not what was said."

"He received no force feeding, yet he did indeed."

"We have now seen how much rage our enemies have and in attempts to crack us, the country. We have also seen how this black leader has been built up to one of the most important in the world."

"Yet it is not only this that must concern us. Biko ought not to be more important than any other inhabitant of South Africa."

"It must concern us that every person's life is important to South Africa, in contrast with some countries, where such occurrences are so common and they are condemned."

"Because of this the true facts of Biko's death must be revealed as quickly as possible by a judicial court."

"We shall no doubt be accused of siding with the Government's enemies, but these circumstances and of what might happen to them in detention. That list is horrifyingly alarming."

"It is as if the Security Police's reputation, which is at stake, but of South Africa itself."

"And not all Nationalists are given to the sort of callousness shown by some people at the Transvaal Congress."

"Today's newspapers yesterday attacked South Africa's detention without trial laws and called on the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to dismiss the Minister of Justice, Mr Jan Kruger."

"The Sunday Tribune said Mr Vorster had not acted in dismissing Mr Kruger, urging ordering a judicial commission to inquire into Mr Biko's death and instating another inquiry to look into deaths in detention over the past 18 months."

"The Sunday Express said: "Mr Kruger is as appalled as we are at his (Mr Kruger's) handling of a dangerous situation.""

"The Sunday Times said Mr Biko was a victim of a rotten system which would erode public faith in official and police even if every one of them was a registered saint."

"Mr Biko would not have lived or died in vain if public outrage could focus on the need for a reform in this system."

"The Jogger said: "We must face up to our own journeys."

"The Afrikaans-language daily "Republiek" said: "The countryside is full of statements."

"The Sunday World said: "We must make it known that we are all there everywhere, making...""
"I AM NOT" glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. He leaves me cold. I can say nothing to you. Any person who dies... I shall also be sorry if I die. (Laughter).

"But now there are a lot of scandal stories (skinder stories) and all sorts of positions are now taken against the South African Police. And even if I am their Minister, Mr Chairman, if they have done something wrong, I shall be the first man to take them before the courts. They know it.

"But what happened here? This person was arrested, as I said yesterday, in connection with riots in Port Elizabeth. Among other things they were busy with the drafting and distribution of extremely inflammatory pamphlets which urged people to violence and arson.

"Now I mention this fact, not because I want to criticise someone who is dead. I have respect for the dead. But I mention this fact to prove that we were justified in arresting this person.

"I don't think there is a person in the audience that will say to me: 'But man, I think the police should rather have left him. You should rather not have detained him in a prison.'

"He was caught with a coloured man, a certain Mr Jones, and this man was questioned first by the South African Police.

"In other words, from his (Mr Biko's) arrest on August 18 — I assume that they asked certain things occasionally, I am not sure of that — but he did not undergo a long, intensive questioning from August 18 to September 3.

"On the fifth of September they were finished with the other man and then they came to him (Mr Biko). And they began to question him.

"Then he said he would go on a hunger strike. He first said he would answer their questions. They should give of an hour. After a quarter of an hour, he said no, he would go on a hunger strike.

"And indeed he began to push his food and water away — that were continual-ly given to him, so that he could freely drink or eat.

"It is very true what Mr Venter said (about prisoners in South Africa having the 'democratic right' to starve themselves to death). I am a democratic land.

"We are now asked: 'When saw you went on a hunger strike, why didn't you force him to eat?' (Laughter)

"Mr Chairman, can you imagine that these same people who smear the police day and night because they touched this man — and they have a mark on his foot, and there's a mark behind his ear and it must be the police — do you think the police must still force that man to eat?

"No, sir, I say now categorically on behalf of the police. If I was there I would have said: Do not touch him, but would have said: 'Call a doctor.'

"And on that same day, September 7, the district surgeon was called in.

"Do you know, Mr Chairman, now some newspapers come and they have really (wrang hit) got the cheek to ask: 'Why didn't you bring in a private doctor?' (Laughter)

"Look, you cannot win. That I understand. Sir, I have no illusions about the Press on this point, you cannot win. There will always be a private doctor. He just gets an appointment as a district surgeon. In other words, if the State needs him. You must call him because he has an appointment as a district surgeon. Some of them are fulltime.

"I don't know what this one was. But the State officials cannot simply call private doctors. Then they must pay (them) personally.

"And, I say today, any newspaper that alleges it was irregular, sticks his finger in the eye of the medical profession, not the police hospitals.

"That day (September 7), the district surgeon came.

"On the 8th September the man (Mr Biko) still lay there on the mat. And the police said: 'Don't just call the district surgeon, call the chief district surgeon. Let him come and look at this man.'

"The first district surgeon wrote a letter to the detective to say: 'There's nothing wrong with him.' The chief district surgeon and the district surgeon told the Security Police: 'Man, there is nothing wrong with this man.'

"But on the 8th September they said: 'In any case, bring him to the prison. Look, he is now in a police cell at Walmer (Port Elizabeth).' They said: 'Bring him to the prison hospital where we have more instruments with which to see what's wrong with the man.'

"And he was moved to the Port Elizabeth prison.

"They kept him for a while. And it was the Rand Daily Mail. I am not sure. I made a mistake the other day... "But nevertheless, the Press comes and asked: 'Why didn't you bring in a private doctor?'

"Do you know what we brought in? We brought in a private specialist. We had a specialist with this man. We said: 'Look at the man.'

"And on Sunday, September 11, after we had had all those doctors and specialists, then the district surgeon said: 'Man, send him to one of the bigger hospitals.'

"He proposed Victor Verster or Pretoria, where they could keep this man under observation for a longer period, in conditions where he could not be disturbed by outsiders.

"You know if you take him to a private hospital then you must set up guards...

"Here in Pretoria is a prison hospital and we must take him there. And on that same night he was brought to Pretoria.

"Now, Mr Chairman — and the Press loses sight of this — the day he came to Pretoria to the Pretoria Prison... he was totally out of that area of his actions and the police actions against him.

"He is now on neutral grounds. A person can put it nearly like that. He is totally out of Security Police hands.

"He is in the hands of the prison authorities who know nothing about his whole case. People who have simply received a warrant and (they) say: 'Bring him in
the prison hospital at the appropriate time.

"Immediately the district surgeon was phoned — who else? The Department of Prisons have nothing against this man. They are not there to question or interrogate him.

"They are not concerned with that. Here is a patient. They put him down and they say: Man, call the doctor. We have got a warrant for this man. He must be transferred to the prison hospital."

"And here comes the district surgeon who knows nothing about the man and he examines him, an independent examination. And he treats him medically.

"I do not know what the treatment was but therefore I do not want to stick my neck out as far as that is concerned. I assume there will still be investigations. I don't know. But this doctor, whatever he did to the late Mr Biko — or gave to him or whatever it was — I cannot see that he would have anything against this man. I think he treated the man to the best of his ability."

"Later that night — there is a peephole in these places, so you can see that the people do not hang themselves.

"Incidentally, I can just tell the congress, the day before yesterday one of my own lieutenants in the prison service also committed suicide and we have not yet accounted for one single prisoner."

"And when this man came to look in the peephole he saw that the man (Mr Biko) was lying very still. And he did not touch him and did not open the door. He did nothing. Because he also knows that if you touch him, they then say: You're fingerprint is there, what did you do? He left the man. I do not blame him. He went back and told a man: The man (Mr Biko) is lying dead wrong. And they summoned the doctor and they found the person was dead.

"And we have instructed the chief pathologist, a specialist if there ever was one, sir, of absolutely unquestionable reputation, we have another State pathologist and let the family know.

"His wife was not with him. We could not find her. We went to the old mother and she said: These are my lawyers.

"And they appointed another pathologist and these three people apparently held a post-mortem yesterday... I do not know what the result is.

"But, sir, I just want to tell the congress and I want to tell the Press. I expect nothing from them (the I know, sir. I know because I have it in documents, I have it in secret documents in my file that they are going for us.

"They will search and search for loopholes (gathies on piles). Whether they will find them, I don't know. We are also only people.

"But from my point of view, on the facts that I have, it looks to me as if what had to be done was done..."

"I know incidentally that a few of the opposition Press will try to make something of it. But if they want to do it, it is their right. Let them do it. Here is my congress, sir, to whom I wish to report and you can stand up and say: According to us ordinary members something went wrong."

Mr Kruger... "Look, you cannot win."

Minister, that I cannot see how we could have acted differently.

(Cheers and applause.)

Since his report to the Transvaal National Party congress, Mr Kruger has said:

● Mr Biko died in a prison cell not the prison hospital.
● Mr Biko was treated with an intravenous drip.
● He (Mr Kruger) never stated Mr Biko had died of starvation.

He was not informed by the security police that Mr Biko had gone on a hunger strike, although he knew that the black consciousness leader had been detained.

He is not prepared to state 'categorically' that he is satisfied with the manner in which his officials handled the situation. He would await the medical
The day that the rains came down...
Biko’s death seen as blow for peace

LONDON — British and American newspapers have warned that the death in detention of Mr. Steve Biko may diminish the chances for racial peace in South Africa.

The London Sunday Express said yesterday: "The unexplained death of black leader Steve Biko is a bitter blow for those who still believe that the races can yet work out their destinies in peace.

"In the last 18 months more than 20 Africans have died in mysterious circumstances while in the hands of security forces. The chain of deaths is surely too long now to be dismissed as mere coincidence."

"For the sake of his country, South Africa's Premier John Vorster must authorize a judicial inquiry into what goes on in his prisons. To fudge that decision will only give comfort to the enemies of South Africa, place a new propaganda weapon in the hands of revolutionaries—and bring despair to those who seek reform by reason."

The Observer said: "Steve Biko was for most South Africans like a black South African leader to emerge from the generation of youngsters who have known nothing but apartheid all their lives."

"Until convincing proof can be produced by a judicial commission, his case must be considered as political murder. This tragic episode could turn out to be a political blunder by the Vorster regime of historic proportions."

The New York Times said: "Steve Biko was perhaps the most impressive and influential leader in the generation of black South Africans. His death while in the custody of the police in South Africa of yet another moderate and responsible voice for non-violent change is a heavy blow on the continent."

"Without the Steve Biko's, we will surely reap the whirlwind."

SAPA-AP

Black Sash will hold Border Sash will hold vigil

EAST LONDON — Members of the Border region of the Black Sash will hold a vigil tomorrow Tuesday from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. at Trinity Methodist Church, Oxford Street, in memory of Steve Biko.

The church will be open to all who wish to pray and the regular Tuesday service at 1 p.m. will be held in its theme South Africa and its leaders with particular reference to those who have died in detention.

The Border secretary of the Black Sash, Mrs. Sylvia Hargery, said: "Maybe the time has come to use a different word for this form of detention."

"Mr. Biko and those who are in South Africa, should forget these people. And we should be sure that others, who might like to forget, will remember those who are held without being charged or brought to court."

The Border secretary of the Black Sash, Mrs. Sylvia Hargery, said: "Maybe the time has come to use a different word for this form of detention."

"Mr. Biko and the others died in captivity, in fact, and many middle-aged and older South Africans wonder what that meant—and still means."

Poetic tribute

EAST LONDON — Mr. Steve Biko's wife, Mrs. Bandile Moyo, had a "sudden urge" at the weekend to write a poem about her brother.

"Biko died for us all. Man was born free and equal as far as God was concerned. Biko is dead like Abrahm Tsho died for all like a hero. What was the cause of Biko's death? Mr. Kruger please tell us what was the cause of death."

"Biko"

"Biko died for us all. Man was born free and equal as far as God was concerned. Biko is dead like Abrahm Tsho died for all like a hero."

"Biko"

"Biko died for us all. Man was born free and equal as far as God was concerned. Biko is dead like Abrahm Tsho died for all like a hero."

"Biko"
Death damages SA image in Britain

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Steve Biko’s death in custody has almost certainly done more damage to South Africa’s image in the United Kingdom than he could have achieved alive through a thousand speeches.

This is a sober assessment based on views of people here with fingers on the pulse of reactions on various levels.

All views endorsed the statement in South Africa by the director general of the South Africa Foundation, Mr Peter Sorour, that “this event is going to undo all the good we have been achieving.”

The major influence on British thinking was undoubtedly the statement by Mr Kruger, the Minister of Justice and Police, that Mr Biko’s death left him cold.

His response went into tens of millions of homes through radio and television, no less chilling because it was read without comment.

The headline in the current issue of that most influential of British journals, The Economist, uses the Minister’s very words: “It left him cold.”

Even the most pro-South African observers have no doubt that the phrase will be repeatedly used in future as an indication of a callous and inhumane society in South Africa.

As will thelaughter of delegates to the National Party congress in Pretoria, widely reported here in the newspapers, when the subject of Mr Biko’s death was discussed.

Part of the crowd of more than 3 000 who attended the service at the Regina Mundi Cathedral in Moroka in memory of Mr Steve Biko.
Government lashed as thousands mourn Biko

The Government came under fire yesterday when thousands of people of all races attended services throughout the country in memory of black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko.

"We accuse the Government of the death of Steve Biko," Dr Ntatho Molema, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said at a memorial service for the dead detainee in Soweto yesterday.

Speaking on behalf of the Black Parents' Association at the service organized by the Black People's Convention, Dr Molema said: "We say that Vorster and his Government are entirely responsible for the death of Steve Biko."

He said black people did not care what the result of the post mortem on Mr Biko would be. They were convinced that the Government was responsible for his death.

A crowd of about 5,000 people which filled the Regina Mundi Church applauded these remarks and frequently gave the black power salute.

Referring to announcements that it might take as long as a month for the post mortem to be completed, Dr Molema said that, as a medical man, he had never heard of a post mortem which took a month.

He and other speakers deplored the laughter at the Transvaal congress of the National Party over Mr Biko's death.

They said Mr Biko had not died in vain. His death had made black people more determined than ever to carry on with their struggle.

1,500 people attended a memorial service in St George's Cathedral.

In Pietermaritzburg the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa called on the Minister of Police to withdraw his statement that Mr Biko's death "left him cold."

In a statement in Cape Town, the Black Sash said a group identity which exacted as the price for its preservation, the lives of people held helpless and incomunicado by the security police was not worth preserving.

"We want no part in it," said Mrs Sheena Duncan, National president of the sash.

They had been refused an interview with Mr Kruger, but hoped he would see them later.

"We wanted an opportunity to express our horror at the death of Steve Biko and the deaths of so many others in detention."

"We had intended to tell the Minister we hold him responsible for the deaths of people who have died while in the custody of the Security Police," she said.

of the security of the States," Mr Rachidi said.

Of the security of the States," Mr Rachidi said.

Yesterday's Soweto service was attended by many foreign journalists, including several television crews. An SABC TV crew was asked to leave.

At a South African Council of Churches service, Mr Simon Qubile, president of the Federal Seminary urged churches to press for an inquiry on Mr Biko's death. About 500 people attended the service at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg.

In Cape Town, about
injury report

Silence on Biko

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Minister did not deny starvation reports

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Kruger did not deny reports in the national press last week stating that Mr Steve Biko died as a result of a hunger strike.

Many newspapers, English and Afrikaans, carried editorials, headlines and comment in stories which pointed unerringly to the general interpretation of Mr Kruger’s statements — Mr Biko died from starvation.

In a report in Beeld, September 16, the introduction read: “Steve Biko, the black activist, died in jail in Pretoria as a result of his hunger strike even though every possible effort was made to save his life. Until he died, Biko received intravenous feeding to strengthen his weakened system.”

The newspaper said the Minister told the paper that Mr Biko had died in a cell in the Pretoria prison after medical treatment had been administered.

A headline in Die Transvaler of September 14 ran: “Mr Kruger’s statement... BPC leader would not eat — died.”

An editorial in Die Transvaler said: “Indications that there is nothing sinister concerning Biko’s death and treatment do not exist.

“We would like to accept official explanations that his health condition was apparently caused from a lack of fluids and food, as a result of his own refusal to take anything as of September 5.”

An editorial in The Citizen of September 15 said Mr Biko should not have died, even if he was on a hunger strike, “for there are ways of keeping hunger strikers alive.”

The World asked in an editorial on September 15: “Why was Mr Biko simply allowed to die without any word being got to his family as to his deterioration in health.”

A headline in the same paper of September 14 read: “He refused food and drink says Kruger. Biko died of hunger.”

In an editorial comment in the Rand Daily Mail on September 14, the paper quoted Mr Kruger as saying that seven days before his death he began refusing his meals and threatened a hunger strike.

“But people don’t die in seven days from a hunger strike. It can take weeks and weeks. And if necessary they can be force fed as we know from Northern Ireland,” the editorial said.

The first paragraph of a report in Beeld of September 10 said: “Steve Biko’s death, in jail in Pretoria as a result of a hunger strike, yesterday evoked widespread reaction in South Africa and overseas.” — DDC.
HAS SOWN CONFUSION

PPF CLAIMS KRUGER

Wood and DDB

DDB, the advertising agency that produces Kenner's commercial, insists that the commercial was shot in England and has no relation to the controversy. "It was a coincidence that the advert was shot at the same time," said a spokesman. "We were filming a commercial for a children's toy, and we happened to use the same location as the UK."

The commercial in question shows a family in a car, driving through a countryside landscape. Suddenly, a group of children appear, playing football in a field. The family stops and watches them play, before driving on.

The agency also denied that the commercial was critical of the UK government. "We are not about politics," said the spokesman. "We are about having fun and entertaining children."

However, the advert has been banned by the Advertising Standards Authority, who believe it is too critical of the UK government. The ASA stated that the advert was "inappropriate" and "offensive".

A spokesman for the ASA said: "We have received a number of complaints about this advert, and we have decided to ban it. We believe it is inappropriate to show the British government in a negative light in a children's advert."

The ASA added that the advert was also considered to be "irresponsible" as it featured a football match in a rural setting, which could be interpreted as encouraging children to play outside during the pandemic.

A spokesperson for the government said: "We are disappointed that this advert has been banned. We believe it is important to show children the beauty of the countryside and the importance of playing outside."

However, a number of parents have welcomed the ban, saying it was "necessary".

One parent said: "I think it is important to show children the dangers of playing outside during the pandemic."
Report unconfirmed

Biko brain damaged
Fears for life of friend detained with Biko

Professor Louwser was commenting on reports in the United States Press that Mr Biko died in detention as a result of multiple body and brain injuries.

'In evidential matters of this kind I will not confirm and I will not deny that Mr Biko's body was found at the post-mortem to have brain or rib injuries,' Professor Louwser said.

Professor Louwser said he had not issued any interim statement on the causes of Mr Biko's death.

FIRM THOUGHTS

On the progress of the post mortem and subsequent tests on samples taken from Mr Biko's body, Professor Louwser said: 'I will have firm thoughts before four weeks are up on what caused death. But to hand over a dossier there must be proper scientific controls which might take a bit longer. But the exercise of those controls will still put the finish of the autopsy tests within four-week period.'

He was reacting to statements by some doctors that they were under investigation. But what I usually do is to file any documents when they are complete so that, if any officer pursuing an official investigation, said Professor Louwser.

Certain documents were at this stage available to policemen who might be pursuing an official investigation, said Professor Louwser.

But, at this stage, I am not in a position to say if such documents have been taken by such a policeman, he added.

The statement that Mr Biko died as a result of illness, self-infliction, negligence or assault was justifiable on the basis of probabilities. FAIR COMMENT

Professor Louwser said he would not confirm nor would he deny that toxicological screenings were being conducted on samples from Mr Biko's body.

He added that it would be 'fair comment' by medical sources that toxicological tests could take up to four weeks to be completed.

Professor Louwser said tests on samples were running on schedule.

Pathologist won't be drawn on Biko death

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Chief State Pathologist, Prof J. D. Louwerse, said today he would neither confirm nor deny that brain and rib damage were found on the body of the dead black leader, Mr Steve Biko.

In an interview in Pretoria, Professor Louwerse said it was unjustifiable at this stage to say that brain damage was. The press that the post mortem tests should take so long. 'I don't know if the...
Service and vigil at cathedral

A MEMORIAL service for Steven Biko will be held in St George's Cathedral tomorrow at 5pm. The speakers will be the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Lesotho, and Dr Allan Boesak, of the NG Sendingkirk.

Others taking part are the Suffragen Bishop of Cape Town, the Rt Rev Patrick Motolongwe; the Rev Moses Molekane, and Dr Francis Wilson.

The Mowbray Inter-Race Group will hold a 24-hour vigil in the cathedral's St John's Chapel, beginning immediately after the service ends.

In a statement issued yesterday the group extended sympathy to the Biko family and gave reasons for the vigil:

"In this vigil we reflect with sorrow upon the polarizing factors in our country that are embittering our people and wasting their talents.

"We totally abhor the system of detention without trial and are opposed to all practices that enforce racial divisions and ferment racial antagonisms.

"We pledge ourselves anew to work unremittingly for inter-racial equity, harmony and peace in South Africa," the statement said.

All those wishing to take part in the actual vigil should contact Mrs Daphine Wilson at 74-1888 or at the cathedral.

Oggenblad hits out

PRETORIA: Oggenblad, an Afrikaans veldjie paper, circulating in Pretoria, yesterday hit out at Mr Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Police, over his "insensitivity" to the death of Mr Biko.

In a long two-column editorial the newspaper called on Mr Kruger to order an inquiry while at the same time suggesting that they did not believe Mr Biko died because of a hunger strike.

"Something else must have happened to him," the newspaper writes. "But we are not implying that he was perhaps assailed or tortured." "The international repercussions arising from his death should be borne in mind. Unfortunately the Minister of Justice has done little to soften the repercussions."

The editorial also said that although such things happened in other countries, South Africa could not afford to let them happen. "The least that can be done is that detaine should be properly looked after," the newspaper says.

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prisons, that they may realise they are human beings.

'We weep for our land, which has suffered so grievously a blow, and we weep for ourselves.'

The bishop told the congregation: 'The powers of evil have done their worst and lost, because they are immoral and wrong, and the God of justice and righteousness and goodness must triumph.

'There are many who support this system who know it is utterly abhorrent to God and is doomed to fail.'

THE Anglican Bishop of Lesotho, the Right Rev Desmond Tutu, gives his address at yesterday's memorial service for Mr Steve Biko at St George's Cathedral in Cape Town. The cathedral was packed to overflowing. Dozens of people sat outside.

'Humane' plea for Kruger

The Argus Religious Affairs Correspondent

MORE than 1,000 people were yesterday asked to pray that the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, may recover his 'humanity' following his remarks about the death of Mr Steve Biko.

The Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Lesotho, asked the congregation to do this when he gave the sermon at a memorial service for Mr Biko, life president of the Black People's Convention, who died in detention last week.

Whether this was said in Afrikaans, Russian or Pongwe, it was generally described as 'deeply offensive.'

Did you pray for the family who lost a loved one? Did you pray for the Minister, that he may recover his 'humanity.'

Pray for the police, especially the Security Service and those in...
Eight thousand people attended a memorial service for Mr Steve Biko at the Regina Mundi Cathedral in Rockville, Soweto, yesterday. The main speakers included Dr Nhto Motlana on behalf of the Black Parents' Association. Other speakers were from the BPC, SASO and the Soweto SRC.
Barnard concerned at statement

Chief Reporter

PROFESSOR MARIUS BARNARD said in Cape Town that as one whose work was aimed at saving life and relieving human suffering, he had been greatly concerned at the Minister of Justice’s reported statement that a man’s death had “left him cold”.

He said he respected Mr Jimmy Kruger’s right to feel as he wished about Mr Steve Biko’s death.

Cancel publicity

“But if a member of the government insists on making a statement like this in public, then we may as well close all our information offices and cancel all publicity aimed at showing South Africa in a better light.

“Does Mr Kruger not appreciate that just one statement of this kind, that a man’s death has left him cold, can undo all the work that has been done to project a better image of this country abroad?”

“No death has ever left me feeling cold, or indifferent,” he said.

Church asks for public apology

Owen Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Mr Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Justice, has been asked by the Presbyterian general assembly here to make a public apology for his statement about the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

In a unanimous resolution at the weekend, the assembly said Mr Kruger’s statement “made hastily in the atmosphere of a party congress,” should be followed by an apology, because “many people, especially in the black community, have been deeply hurt by this minister’s attitude”.

The resolution referred to a reported comment by Mr Kruger that Mr Biko’s death “leaves me cold”.

A sum of R203 was collected yesterday for Mr Biko’s family at the assembly service.

The assembly reaffirmed that people of all races were free to worship at any Presbyterian church anywhere.

It was decided that permission would not be asked of the government,

Wreath left at Boraine’s home

A WREATH and a threatening note were left at the entrance to the Rondebosch home of Dr Aria Boraine, the PFP member for Pinelands, on Saturday night.

The wreath was discovered by Dr Boraine’s 15-year-old daughter, Kathryn, when she returned from a school dance at 9.45pm.

“It was one of those made to commemorate the death of Steve Biko and had obviously been removed from wherever it had been placed. Biko’s name was crossed out and my name substituted. Underneath, in printed black letters, were the words: “Your wife can expect one of these – near future”, said Dr Boraine.

Since the announcement of the Progressive Federal Party’s call for an inquiry into detention deaths he had received a number of abusive and threatening telephone calls.

“But this is a frightening thing for a young girl of 15 to walk into.

“And it seems that the people who do this kind of thing never get caught. With that kind of mentality it is almost certain that some day, somewhere, someone is going to get hurt. Before that happens I think the behaviour should be nipped in the bud,” Dr Boraine said.

Biko: MP joins fast

DURBAN — Pinetown MP, Mr Graham McIntosh of the Progressive Federal Party, and his wife Samile have received several telephone calls of support since they announced they were to join the fast in protest against the death of detainee Mr Steve Biko.

Mr McIntosh, who began fasting yesterday, said as a healthy young South African politician of the same age as Mr Biko he and his wife would join those concerned South Africans who will abstain from food for eight days.

Mr McIntosh said he knew personally of only three others in Durban who had joined the fast.

The McIntoshes will be drinking water during the fast and will carry on with normal activities. Their fast ends next Sunday.
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Possibly the most distinctive aspect of the New Economic History has
been its dependence on Economic Theory. Certain general
laws have gradually been introduced in economics such
as the law of supply and demand, input and output analysis,
rent law etc. New Economic Historians apply the predic
power of these laws in constructing models. The
most controversial issue in New Economic History. To evaluate
the roles of various factors in a historical process, the
New historians reconstruct the past, excluding the factors
they regard as the most significant. The existing past
is compared with the reconstructed non-existent past
(the model or counterfactual conditional) and some idea
of the importance of a particular factor is gained. R.
Fogel's "Railroads and American Economic Growth" presen
a classic example of the use of a countr-

(3) E. Hunt: "The New Economic History". Professor Fogel's study

(4) R. Fogel, New Economic History: findings and methods.
The Cape Times

Deaths in detention

THE DEMAND for a judicial commission of inquiry into the deaths in detention was taken up at the weekend by a powerful section of Nationalist opinion, as expressed in the Sunday newspaper Rapport. And leading Nationalist newspapers in the Transvaal have already joined the nation-wide clamour. Now that 20 people have died in detention in 18 months, it is hardly possible to doubt that drastic reform is indicated.

If it is true, as was suggested at the weekend, that the Minister of Justice himself was not even told that Mr Biko was ill or on a hunger strike until after he was dead, there is obviously something amiss. As it is, South Africa is already paying dearly for the callous incompetence of the authorities in the Biko tragedy, however his death was caused. The storm of protest abroad is damaging South Africa's delicately-balanced relations with the Western world. It is even suggested that the uproar may tip the balance against South Africa in the matter of sanctions. But the security police are civil servants. It is Mr Kruger, as the political head of the department, who is responsible - and who must take the rap. If security policemen have broken the law, the law must naturally take its course. But it is the Minister of Justice who must resign - unless he is able to demonstrate that there is nothing out of the blue in 20 deaths in detention - in a period of 18 months. He will be aware that the bewildering sequence of conflicting statements by his officials and himself has undermined public confidence. He will also be aware that public confidence in the security system is essential in the national interest.

The best possible course for the Minister to follow is to appoint a judicial inquiry - and to stand or fall by its findings.

Misophiah form soil, where biotic factors have been extreme.

The dominant species are Eragrostis ismaniana and Eragrostis chloromelas, with accompanying species being Themeda triandra, Heteropogon contortus, Digitaria pentzil, Trachyneura grandiglumis, Eragrostis gummiiflora, and Cynodon hircus, as well as Themeda triandra and Eragrostis chloromelas.

These plots had higher values of the Eragrostis chloromelas, and Cynodon hircus, as well as Themeda triandra, and Heteropogon contortus, Digitaria pentzil, Trachyneura grandiglumis, Eragrostis gummiiflora, and Cynodon hircus. Heavy grazing was a feature of the plots 108, 116, 133 and 28. These plots can be associated with adjacent habitatation and subsequent pressure of livestock on the veld. The dominants are similar but the accompanying species differ in constitution from the old wheatfield situation.

The accompanying species are Eragrostis plana, Themeda triandra, Heteropogon contortus, Digitaria pentzil, Trachyneura grandiglumis, Eragrostis gummiiflora and Cynodon hircus.
PM warns US on ‘meddling’

NEW YORK.-- The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, warned the United States in an interview with the New York Times published at the weekend that he would resist Washington’s ‘blatant meddling’ in the internal affairs of South Africa.

He said South Africa was ‘bracing itself to withstand any economic sanctions that might be imposed because of the Rhodesian dispute or its own race policies.

Commenting on US statements on South Africa’s race relations, Mr Vorster said only a fool could allow outsiders, whatever their motives, to meddle in his internal affairs.

The Prime Minister was asked about Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention last week. He called the death ‘very unfortunate’ and promised an inquiry.

He said his government wanted fully-elected community councils gradually to take over local government in the black townships, but said this would not happen immediately.

Asked about the ‘Biko affair’ with reference to press reaction and the Progressive Federal Party’s call for the resignation of the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, Mr Vorster said this was prejudging the issue because there would be an inquiry and anyone with knowledge of the matter would give evidence.

The matter had been blown up out of all proportion, Mr Vorster said, adding that he did not agree with the view of the US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, that Mr Biko was perhaps the most important young black leader.

Before he died I don’t think that one out of a hundred knew who he was,” Mr Vorster added. “If you asked any black man on the street who Biko was before he died, he wouldn’t have been able to tell you. All of a sudden, he’s the biggest black leader in South Africa.”

Mr Vorster said it had never occurred to South Africa to use her nuclear technology for military purposes because “we can deal with everything that comes out of Africa to the north of us in the ordinary conventional way”.

He did not visualize a frontal attack from Africa to the north. Without “talking big”, South Africa could deal with any African country “so foolish as to attack us”.

Dealing with the Rhodesian settlement negotiations, Mr Vorster said he had told the British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, and the US Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Andrew Young, that if they thought they could put pressure on him to put pressure on the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, “they have got another guess coming because I won’t do it”.

— Sapa-Reuters-AP
Thousands pay tribute to Biko

ABOUT 1 500 people yesterday attended a memorial service in St George's Cathedral for Mr Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader, who died in detention last week. And in Soweto about 8 000 people gathered in tribute.

The multiracial Cape Town congregation filled every seat and all the available floor space. The service, which was arranged by the Ministers' Fraternal of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga, was conducted in English and Xhosa.

Those taking part included the Bishop of Lesotho, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak of the N G Sen- dingkerk, and the Rev Theo Kotze.

The Rev Moses Moletsane of Langa, led the service which opened with a minute of silence. A youth black man then laid a wreath on the cathedral's altar.

Rapport calls for general
English were sung. The service

closed 'with 'Nkopane Sibekile'
Africa.

Bishop Tutu said Mr Biko

had been a founder of a

"movement of God" — black
consciousness — in South
Africa: "I see them all
blacks to glory and praise
God that he created them
black."

"He realized until blacks
felt their personhood there
was not the remotest chance
of reconciliation in South
Africa. True reconciliation is a
very personal matter and can
only take place between peo-
ple who know themselves as
persons."

Shocked

Bishop Tutu said he was

"unbelievably shocked" at the

statement of the Minister of
Justice, Mr J T Kruger, that

Mr Biko's death "left him
cold."

"Whether he said it in
Afrikaans, Russian or Chinese
it was still a heartless remark.
What has happened to him as
a human being if he should be
left cold at the death of a
man?"

"Mr Kruger must be gilted.
I ask you to pray for him to
recover his lost humanity."

Bishop Tutu saw Mr Bi-
ko's death as a "tragic waste" but
also as the birth pangs of a
new South Africa where all,
black and white, can walk
tall."

Dr Francis Wilson, a senior
lecturer in economics at the
University of Cape Town, said
he had known and loved Mr
Biko well. "We were both
homeboys' together in the
Ciskei," he said.

"Steve was a humble man,
a man of deep integrity and he
had a lovely sense of
humour." Dr Wilson said Mr
Biko had not been afraid to
speak the truth and "refused
to be troubled on."

"His vision for South
Continued on page 2
Thousands pay tribute

Continued from page 1

Africa was a beautiful one in which those crippled by racism could be liberated,” Dr Wilson said.

Immediately after the service the Mowbray Inter-Race Group began a 24-hour vigil in the cathedral’s St John’s

A requiem mass for Mr Biko will be held on Wednesday at 6.30pm at St Cyprian’s church in Langa.

The Ministers’ Fraternal is arranging buses to take mourners to the funeral of Mr Biko in King William’s Town on Sunday.

About 8,000 people, mainly students, heard Dr Mthetho Motlana say on a service held at Regina Mundi church hall in Soweto: “Vorster and his government are responsible for the death of Steve Biko.

Dr Motlana, who spoke under the banner of the Black Parents’ Association said Mr Biko was “close to my heart”.

The press, radio and television covered the service, German and other overseas TV crews went into the cathedral but an SABC tele-

vision crew was turned away.

Dr Motlana said: “Black consciousness will free the people from the Racists’ chains. Biko was close to my heart and no doubt to everyone of us here. Let our anger and frustration be expressed in a new determination. Let us be faithful and loyal to the ideals of Biko.”

Mr Motlana said the Minister of Justice and Police, Mr J T Kruger, was afraid of black consciousness, and made his jokes about Mr Biko’s death, as a representative of the government.

“Biko has not died in vain. There are hundreds of Biko’s around,” he said.

Black consciousness was the one assurance of the freedom of all people in South Africa, the Labour Party chairman, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said at a memorial service in Uitenhage.

He said black consciousness had “never said or never will say, ‘kill white men and burn their homes’. What it is saying is that there can be no reconciliation with polarization.”

Mr Hendrickse began his tribute to Mr Biko by reading a list of those who had died in detention. Each name was followed by a low moan from the congregation of more than 600.

And applause from Mr Hendrickse said white South Africa should know it would always be guilty of Mr Biko’s death. “It isn’t Mr Kruger and the police. It is white South Africa that stands condemned. But it is not too late. We say to the whites, we will meet you halfway now. If you believe what Steve believed South Africa will be free. Memorial services were also held in Umzimkulu, Durban and African townships around the country.

A police spokesman said last night that the day had passed peacefully and that no violence had been reported. He confirmed that police had taken every precaution in case of trouble in the wake of Mr Biko’s death. A close watch was kept at known venues for memorial services.

Call for inquiry

Continued from page 1

hunger strike — no, this is not what was stated.

“He had not been force-fed — he had been force-fed.

“We have now seen with how much fury our enemies have seized upon this incident to try to smash our country. We have seen how this black leader is being built up as even one of the most important in the country. Still not only this should concern us. Biko should not be more important than any other inhabitant of South Africa.

“What should concern us is that the life of every person in South Africa is important; in contrast with certain other countries, friends of ours, where such incidents are ever so common that they are condoned without further to do.

“Therefore the true details of Mr Biko’s death should be made public as speedily as possible in a court of law. This is the only reply we have.

“We will undoubtedly be accused of talking like the government’s enemies, but in the circumstances Minister Kruger should consider instituting a comprehensive inquiry into the deaths of people while under detention. That list is becoming alarmingly long.

“No longer is it the reputation of the security police which is at stake but that of South Africa itself. And not all Nationalists are in such a state of callousness as was revealed by some people at the Transvaal congress,” the editorial said.

On the same page in Rapport, the well-known Afrikaans columnist, Rykie van Reenen, said she met Biko about three months ago while on a visit to King William’s Town and spoke to him for five or six hours. He had since remained for her the image of the new black man who was trying to prepare himself and his people for greater responsibility.

“Biko’s viewpoint, was naturally not always the same as mine. If however, one impression was left with me from that only discussion, it was that this young black man — he was just 30 — was not a breaker but a builder and also, unless I am horribly mistaken, no ideologist.

“It is therefore distressing (beklemmend) — I choose my word — that a voice such as his has disappeared from the critical dialogue of our land, Rykie van Reenen said.
Kenya is firm on detention

Kenya's Parliament has been told the Government has no intention of scrapping the detention Act, ANGUS SHAW of The Star's Africa News Service reports from Nairobi.

In response to calls by Kenya MP Maurice Mboya, and the National Christian Council, Attorney-General Charles Njonjo has reaffirmed the Government's stand on another detention. The Government, he said, had no intention of scrapping the detention Act which was "in the interests of the majority of Kenyans."

"In the interests of the majority of Kenyans."

"Detainees have been locked up because their conduct was subversive and intended to undermine the peace and political stability created in this country by President Kenyatta. The Government cannot be expected to sit back and do nothing," said Mr Njonjo in an interview here.

In parliament, Mr Mboja had asked the Attorney-General to bring political detainees to trial. If they are found guilty of an offence, jail them for as long as the law may provide," the MP said.

Earlier the Christian Council's traditionally outspoken newspaper, Target, made the same plea. In a leading article the paper named a number of detainees including the former deputy speaker in Kenya's parliament, John Semony, and MPs Martin Shikuku, George Anyona and Wesonga Sijayo, and appealed to the Government to release or try them.

"On many occasions politicians are thrown into detention for criticising mistakes of those in authority. A few leaders find it difficult to listen to other citizens who point fingers at their mistakes. So the leaders throw the critics into detention," said Target.

Target's remarks clearly annoyed Njonjo. "Target claims to be a Christian paper," said the Attorney-General. "The Government is watching every movement and if it does not change, we will not hesitate to ban the paper."

"Detainees in Kenya are well looked after by the Government, which continues to review individual cases," he added. "People like Semony, Shikuku, Anyona and the rest could not have been left to interfere with the stability of this nation. If they wish they can do so elsewhere...but certainly not here."

A report on more than 60 parliamentarians imprisoned or missing in 17 countries around the world; published earlier this month by the human rights organisation Amnesty International said Semony and Shikuku had been arrested inside Nairobi's parliament building in October 1975. Both men were members of a parliamentary committee investigating into the death of a prominent critic of the Government, politician J M Kariuki.

Mr Shikuku was also chairman of a parliamentary committee investigating the alleged corruption at high level, the report said. Mr Sijayo, a father of 11 and a former member of the banned opposition party, the Kenya People's Union, and Mr Anyona, were also arrested in parliament for their criticism of the Government, Amnesty International claimed.

The former Kenyan MP, Philemona Chelagat Mau- military was imprisoned in January last year on a charge of incitement to violence.

In its attack on political detentions, Kenya's Christian newspaper Target did not only focus on Kenya. It also named detainees held in Tanzania, including Abdullahi Mohammed Babu, former minister for development planning, and two other leading Zanzibaris, Ali Mahfouz and Ali Issa, who were detained for five years after the assassination of Tanzania's first vice president, Sheikh Abeid Amani Rahim.

Target said President Julius Nyerere's government had "unfortunately" not reacted to recent reports that Babu at least was seriously ill in prison and had almost lost his sight.

"Earlier this year President Nyerere pledged that he would not detain more political critics. He said opponents to the country's policies could be politically isolated and made ineffective. He added that detention was not the answer," said Target. It was now up to Nyerere to release or formally charge Tanzanians held for political reasons.

Last week six men convicted of plotting to overthrow the Zanzibar government in 1972 were reported released after completing jail terms on the island. The reports said Babu and Issa were among about 30 alleged plotters still being held.

Source: The Star's Africa News Service.
BIKO: NRP SLAMS KRUGER

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Members of the New Republic Party last night supported calls for the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, to resign over his handling of Mr Steve Biko's death.

At a meeting in Joubert Park, Dr Johan Prins, NRP candidate for the Hillbrow by-election and deputy chairman of the party's executive, and Mr Warwick Webber, MP for Maritzburg South and NRP leader in Natal, condemned Mr Kruger's 'incompetence.'

Dr Prins — a former National Party supporter — said Mr Kruger and his Government had endangered the future of South Africa more than Mr Biko could have done 'in his wildest dreams' if he was a militant, which had not been proved.

The Argus Correspondent

Biko's death 'exploited'

STANDERTON. — The death in detention of Mr Steve Biko was being exploited in order, among other things, to encourage further interference in South Africa's domestic affairs, the leader of the South African Party, Mr Myburgh Strefich, said here yesterday.

Speaking at a public meeting, Mr Strefich said it was regrettable that a leftist element did not hesitate, through far-ranging criticism, to cause South Africa more damage than that caused by the nonchalant manner in which the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, made the original announcement of Mr Biko's death.

BY THROAT:

'The Progressive Federal Party and its fellow travellers believe, in the same way as some practitioners of overseas pressure, that they now have South Africa by the throat.

'This chicken will not die that easily.'

One should surely await the finding of a post-mortem to determine the cause of death, he said.

Sapa
Growing call on Kruger to quit

CAPE TOWN — With reports flowing in from various parts of the country it is clear there is a growing demand for the resignation of the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, over his handling of the death in detention of Mr. Steve Biko.

From Cape Town, Olmide Polok, the Mercury's political correspondent, writes that the death of Mr. Biko is likely to be discussed at today's Cabinet meeting in Pretoria.

Mr. Biko's death is now commanding increasing attention among Natalists whose newspapers are even calling for a full-scale inquiry.

At the centre of the storm is Mr. Kruger, who has been accused of handling the issue ineptly, while claiming that he was not fully informed of the facts.

He has denied acting callously at the National Party's Transvaal congress where delegates laughed at some of his remarks while discussing Mr. Biko's death and has since said that "heads may roll" in the police force because of the incident.

A Mercury reporter writes that the Natal leader of the New Republic Party, Mr. Warwick Webber, last night demanded Mr. Kruger's resignation.

Speaking at a meeting in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, Mr. Webber said: "As the Minister of Justice has consistently refused to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the deaths of detainees, the death of Steve Biko has finally emphasised his failure to uphold our
SASH OUT OF BIKO MEETING

while in the protective custody of the Security Police. An inquiry into Detective Sergeant Nkosilathi Motsi's death had been set up by the Security Police and the Criminal Investigation Department.

There were no doubts about the process of law which will take place, with a charge, defence and trial in open court," Mrs. Piper said. No reported inquiry had yet been formed, or any reasons given for Mr. Steve Biko's death, or the death of the 44 other civilians who had died in police detention since 1963, Mrs. Piper said.

Unlike the Minister of Justice no death leaves us cold, and while we are disturbed at the death of Sergeant Nkosilathi Motsi the Black Sash does not comment on every event committed. We will continue to protest loud and clear on behalf of victims of a system which makes a travesty of justice and constitutional law," Mrs. Piper said.

Another group singled out for criticism was the Peaceful Change Now group, which "exploited all acts and forms of violence.

"In protesting deaths in detention we address ourselves to executive office holders who must decide what is to be in control of law and order," Dr. Pamela Sharratt said. "Of course we are appalled by the new system of violence which has entered our society through the death of Detective-Sergeant Nkosilathi Motsi."

"Women for Peaceful Change Now continue to believe that harsh supressions of peaceful aspirations breeds violence and will continue to do so in increasingly diversified forms," said Archbishop Denis Hurley.

Mrs. Sarmann accused Mr. Kruger of jeopardising South Africa's claim to be numbered among the civilised nations of the world. Former Judge, Mr. Justice Kowie Marais said in Johannesburg that the death of Mr. Biko had made him a complete and uncritical opponent of the security legislation in this country. Mr. Justice Marais told a lunch meeting in the city hall that Minister of Police, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, had no right to hide behind senior policemen in the Biko death incident. He asked, in the light of contradictory statements, whether Mr. Kruger could still be regarded as worthy of holding office in a position which governed all South Africans' rights of freedom and was in charge of the country's security.

He said the bungling over the Biko death showed that at some time that the Minister was removed from office immediately. The director of the Chris Hani Institute, the Reverend Bevers Naude said Steve Biko was "one of the most outstanding Black leaders this country has produced - a person of the same quality speaking for the Justice and Reconciliation Committee, said all deaths through violence are regrettable.

Mr. Steve Biko was a human symbol of the struggle for freedom for all people. It was inevitable that those who held him in this light would protect and hold meanful services.

Detective Sergeant Leonard Nkosilathi Motsi was a symbol of the forces maltreating and imprisoning apartheid.

Those who accepted the symbols had already began to protest on his behalf and held memorial services. Archbishop said.

In Pretoria the Ministry correspondent writes that progress in preparing the post-mortem report on Mr. Biko, was better than expected. The chief State pathologist, Professor J. D. Loubser, said yesterday.

A preliminary report had been sent to the police, but this was a routine report. As work progressed on an autopsy certain findings were filed with the police on routine mortuary documents.

Professor Loubser said he hoped all the results from the tests now being conducted would be available within the next few weeks.
Justice. Sir Jimmy Kruger, and the system of detention without trial.

Part of the crowd of more than 2000 people who gave Mrs. Helen Suzman a standing ovation as she lashed the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. P.J. de Lille, in a long article.

I can tell you that during the last 10 years the government of South Africa has been a very difficult one to work with the political prisoners, the South African Police Force, a form.

The political prisoners have always expressed his opinion to the Minister, who has never refused to listen to him. A form.

In a lengthy speech to the Parliament, the Minister, Mr. P.J. de Lille, has just given a statement that has been referred to the human rights section.

BY HILTON ZILBE

POLITICAL REPORTER

Biko after change views cowies

325 Deborahs Road 20/4/17
2 000 call on Kruger to resign

By HELEN ZILLE

MORE than 2 000 people off all races, who packed the Johannesburg City Hall yesterday to protest against the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko, rose to their feet and cheered as they called for the resignation of Mr Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Justice.

Shouting “hear hear”, the crowd stampeded and clapped as speakers lauded Mr Kruger for his “callousness, abuse of power and neglect of duty in dealing with the death of Mr Biko” — described as a “man in the category of a future Prime Minister of our country”.

“Section 6 of the Terrorism Act killed Steve Biko just as Section 6 of the Act has killed 20 other unfortunate people during the last 18 months, and 33 others during the last 10 years. Iniquitous Act has been on our statute book,” said Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on justice.

“Steve Biko will not have died in vain in the vicious law that is the root cause of his death and of the death of so many other people,” she said.

The meeting passed a resolution calling for:
- The resignation of Mr Kruger;
- The repeal of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act; and
- An independent commission of inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the death of Mr Biko and all other deaths in detention under Section 6.

Mrs Suzman was given a standing ovation for her attack on Mr Kruger and detention without trial.

She said: “I am not interested in the inquest findings. The direct cause of death in all cases may be given as suicide. In each case, it is my firm belief that had these people not been detained under Section 6, either their deaths would never have taken place or there would have been a good chance that they could have been prevented.

“I have to emphasise this, ad nauseam, because South Africans have been encouraged by the losses of their civil liberties and the normal protection of the rule of law enshrined by our constitution in all Western countries.

“I accuse the Minister of Police and Prisons of gross misjudgment and impudence in giving Parliament the miserable Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

TRAGEDY

I accuse the Minister of Police and Prisons of gross misjudgment and impudence in giving Parliament the miserable Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

If it happens that sacrifices are applied against the Prime Minister, it is not and say is or that to blame. If you know that one of the men in our coffin was the Prime Minister, it is over Biko’s death.”

Two speakers at yesterday’s protest meeting over the death of Mr Steve Biko — Mrs Helen Suzman, and Dr D F Beyers Naude.

‘Mail’ birthday tea

IF YOU were born in the same year as the Rand Daily Mail — 1902 — you are invited to a special tea party to celebrate our 75 years of publishing.

The party will be held tomorrow in the Rand Daily Mail offices, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg, from 2.45 pm to 4.15 pm. All races are welcome.

Cakes and sandwiches, supplied by Olympic and Allesto Bakeries, will be served with the tea after singer Nick Taylor has entertained guests.

The tea will be supplied by Pitea.

If you want to come along telephone Leigh Harris at the Rand Daily Mail. Her number is 28-1500.
M. R. JIMMY Kruger, Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, is
expected to report to the Cabinet
today on the Steve Biko affair amid
growing calls for his resignation
and in the wake of published re-
ports that the black leader suffered
brain damage.

The Minister will obviously be called
on for a full explanation of how Mr Biko
died and his apparently contradictory
statements over the past week.

In his first statement last Tuesday he said
Mr Biko had refused meals for seven days and
had "threatened a hunger strike". The following
day he said police had not force-fed Mr Biko, but
he said afterwards he had been given "some sort
of drip."

Professor J D Loubser, Chief State Pathologist,
yesterday refused to confirm or deny that brain
and rib damage had been found during Mr Biko's
post-mortem.

Referring to reports from the United States
which quoted "medical experts and well-placed sour-
ces" as saying Mr Biko suffered multiple brain and
body injuries, Mr Loubser said it was unjustified
to say at this stage these were the probably cause
of death.

A preliminary routine report has been sent
to the police and results from tests now being made
would be available within the next four weeks, he
said.

Mr Loubser said that progress in preparing the
report was better than ex-
pected.

Prof J Simons, head of the department of
pathology at the University of Pretoria, who was invited
to attend Mr Biko's post-
mortem as an independent
observer, said he expected
histological reports to be
ready within three days but further investigation
would still be necessary.

The release of the post-
mortem reports were
in Prof Loubser's hands.

Mr Kruger has mean-
while said nothing further
on the issue. For the first
time since the news of Mr
Biko's death broke, he has
refused to make any com-
ments.

I graphic experiment in the Northern
1 Jews everywhere, making
Jey. Proceedings of the
Hindu, Bombay, Bengali,

Bible. St Paul's
and his ancestral cus-
d London, pp. 482.

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and his ancestral cus-
d London, pp. 482.

Bible. St Paul's
and his ancestral cus-
d London, pp. 482.
Honouring man of peace

EDITORIAL OPINION
Salute the students of Fort Hare

Let it never be said that the University of Fort Hare did not stand by Steve Biko last Thursday, for we did not enjoy the presence of his body. I must say that the University was not able to do so, for the University was not able to make a point. However, we believe that Steve Biko was not the first student to die at the University. He died in 1977, and his name is commemorated at the University. His sacrifice was not in vain. This man, Steve Biko, was a great leader of the students of Fort Hare.

Letters to the Editor

Mourned
We the people of Azania mourn the death of Steve Biko.

He died for a cause, he died for the cause of justice and freedom.

His sacrifice will not be in vain.

May Steve Biko rest in peace. May God be with him.

D. Goedzal
2 Greenview St., Pufferville, EL.

Horrified
I was horrified to read of the death of Mr. Steve Biko, horrified that in a country that professes to be Christian and anti-communist a man can die in detention.

I cannot accept that he took his own life by willingly starving himself.

Mr. Biko was, by all accounts, a fine man with fine ideals and with his death another hope of continued peace in this country fades.

Judith Fitzgerald (Mrs.), 9 Sandhurst Rd E.L.

Why?
One question is crying out to be answered: What caused Mr. Steve Biko to go on a hunger strike?

Also what caused those young men, held in detention, to commit suicide between March 1977 and September 1978 during that period 20 have died in detention. Two of these reports are of death from "natural causes," and two more of strokes. What happened to the others?

I knew Steve Biko as a sensitive, balanced, down-to-earth young man, as someone who had a moral conscience and a born leader. He would not have gone on hunger strike, until death, without sufficient reason.

The reason was that Mr. Biko had not been treated with respect and dignity, that he had not been treated with humanity and that he had not been treated with freedom of speech.

The actions of the police and the government in this country are not only immoral, they are illegal.

We must stand firm and fight for the cause of justice and freedom.

Monica Wilson
Hustenantschip Hogeback.

Martyrs
We all mourn the loss of the latest victim, Mr. Steve Biko.

I saw Steve Biko as a responsible, balanced, down-to-earth young man, as someone who had a moral conscience and a born leader. He would not have gone on hunger strike, until death, without sufficient reason.

The reason was that Mr. Biko had not been treated with respect and dignity, that he had not been treated with humanity and that he had not been treated with freedom of speech.

We must stand firm and fight for the cause of justice and freedom.

The actions of the police and the government in this country are not only immoral, they are illegal.

We must stand firm and fight for the cause of justice and freedom.

The actions of the police and the government in this country are not only immoral, they are illegal.
City security police join teargas probe

THE Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Major General T. M. Bisschoff, has ordered a thorough investigation into last night's teargas incident at a multiracial protest meeting in the Rondebosch Town Hall.

'We cannot accept this sort of thing and I have put my best detectives on the case,' he said.

Security police have joined the team investigating last night's incident — as well as a similar incident in March this year when a teargas canister was lobbed into a crowded Weizmann Hall during an address by Mr Colin Eglinton.

Meanwhile, police today refused to say whether police would be on duty at a Progressive Federal Party meeting in the Stellenbosch Town Hall tonight.

In Pretoria the Cabinet considered for the first time today the circumstances of the death in detention last week of Mr Biko, and the political consequences in its wake.

(See Page 2)

A YOUNG woman overcome by teargas lies in the street outside Rondebosch Town Hall. Inside the hall a man blinded by teargas staggers on to the stage. (Another picture, Page 2).
Stolen

The canister, which had all identification marks and numbers removed, is of the type used only by the police and the South African Defence Force.

A senior security police officer said it may have been stolen from a factory.

'At this stage we just don't know.'

Dr Alec Boraine, MP (NP, Pinelands), one of the main speakers at last night's meeting, today described it as 'urban terrorism' and an 'act of cowardice'.

He said the Minister of Police, Mr J. T. Kruger, was on record for condemning all types of violence.

'I just hope Mr Kruger will be consistent and just as strong against this right-wing violence as he is against other kinds of violence.'

Concerned

Dr Boraine said he was particularly concerned about the dangers to the old people in last night's audience.

Senator Bamford, Cape leader of the FP, said there was 'a question mark behind the police on this one. They should explain why there were not at least two policemen on duty at the meeting to maintain law and order generally. He had no doubt the attack was well-organized because it came at the high point of the meeting and was thrown into the middle of the hall to create maximum chaos.}'
Man bails out 806 students

ALICE. — The 806 University of Fort Hare students charged here last week under the Racist Assemblies Act were released yesterday on bail totaling R16,120.

The magistrate, Mr B J Bester, said a Transkeian representing the parents put up bail of R20 each for the students. He declined to name the person, but informed sources said he was a Transkei attorney, Mr R S Cunha.

The students were last week remanded in custody till September 26 when they are due to appear on a charge of attending a prohibited memorial service for Mr Steve Biko.

The 430 women students detained on the same charge were released on their own recognizances. — Sapa

Leftist bid to ‘exploit’

STANBERTON. — The death in detention of Mr Steve Biko was being exploited in order, among other things, to encourage further interference in South Africa’s domestic affairs, the leader of the South African Party, Mr Myburgh Streicher, said here yesterday.

Speaking at a public meeting, Mr Streicher said it was regrettable that leftists, using elements that did not hesitate through far-ranging criticism, to cause South Africa more damage than that caused by the monolithic manner in which the Minister of Justice, Mr L T Koets, made the original announcement of Mr Biko’s death.

The Progressive Federal Party and its fellow travelers believe, in the same way as some practitioners of overseas pressure, that they now have South Africa by the throat.

“This chicken will not die that easily.” — Sapa
Political hooliganism

IN A SOCIETY with deeply-rooted traditions of parliamentery government, attempts to harass, threaten or intimidate representatives of the people are regarded in an extremely serious light. And the police are not in doubt investigating the cowardly threats against the members of Parliament for Pinelands and Rondebosch with appropriate determination to bring the offenders to book.

It is a matter of some importance that the police should succeed quickly. It will be recalled that some years ago there was a wave of hooliganism and, ultimately, acts of terrorism in the Peninsula, directed against outspoken political opponents of the government.

Although there were no convictions of arson or attempted murder - petrol bombs had been thrown and shots fired - there were some prosecutions on lesser charges. And the lawlessness ceased as abruptly as it had begun.

Unless the new outbreak of political hooliganism is similarly nipped, there is a danger of escalation. But the lunatic fringe political circles which breed this pathological species of nocturnal prowler are well known to the police.

And after last night's despicable gas attack on the Rondebosch Town Hall, we can certainly expect the police to act swiftly to arrest these thugs and bring them to trial.

Section six

THE only independent judicial check on the treatment Steve Biko received at the hands of his captors while in detention occurred on September 2 - three days before he allegedly began his hunger fast.

On that day he was visited by a magistrate. In terms of section six of the Terrorism Act, under which Mr. Biko was held, not even visits by magistrates are obligatory. Clause seven of the section says a detainee shall be visited in private by a magistrate at least once a fortnight "if circumstances so permit."

The decision as to whether the circumstances permit must obviously rest with the security police themselves, for not only are they the only ones who know what the circumstances are but they also have the power to modify or change the circumstances in any way they see fit. The detainee is totally at their mercy.

That is the real terror of the Terrorism Act. It enables a man to disappear into limbo, all too often never to be seen alive again. Section six says: "No person, other than the minister or an officer in the service of the State acting in the performance of his official duties, shall have access to any detainee, or shall be entitled to any official information relating to or obtained from any detainee." In this case the minister, though entitled to such official information, was reported not to have known about Mr. Biko's illness or his hunger strike until after his death. So his right to be kept informed counted for very little. It didn't do the detainee much good, either. And of what use are fortnightly visits by a magistrate, even if circumstances do permit? Detainees have died within a few days, sometimes within a few hours, of being arrested - certainly long before a magistrate has had a chance to look at them.

A magistrate did, in fact, see Steve Biko 16 days after his arrest, but he was dead before the end of the following fortnight. There was no independent judicial check on him once he had become ill. Like the rest of us, the minister only has the word of the police themselves that the deceased's illness was not caused by ill-treatment. It is the law itself which has exposed the police to suspicion of its abuse, and the only way to free them from this suspicion is to take the law out of their hands and put it back where it belongs - in the court.
Dr. Alex Borsine, MP for Pinelands, holds an empty teargas canister which was hurled through a window at a protest meeting in Rondebosch Town Hall last night. People fled the hall with eyes streaming after the canister smashed through a side window and exploded in the centre of the hall. The meeting was to protest against the death in detention of Mr. Steve Biko.
Suzman calls on Kruger to resign

JOHANNESBURG — A crowd of more than 2,000 cheered Mrs Helen Suzman in the City Hall as she called for the resignation of the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, for his "abuse of power" and "callous handling of Steve Biko's death."

Addressing a lunch-hour meeting, Mrs Suzman accused Mr Kruger of jeopardising South Africa's claim to be numbered among the civilised nations of the world.

The crowd cheered when Mrs Suzman called for Mr Kruger's resignation — and earlier both former judge Mr Kowie Marais and The Rev Beyers Naude demanded the Minister's removal from office.

Mrs Suzman said she shared the blame for Mr Biko's death squarely on Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

"I say unequivocally that Section 6 killed Steve Biko — just as it has killed some 20 or more unfortunate people during the past 18 months."

But, she said, Steve Biko would not have died in vain if "the vicious law that was the root cause of his death and other deaths were struck from the statute books and if the citizens of South Africa began to recoil from the vast arbitrary powers given to ministers."

"Steve Biko will not have died in vain if the punchdrunk citizens of South Africa rouse themselves from the apathy and resolve to work to get rid of this destructive Government," she said.

While protesting and mourning the death of Mr Biko, people should not forget the others that have died and the hundreds still languishing in detention under Section 6.

Instead of seeking a laugh at the National Party congress by saying Biko's death left him cold, "Mr Kruger should have told them in John Donne's words that "Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind.""

Throughout her speech Mrs Suzman referred to Mr Kruger as the Minister of Police and Prisons and said: "I refuse to call him the Minister of Justice, though he carried that title too."

She would not attempt to anticipate the post-mortem findings although Mr K Kriel claimed he doubtedly tried to lead us to believe that a hunger strike was the cause of death.

Section 6 of the Terrorism Act had destroyed habeas corpus in South Africa and had rendered the individual helpless and at the mercy of an all-powerful State.

Since 1963 when the 90-day detention law had been introduced the country had been set on a slippery slope away from the rule of law.

South Africans had been injured to the loss of their civil liberties and the normal protection of the rule of law enjoyed by citizens in all Western countries.

Their protests had grown more and more muted over the nearly 50 years of National Party rule and their threshold of tolerance had risen as each new arbitrary power was given to ministers.

"Who gives a thought," she asked "to the hundreds of people living in the twilight existence of the banned, their professional lives crippled, house arrested, denied the company of their friends — people like Winnie Mandela?"

Mrs Suzman said Mr Kruger claimed Steve Biko was arrested because he was breaking his banning order and was suspected of incitement to arson and riots.

"And if that was so, why was Steve Biko detained under Section 6 at all — the Act was meant doubtlessly to try to lead us to believe that a hunger strike was the cause of death."

"Breaking his banning order does not fall in the 'limited circumstances' category and I can list a number of laws under which he could have been arrested for the crime of incitement to riot and arson."

"But of course, then he would have been under the normal protection afforded awaiting trial prisoners, and not the tender mercy of the Special Branch. — SAPA."

Former detainee joins mourning

UMTATA — The Leader of the Transkei Peoples' Freedom Party and official Opposition in the National Assembly, Mr Cromwell Diko, said yesterday that as a man who had suffered more than once in detention in South Africa, "I am deeply moved by the death of this worthy son of Africa, Steve Biko."

"He said under no circumstances should detention be condoned. "It is unChristian, undemocratic and inhuman."

He said on behalf of his party he was joining hands with people calling on the Minister of Justice in South Africa, Mr Kruger, to resign.

"In 18 months detention has taken away 20 lives of worthy blacks," he said.

The spirit of Steve Biko, though dead, "lives with us," he sympathised with the family and friends: "With them we share the grief that has befallen them."

Mr Diko said he hoped that the Transkeian Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, would not follow the example of Mr Kruger by placing people in detention. "People..."
Gatsha

PRETORIA — The Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, has assured the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, that the result of the post mortem on Mr. Steve Biko was available, the Attorney-General, in consultation with the Minister of Justice, would be in a position to decide what further legal action should be taken.

This was said here yesterday in a joint statement by Mr. Kruger and Chief Buthelezi after talks between them.

The joint statement said: "The discussions were open and frank. Mr. Kruger raised the direction followed by the Inkatha Movement and this was discussed. "An alleged alignment of Inkatha with the ANC and the PAC was also discussed. Chief Buthelezi assured Mr. Kruger that although he is prepared to speak to anybody, the Inkatha Movement is not aligned with the ANC or the PAC in their activities. "Chief Buthelezi also expressed his distress in the death of Steve Biko. "Mr. Kruger assured him that the result of the post mortem is available, the Attorney-General will be in a position to decide what further legal action should be taken in consultation with the Minister of Justice." — SAPA.

Engcobo

Service

EAST LONDON — A multiracial inter-denominational memorial service for Mr. Steve Biko will be held in the Engcobo Town Hall — the Transkei town where the deceased black consciousness leader worked.

An Engcobo resident, Mrs. Fathalia Mkente, said the memorial service would be held today at 6pm in the Town Hall.

The service will be conducted by Fr. J. Tshweta of the Anglican Mission Diocese of Soweto, and Mr. Biko’s body will be on display in the hospital where he died.

Mrs. Mkente said arrangements had been made for a nurse to accompany the hospital nurse to attend the service in sympathy with the bereaved colleague and to offer their condolences to the Biko family. — DMK.

Chief Gatsha

Onus is on Government — paper

LONDON — In an editorial yesterday, the Daily Telegraph said: "A heavy onus rests on the South African Government to reveal all the facts about the death in detention of Steve Biko, a prominent black consciousness leader. He is the 20th person to die in custody in the past 18 months.

"The Government is still resisting growing demands for a judicial inquiry, but is now promising a broad departmental investigation in addition to the routine inquest. It should be held as soon as possible.

"A Government dealing with potential martyrs is inevitably in an invidious position. At least, however, we can be sure there will be a full inquiry, and that pressure from demonstrations, the press, public opinion, parliament and the legal profession will prevent any cover-up.

"Those who deplore South Africa as the source of all evil must be reminded that none of this exposure is conceivable in a communist country of which many of them are such admirers." — SAPA.

Webber joins call on Minister

JOHANNESBURG — The Natale leader of the New Republican Party, Mr. Warwick Webber, demanded here last night that Mr. Kruger resign as Minister of Justice and if he did not so then he should be removed from his post.

Speaking at a public meeting in Hillbrow, Mr. Webber also demanded that the Prime Minister appoint a judicial commission to investigate "the disturbing recurrence of deaths by suicide and other causes of detainees."

Mr. Webber said as the Minister of Justice had consistently refused to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the deaths of detainees, the death of Mr. Steve Biko had further emphasised Mr. Kruger’s failure to uphold South Africa’s once-proud system of criminal justice.

Referring to a weekend newspaper report in which Mr. Hislop said "some heads may roll," Mr. Webber said: "I believe the first head that must roll is that of the Minister."

Mr. Webber said because the Minister of Justice had refused to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry, "I now go further and demand in the name of the people of South Africa that the Prime Minister appoint a judicial commission to investigate such deaths."

"In order that justice is seen to be done the judicial arm of the Government must be the inquiry body."

"For the sake of the thousands of members of our police force fighting crime and protecting persons, drastic steps have to be taken to restore the confidence, respect and co-operation of the total general public."

"For the sake of the clear their good name as well as the good name of the country — this step must be taken now as a matter of urgency."

Mr. Webber said justice had to be done.

"Our sense of justice has been consistently eroded with each death of an uncontrollable detainee."

I have come to the conclusion that the blind arrogance of the Nationalist Government poses the greatest threat to any hope of peaceful co-existence and harmonious co-operation in South Africa." — SAPA.

Grahamstown trio fast

GRAHAMSTOWN — At least three Grahamstown people have started an 8-day fast to mark the death of Mr. Steve Biko.

The call to fast was made at an interdenominational memorial service in the Grahamstown Cathedral last week. The period set, from 7am last Sunday to 7pm this Sunday, the day of Mr. Biko’s funeral in King William’s Town, is to match the time Mr. Biko was purported to have been on a hunger strike.

The three known to be fasting are a farmer, a school teacher and a student leader. It is believed that several other Rhodes students are fasting.

A spokesman for the group said they preferred to remain anonymous. He said they saw their efforts as an individual personal protest. They were fasting for different reasons, among them Christian commitment. — DC.
Pray for Kruger says Bishop Tutu

CAPE TOWN — More than 1,500 people attended a memorial service in George’s Cathedral here for Steve Biko.

The service, arranged by the Ministers’ Fraternity of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga, was conducted in English and Afrikaans. Among those taking part included the Bishop of Desotho, The Rev Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak of the NG Sendingkerk, Dr Francis Wilson, and the Rev Theo Kote.

The Rev Moses Moletsane, of Langa, led the service, which opened with a minute of silence. A young man, then laid a wreath of pin-cushion proteas and Cape silver leaves on the cathedral steps.

Hymns in Xhosa were sung unaccompanied in African style, while hymns in English were sung accompanied by the cathedral organ. The service closed with the anthem “Nkosi Sikelele.”

The main speaker, Bishop Tutu, said Mr Biko had been the victim of a “movement of God” — black consciousness — in South Africa.

“Steve fell on all blacks to glory and praise God that he created them black,” Bishop Tutu said.

“He realised until blacks felt their personhood there was not the remotest chance of reconciliation in South Africa. True reconciliation is a very personal matter and can only take place between people who know themselves as persons.”

“You don’t get reconciled to Mr Biko’s dog,” Bishop Tutu said.

Bishop Tutu said he was “unbelievably shocked” at the statement of the Minister of Justice, Mr

Institute calls for inquiry

Johannesburg — The South African Institute of Race Relations has declared an immediate inquiry before a judge in the death of Mr Steve Biko.

The institute said yesterday nothing less would satisfy the people of South Africa. The institute said it deposed the law which had permitted the arrest of Mr Biko and considered the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger’s explanation “inadequate.” — SAPA

Kruger, that Mr Biko’s death “left him cold.”

“Whether he said it in Afrikaans, Russian or Chinese, it was still a heartfelt remark. What else happened to him as a human being if he should be left cold at the death of a man?”

“Mr Kruger must be pitied. I ask you to pray for him to recover his lost humanity.”

Bishop Tutu saw Mr Biko’s death as a “tragic waste”, but also as the birth pangs, he said, of a new South Africa where all, black and white, can walk tall.

Dr Francis Wilson, a senior lecturer in economics, said he had known and loved Mr Biko. “We were both homeboys together in the Ciskel,” he said.

Steve was a humble man, a man of deep integrity and he had a lovely sense of humour,” Dr Wilson said. Mr Biko had not been afraid to speak the truth and “refused to be trampled on.”

“His vision for South Africa was a beautiful one — one in which those crippled by racism could be liberate, ” Dr Wilson said.

Mr Biko’s death was treated as a murder, and the police chief, Mr H. W. du Plessis, said that the police were investigating all aspects of the case.

The Ministers’ Fraternity is arranging buses to take mourners to the funeral of Mr Biko in King William’s Town on Sunday.— DDC

Unconvincing says Star

WASHINGTON — South African authorities had been unconvincing in explaining the detention death of Mr Steve Biko, the Washington Star said in an editorial yesterday.

The Star said: “The death of a highly regarded black leader, in mysterious circumstances while under detention, is a loss to South Africans hoping for progress on the country’s racial controversy.

“Steve Biko, dead at the age of 30, was a moderate, non-racist founder of the black consciousness movement. He might have been an asset in future efforts to conciliate the races in that troubled region.

“South African authorities have been less than convincing — even less than coherent. — in explaining Mr Biko’s death,” the editorial said.

SAAPA AP

who is running country?

CAPE TOWN — The MP for Pinelands, Dr Alex Sloper, said today that if the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, had not been arrested for the Biko’s detention until his death, he and his department had broken a law and should be charged without delay.

He also said that in the light of Mr Kruger’s “contradictions, denials, additions and amendments” relating to the incident, he was an arse of who was really running the country.

“Is it the Security Police, the Bureau for State Security, the Broederbond, or a combination of all three? One thing is certain and that is that Mr Kruger is not even in charge of his own department.

Speaking at a protest meeting in Rondebosch organised by the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Boraine said Mr Kruger’s handling of the Biko affair demonstrated conclusively that he was “manifestly unfit” to hold his portfolio.

Many questions remained unanswered concerning Mr Biko’s death, and an article in a Sunday newspaper made him wonder whether Mr Kruger did not even know that Mr Biko was arrested until he was told of his death.

“Is this true? he said, and his department had broken the law of their own making and must be charged in a court of law without delay.”

Sloper charged that the Terrorism Act, the Collision of Police should, as soon as possible after the arrest of any detainee, advise the Minister of his name and the place where he was being detained.

“If this was not done, it was not merely a dereliction of duty, but a transgression of the law.”

Dr Boraine quoted at some length from the writings and statements of Mr Biko — in spite of the fact that Mr Biko was banned and may not be quoted.

He prefaced the quotations by saying: “To illustrate the kind of guy he was, I want to let him speak for himself. Mr Kruger has quoted it, so I do so as well.”

who is running country?
**1 300 pray in Queenstown**

EAST LONDON — At a mass meeting in the Queenstown township, Miungan, over 1 300 people gathered to offer silent prayer for the Biko family, especially in remembrance of their son, Mr Steve Biko.

The meeting was organised by the Queenstown Township Advisory Board and the Residents' Representative Committee.

The HRC spokesman, Mr T. Sondlo, said a special message of condolence for the Biko family had been read out at the gathering following a three-minute silence.

Mr Sondlo said the message of condolence read: "After a silent prayer rendering in honour of, and in mourning for the merest death of a consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, the meeting in earnest conteration and indignation resolved that on behalf of all Queenstown's black community, a message of condolence be sent to the Biko family.

"We express our deepest sympathies to the family and friends of Steve Biko and to others whose relatives and friends were the victims of this torturous and murderous system of detention without trial."

Mr Sondlo said: "Their loss is the loss of every African, but may it be that Mr Biko's death is a true sacrifice that will hasten the freedom of the black man in spite of the odds in its inevitable path."

Mr Sondlo said the meeting ended with the words of Dr Martin Luther King: "We are not where we ought to be; nor are we anywhere where we should be; but thank God we are not where we used to be" being read out to the mourners. — DDR

**Church launches Memorial Fund**

PIETERMARITZBURG — A Steve Biko Memorial Fund, which will give financial assistance to families of people who die in detention, has been launched by the Black Methodist Church.

The Rev Dr E. M. Ngcobo, secretary of the Consultation, said yesterday the fund was opened at a meeting in Pietermaritzburg last week with the collection of R87 from deleges. First news was that the fund was only released yesterday.

The Consultation also decided that a committee established to administer the fund should review the needs of families of dead detainees regularly and where necessary channel funds to black community projects.

The consultation said it "deplores the strongest terms and registers its abhorrence of the detention without trial systems."

Suspicion was voiced "about the explanations quent deaths in detention."

Black clergy and lay church leadership were challenged to "exhort the black community in South Africa not to lose courage, but to continue ceaselessly on the road to liberation regardless of cost."

Before passing the resolution launching the fund, the Consultation noted that Mr Biko's death must have left his family in a poor spiritual, emotional and financial state.

The Consultation said Mr Biko believed "a people with an enslaved mind are basically responsible for their own slavery. The process of de-en-slaving enslaved people must include a redefinition of who they are, where they are from and where they are going.

"A true definition of the people is the one that includes people as a whole who ever and wherever they are. That is, people regardless of their social status, race and creed for matter which need Mrs Mohapi's immediate attention, but her detention is greatly hampering the court of justice in this matter."

It is not known whether Mrs Mohapi is still detained in Port Elizabeth as, in terms of the Act, Security Police are not obliged to disclose any detainee's whereabouts.

The claim by Security Police that Mr Mohapi had committed suicide has been rejected by Mrs Mohapi.

Regional magistrate Mr A. J. Swart found in the subsequent inquest that no one could be held responsible for Mr Mohapi's death.

He did not deliver a formal verdict of suicide but found death was due to anoxia and suffocation as a result of hanging.

Mrs Mohapi sent letters of demand to the minister regarding her husband's death, which was the 24th death of a detainee in a prison cell. — DDR.

**Cabinet likely to discuss death**

CAPE TOWN — Two issues with major international implications are likely to be discussed at today's weekly Cabinet meeting in Pretoria — the death of Steve Biko and the death of South Africa's black political leader.

Mr Biko's death in detention and the international campaign of condemnation which has snowballed around it is now commanding increasing attention among Nationalists who are even calling for a full-scale inquiry.

At the centre of the storm is Mr Justice Kruger, who has been accused of handling the issue ineptly, while claiming that he was fully informed of the facts.

He has denied acting callously at the National Party's Transvaal congress where delegates laughed at some of his remarks while discussing Mr Biko's death and has said that he would not be discussing Steve Biko at his next cabinet meeting.

As a result of another round of talks with the five Western Security Council members on the future of South West Africa, new representatives of Britain, France, Germany and Canada will meet the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, in Pretoria on Thursday and Friday but what has been described as a "make or break" plan for the withdrawal of the South African troops from the territory.

It could lead to a showdown as there are suspicions in Pretoria that the Western powers try to force South Africa to accept a security force based on the new front lines at the border war in place of the South African troops. Senior sources have said that this would not even be discussed by South Africa even at the risk of breaking off negotiations. — PC.
Biko: hot issue for Cabinet

John Patton
Political Correspondent

The Cabinet, today, considered for the first time the circumstances of the death last week of Black Consciousness leader Mr. Steve Biko and its political consequences.

With increasing reaction for the death and to the Government's handling of the whole affair, now echoing around the world, Mr. Biko's death is already being seen as having dealt South Africa a blow as damaging as the Sharpeville shootings in 1960 and the Soweto riots of last year.

The Minister of Bantu, Mr. Kruger, has already been severely censured for his allegedly cavalier attitude to Mr. Biko's death and for giving confusing and apparently contradictory comments.

PREMATURE

There have been calls for Mr. Kruger's resignation and for him or dismissal from the Cabinet, but the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, has already indicated his regards such calls as premature, considering the report has not yet been submitted to establish the facts of the case.

The Cabinet is also virtually certain to take a serious view of the failure of the police to inform the Minister in time of the deterioration of Mr. Biko's condition and his transfer here.

Speculative reports that Mr. Biko had died of brain damage have added to the unfavourable atmosphere for South Africa, and the whole incident is regarded by South Africans, as well as other foreigners, as a crisis for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Development. Mr. Pik Botha and Mr. Van Der Merwe respectively in trying to present a better image of South Africa abroad.
City Hall today

Memorial Service at

Leader suffered brain damage

for his resignation and in the wake of published reports that the bloc report to the Cabinet today on the Steve Biko affair amid growing calls for an inquiry. The bloc's was expected to present an apology to Mr. Kruger, the Minister of Justice.

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, is expected to present an apology to the bloc for the Steve Biko affair amid growing calls for an inquiry.
Tear gas at protest meeting

Referring to reports from the United States denouncing recent incidents in South Africa, Mr. Steve Biko, who is understood to be in serious difficulties, has called for the resignation of President Kruger. More calls for Kruger to resign, page 13

Sash to go ahead with vigil

EAST LONDON — Today’s Black Sash vigil in front of Trinity Methodist Church, Oxford Street, over the death of Steve Biko, will carry on. Last night, Trinity Methodist Church’s council is reported to have decided to bar from church premises Black Sash members wearing sashes, lighting candles or carrying wreaths in memory of Mr. Biko. It apparently felt the vigil was “political.” But Black Sash members will hold the vigil from 7 am to 5 pm outside the church. — DDR
Teargas disrupts city Biko meeting

SEVERAL people collapsed and at least one was injured last night when a teargas bomb exploded in a packed Rondebosch Town Hall during a public meeting to protest against the deaths in detention of Mr Steve Biko and others.

To escape the fumes in the hall, people smashed windows with their hands and scrambled through.

A young man with a lacerated hand was taken to Groote Schuur Hospital in an ambulance soon afterwards.

As the multiracial crowd of more than 1,000 that crowded the Progressive Federal Party meeting spilled into the street some collapsed and some were retching.

An Argus photographer, Mr Mike MacKenzie, who stayed in the hall to photograph the scene, fell briefly unconscious when he finally fled to the street.

In the scramble to get out people lost shoes, spectacles, keys and handbags.

Police who arrived soon after the explosion took away a spent teargas canister.

A spokesman for Rondebosch police said the incident was being investigated.

APPEAL

He said it appeared the canister was launched from Belmont Road where it bridges the railway line. He appealed for anyone who saw people acting suspiciously there to contact the police.

It was difficult to identify the dispenser, he said, because it was burned out and the police, navy, army and prison service all had teargas.

Teargas is not commercially available in South Africa.

The Cape leader of the PFP, Senator Brian Bamford, who was on the platform, called on the police to investigate how teargas came into the hands of the person who used it last night.

The meeting resumed about 30 minutes after the explosion with about 700 people.

SYMPATHY

A motion was adopted which expressed sympathy with the relatives of Mr Biko and other dead detainees, demanded an independent commission of inquiry into the deaths, the repeal of Section six of the Terrorism Act and the resignation of the Minister of Justice, Mr J. P. Kruger.

The three main speakers at the meeting were PFP members of Parliament Dr Alex Boraine and Professor Nic Olivier and the national chairman of the Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendrickse.

Professor Olivier attacked Mr Kruger for saying the death of Mr Biko left him 'cold.'

CALLOUSNESS

"That remark will haunt him for the rest of his life as it will haunt this Government.

"That callousness is symptomatic of the whole system we have created in South Africa and under which blacks have to live.'

Dr Boraine said the contradictory statements by Mr Kruger meant that South Africa did not know where, when or how Mr Biko died.

There was 'serious doubt' that Mr Kruger had been told Mr Biko was in detention.

If this was so, he said, the police had violated a requirement of the Terrorism Act.

One thing is certain — Mr Kruger is not running his own department,' Dr Boraine said.

Mr Hendrickse said: "Because of our assertion of our blackness, Steve and others had to die.

NO FEAR

"If anyone should be brought before the courts it should be the South African Government for instigating and perpetuating racial incitement,' Mr Hendrickse said to applause.

He predicted deaths in detention would increase, and said: 'For black people death is no longer a fear because we know history is on our side.

He said black consciousness involved polarization. The outcome of this was either peace or violence.

Black people had opted for peace.
...But it was not known whether the canister had been thrown or fired from a specially adapted rifle.

The canister recovered from the minor hall by police had been scratched free of markings and there was no immediate way of telling where it had come from — police, army or navy issue.

A young national serviceman, who was crouched in the crowded minor hall said: "The bomb came in over my head. I got out as soon as I could."

**Flash and smoke**

Another man, Mr Brian Watkins, said: "I saw a flash and smoke started coming out, billowing through the hall."

People on the parking lot side of the hall smashed windows to climb out. Elderly people and women present were helped through the smashed windows.

Mr Robin Chorn, who was sitting on the stairs of the first floor, said he smashed through balcony windows "because I thought I'd die if I didn't get some fresh air."

Police arrived about 10 minutes after the bombing, took statements, and left again. They were not present during the meeting.

About 20 minutes after the incident, the meeting was resumed and Dr Boraine continued his speech.

He complimented the crowd on their courage "in defying the violence" of those who opposed the stand taken by those present on the death of Mr Biko.

He said protection at future meetings would probably be necessary.

Dr Boraine's address was followed by a speech from the Rev Allan Hendriks, national chairman of the Labour Party.

At midnight last night, Major F.J. Mostert, Wynberg District CID officer, was in charge of investigations.

He was following up information and leads reported to the Rondebosch police and asked that anyone able to assist the police to contact the Mowbray CID at 66-3681.
Hundreds flee Rondebosch hall

Teargas chaos at Biko meeting

Staff Reporters

HUNDREDS of coughing and weeping people streamed through the doors and smashed windows of the Rondebosch Town Hall last night when a teargas canister hurled or fired through a side window disrupted a meeting called to protest against the death of Mr Steve Biko.

Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands, was addressing more than 1,000 people when the teargas incident occurred.

Police were investigating late last night. It is believed someone standing on the Belmont Road bridge was seen to launch a canister of the type used in riot control through an open fanlight window above a door into a packed minor hall.

Commotion and chaos broke out and Dr Boraine appealed over the public address system for calm as the screaming crowd pushed over rows of chairs and smashed 15 windows — some of them stained glass — to escape the gas-filled hall. Several people were trampled underfoot.

Two ambulances were called. A national serviceman who gashed his foot kicking out a window and Mrs Cynthia Mkhoza — overcome by fumes and helped from the hall by the Rev David Russell — were taken to Groote Schuur Hospital.

Outside, hysterical women were comforted by friends and a middle-aged man collapsed against a wall, overcome by the smoke and hardly able to breathe.

More than a dozen others, trapped on a first-floor balcony, jumped to the ground rather than re-enter the building.
Soweto, the squatters and now Biko

AFTER Soweto and Modderdam, the death of Mr Stephen Biko touches the very rawest spot in the increasingly inflamed relations between Africa and white South Africa, writes ANTHONY DELIUS.

LONDON. — When President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast recently held a conversation with Mr R F Botha, South Africa's Foreign Minister, it was said that this temperate black leader warned that this situation is becoming increasingly difficult to argue for patience with the Republic.

That was before the death of the black consciousness leader, Stephen Biko, in South Africa. The effect of his tragic end is going to be that relations with black Africa, and therefore with the world, become even more difficult for South Africa.

French gestures

Even before Mr Biko's death in police custody, as tough and independent a nation as Prizbée found it necessary to make increasing- ly severe gestures against South African policies in order to improve its relations with black African countries. One of France's closest allies in Africa, President Leopold Senghor of Senegal, recently found it necessary to let it be known he had given up all hope of altering apartheid through dialogue and had now turned his back completely on contacts with Mr Vorster. No doubt it was consciousness of such despair among his neighbours of any change for the better in South Africa that caused President Houphouet-Boigny to issue any warnings he might have given.

The fact is that even before last week's news - from the Republic began to get about the continent, South Africa's handling of the Soweto, and then the Modderdam affair — was having an increasingly adverse effect on African as well as international opinion.

And this was at a time when the black states became towns bulldozed by the heartless authorities and been left to face the weather.

While all this is happening, Mr Vorster stumps the country offering some sort of new deal — to the coloured people and the Indians. They were to share in a new presidential government set-up in a cabinet council with the whites, but the black Africans were once again to be excluded, even those millions in the cities. Any resort by Mr Vorster that the black Africans could make use of their one-man-one-vote opportunities in the Bantu states and the Transkei would have raised a bowl of bitter laughter from one end of the continent to the other.

Rawest spot

And now the death of Stephen Biko touches the very rawest spot in these increasingly inflamed relations between Africa and white South Africa. The remarkable character of the man, his attractive personality and strength of mind, his calm integrity and authority so remarkable in so young a man — these were scarcely known outside his immediate circle in South Africa and a number of foreign observers who had visited him. But what is known about him in the rest of Africa is his uncompromising stand for the human value of his black fellow-countrymen, his insistence on their dignity, equality, rights as free men. His proud courage in the lonely fight for all black men is now epitomized in the lonely manner of his death.

Nobody in black Africa and farther afield is going to believe his death was not somehow contrived or ultimately caused by whites who feared his moral power in the struggle for his black fellows. For all black men he was President Houphouet-Boigny — a reported warning to Mr Pik Botha.

us blacks." It is that phrase "us blacks" which is the important one for South African policy-makers and diplomats to remember. Identification between blacks elsewhere on the continent breaks down time and again — there is no "us blacks" feeling between Somalis and Ethiopians at this moment, or Saharans and Mauritanians and Moroccans, or Nato's Angolans and Savimbi's Angolans, or even between Kenyans and Tanzanians. But the identification between the blacks in the rest of Africa and those of South Africa is complete — at least on the part of the rest of Africa. That is because South Africa's ruling whites differentiate themselves so sharply from the blacks and so much to the blacks' disadvantage and suffering.

They hear of Mr Vorster insisting that the white South Africans are Africans, deeply rooted in African soil, with a long history on the African continent — and yet they see his rejection of Africans as Africans, blacks as blacks, almost daily in their news. A notable recent example of this has been Mr Vorster's proposed new "constitution".
more disturbed. Now, after activities, there might have been a possibility of improvement in relations with the South.

I was talking recently to a black diplomat whose country might by now at least have been reassessing its long and unrelenting hostility to South Africa. He remarked: "The remarkable thing about South Africa is its ability to destroy its own image - no sooner do we blacks begin to listen ever so slightly to the seductive propaganda from Pretoria than Pretoria does something at home to remind us how hateful and heartless its domestic policies are towards..."

For months on end newspapers and radio all over black Africa have been carrying stories and pictures of the killing of youths in Soweto - and other townships - by South African police. These killings are said to take place mainly because black youths want to be treated like white youths, with equal education and equal opportunity. Then came the reports that groups of unfortunate black families in Cape Town along the Modderdam Road, forced to live in shacks because no houses were provided for them, had even their pitiful shantytotally a man of Africa. He refused a trip to America because he did not want to seem to be pro-American, just as he criticized the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress for their alliances outside Africa. This will make him all the more an African martyr, as much as a black South African one.

'Leaves me cold'

FOOTNOTE: Nothing could have been worse for South Africa's reputation than the ineptitude of the performance before world opinion by Mr James Kruger, the Minister of Justice, soon after the news of Stephen Biko's death broke. His statement "Biko's death leaves me cold" seemed exactly the sort of remark to be expected from some functionary of an inhumane system.

Worst of all was the minister's attempt to make a rather sick joke of the whole affair in an interview with the BBC. Referring to the suicides in the various deaths in custody before this latest tragedy, he said, "One of our warders committed suicide yesterday and nobody suggests that he was killed by a prisoner." So flippant, an answer, such silly logic-chopping at such a time, must have gone once again to confirm opinion abroad of the heartlessness at the heart of white government. It also gives further credence to that favourite bogey hatred about by some South African critics, the ugly South Africa..."
Woods ‘shocked’ by appearance of body

Kruger should be first to go – Boraine

Political Correspondent

THE MP for Pinelands, Dr Alex Boraine, said last night that if the Minister of Police, Mr J T Kruger, had not been told of Mr Steve Biko’s detention till his death, he and his department had broken a law and should be charged without delay.

He also said that in the light of Mr Kruger’s many non-replies and non-explanations relating to the incident, the question arose as to who was really running the country.

"Is it the security police, the Bureau for State Security, the Broederbond, or a combination of all three? One thing is certain and that is that Mr Kruger is not even in charge of his own department."

"Mr Kruger tells that heads are going to roll, but the first head that rolls must be his own," Dr Boraine said to applause.

Speaking at a protest meeting in Randheuwel organized by the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Boraine and Mr Kruger’s handling of the Biko affair demonstrated conclusively that he was "manifestly unfit" to hold his portfolio.

Unanswered

Many questions remained unanswered concerning Mr Biko’s death, and an article in a Sunday newspaper made him wonder whether Mr Kruger did not even know that Mr Biko was detained till he was told of his death.

"If this is true, then he and his department have broken a law of the land in that they made an announcement that was false."

The meeting adopted a resolution for Mr Kruger’s resignation and demanding that he "resign in disgrace, in order that the country may have certainty of the Commission of Enquiry, and so assure that justice is done in his case."

Responding to the weekend statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, "that heads may roll" if an inquiry reveals security police misconduct, Mr Woods said: "Yes, his own head may also roll, as the man in overall charge of his department – but the most important explanations to be sought are from the security policemen in whose direct custody Steve was from beginning to end."

Their identities must be flushed out into the open so that they can be called to account, Mr Woods said.
Mother vows to find son

PENINELESS Mrs Anne Samboer, whose son, Mr Peter Jones, was detained with Mr Steve Biko at a roadblock a month ago, vowed last night to find her son - "no matter where he is or in what condition I may find him."

Interviewed in the one- roomed dwelling she shares with her second husband and their family at Rusthof, The Strand, she said she "felt terrible" and feared the worst when she heard from a neighbour that Mr Biko had died in detention.

'Second' Prepared"

"Now, every time there's a knock at the door or my neighbour calls me to the telephone next door, I prepare myself to hear that something's happened to Peter," she said.

"I have now decided I must find him. He could be imprisoned at Port Elizabeth or elsewhere - maybe Pretoria - wherever he is, I will make a way to get to him."

Her husband, Mr Minty Samboer, is an unskilled worker at a Strand motor concern, "and earns only enough to keep us alive."

Peter regularly sent cheques to her from King William's Town, where he worked with the Black Community Programme, she said.

"I have always been responsible for my son's economic well-being, and now I feel really something. But for the moment, I have no money at all."

Mr Jones, 27, graduated with a degree in commerce from the University of the Western Cape and worked as an accountant in the community centre.

"He was never political - unless you can say that caring for the less fortunate is being political," Mrs Samboer said.

She said he regularly gave "every last cent he had" to poor people in The Strand area.

He took a keen interest in the shanty dwellers of "town" near The Strand, raised funds to help the destitute there and took legal action to prevent the demolition of shacks.

He started a scholarship fund for the children of the townships.

Compassionate

"He's always been everybody's friend. No one has ever said anything bad about him to me. He was - and is - a good, compassionate boy," she said.

Mrs Samboer said Peter turned 27 a week ago in detention.

"Last year, just before the riots, he was detained and held for five months. He also has his 26th birthday behind bars at the Victor Verster prison in Paarl," she said.

"At least there I could visit him twice a week and knew how and where he was. Now I know nothing, but I will make a way to find out," she said.

"Peter hated violence, never spoke vindictively about anyone and was, "just concerned about people. That's all," his mother said.
100 attend EL prayer service

Early this morning, 30 members of the Apartheid Police and 70 members of the African Police were arrested in Johannesburg. The arrests were made in connection with the investigation into the murder of a police officer in Pretoria last week. The suspects were taken to the Pretoria Police Station for questioning.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Smuts, has ordered a full investigation into the incident. He has also directed the Police Commissioner to take all necessary steps to ensure the safety of the people of South Africa.

The South African government has consistently maintained its commitment to the rule of law and the protection of human rights. We urge all citizens to support these efforts and to remain vigilant in the face of any threat to our democratic institutions.
EAST LONDON — An 18-year-old matric pupil; Angus Smith, who yesterday mounted his second afternoon of protest over the circumstances of the death of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, said policemen had told him they would like to arrest him for intimidation.

"But they said they had been told by headquarters it would be too complicated," Angus said.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Border, Brig J. Snal, said he thought the whole incident had been a joke.

"I have received no official report of the matter, but I don't believe anything was meant by it," he said.

Angus stood alone yesterday supporting a huge poster reading: "Kruger's system killed Biko?". He stood alone because if anyone had been with him he would have contravened the Riotous Assemblies Act.

This was his second afternoon of protest in Devereux Avenue. On Thursday the minister of the church next door had approached him and told him he was on his property. Angus said:

"He told me I was the type who inscribed verkrampte Dutchmen on his church, and that if it were not for the Government more blacks would have died by now.

"He asked me what I thought of Mr Ian Smith, and then finally helped me put one of the poles of the poster into the ground," he said.

Yesterday a car stopped and the driver asked Angus if he was proud of himself.

"He then said I was going to get up, and I was going to end like Biko," Angus said.

Angus said other drivers had called him a communist, had made rude signs at him, and had indicated by sweeping their fingers over their necks that he could expect such a fate.

But the comments were not all bad. "On the whole the younger people seemed sympathetic," Angus said.

He said he would continue to mount his protest even after Mr Biko's funeral on Sunday, "until the truth is found out".

"There are some people who demonstrate for one day, and that's that. People forget, and the demonstration ends up proving nothing." The minister of the Dutch Reformed Church next to which Angus was standing was not available for comment yesterday.

— DDN
Kruger is a disaster says Woods

Mercury Reporter

AS Minister of Justice and Police at a delicate time in South Africa's history, Mr. Jimmy Kruger was a total disaster, Mr. Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch, said last night.

Addressing a protest meeting in Durban over the death of Mr. Steve Biko while in detention, Mr. Woods said nothing could atone for his death.

"But five things can help atone and help heal the wounds of the nation."

These were: the resignation of Mr. Kruger; an inquiry into Mr. Biko's death; the commission of inquiry into all detentions and the abolition of detention without trial.

"The nation is seriously sick. The regime is universally loathed and its policies anathema not only to the world community but to 90 percent of South Africans," he said.

Mr. Woods listed 13 questions to Mr. Kruger over this handling of the death of Mr. Biko.

Theory

Questions put to Mr. Kruger included:
- Why did you rush into print and onto television with the hunger strike theory before checking it?
- Why did you and your people believe the Security Police when no-one else in the country does?
- Why did you wait until after his death to accuse him publicly of terrible crimes?
- Didn't you have the courage to accuse him of these things while he was alive and could answer back?
- What makes you think the people will swallow all the red herrings now being dragged across the path?

Mr. Woods asked Mr. Kruger to reveal which Security Police were in charge of Mr. Biko "from beginning to end."

Pamphlets

He said Mr. Biko had nothing to do with pamphlets mentioned by Mr. Kruger.

"These pamphlets sound to me more likely to have been compiled by some twisted Security Police or their fellow travellers," he said.

On the question of threats by Mr. Kruger that he would sue Mr. Woods following certain Press statements he said: "I hope he does I'm waiting for him."

Groups which had organised the protest meeting yesterday withdrew their invitation to the New Republic Party.

This followed a statement by two NRF representatives, Brigadier Curt von Keyserlingk (MP Umhlanga) and Mr. John Phipson (MPC Berea), criticising pressure groups for not being equally concerned over the death of Detective-Sergeant Leonard Nkosi.
BPC leader calls for day of mourning

The president of the South African Bishops Conference, Archbishop Joseph Fitzgerald, said he associated himself with the appeal to churches to observe Sunday as a day of mourning for Mr Biko.

In a statement issued last night he said: "I further appeal for the abolition of detention without trial which is leading to so much misery and making such a tragic contribution to a situation that could end in irreconcilable conflict."

Mr Tshenkeng said people who wanted to attend the funeral should register with transport organizers before midday today.

In Soweto the registration centres are: YWCA Centre, Jabavu; St Mary's Anglican Church, Orlando; BPC offices, 9 Wanderer Street and Dunwell House, Braamfontein.

Buses will also leave from Pretoria, Krugersdorp and the East Rand.

A requiem mass in honour of Mr Biko will be held in the St Peter's Methodist Church, Phamagang, Bloemfontein, at 7.30 pm tonight.

This will be the first requiem mass in the Free State capital for a black leader.

Pupils attack policeman at Biko service

Staff Reporter

AN East Rand Administration Board's policeman was rushed to Tembisa Hospital yesterday morning after being assaulted by pupils at a memorial service for Mr Steve Biko.

The policeman, Mr Dulson Moremi, who entered the Tembisa High School yard while pupils were holding the service, was attacked with bricks.

Mr Moremi, who was wearing civilian clothes, sustained head wounds. He slumped down unconscious for a few minutes, but later staggered to the board's offices nearby.

He was taken to hospital.

He said in an interview that he had gone to the school to buy food sold on the premises.

Some pupils confronted him and demanded his identity documents. He was then attacked.

Brigadier J. Smit, Acting Divisional Commissioner of East Rand police, confirmed the assault and said police were investigating. No arrests had so far been made, he said.
Biko's death touches a raw spot

The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, last week in his address to the National Assembly, gave a grim reality check to South Africa's government. He said that the country could not afford to ignore the human rights abuses that are taking place within its borders.

The death of Steve Biko, a black student leader, has sparked a wave of outrage among South Africans, who see it as an example of the government's continued neglect of the needs of black people. Biko's death has also exposed the deep divisions within South Africa, as black and white South Africans react to the news in very different ways.

Mr. Vorster's statement comes against a background of growing international pressure on South Africa to improve its human rights record. The government has been criticized for its treatment of opposition leaders and for the continued use of the death penalty.

Despite this, Mr. Vorster insists that the government is continuing to make progress in improving the lives of all South Africans. He says that the government is committed to implementing the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was established to help heal the wounds of the apartheid era.

However, many South Africans are dubious about the government's intentions. They see the commission's work as a way of diverting attention from the government's failure to address the root causes of poverty and inequality.

Mr. Vorster's statement has also been met with criticism from the opposition. The African National Congress has called for an independent investigation into Biko's death, and has accused the government of using violence and intimidation to suppress political dissent.

Despite these challenges, Mr. Vorster remains confident that South Africa is on the right path towards a more just and democratic society. He says that the government is working hard to address the challenges it faces, and that it is determined to make South Africa a better place for all its citizens.
Fine words, grim reality

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, had some fine words to say to the Public Servants Association annual congress in Bloemfontein on Monday. But behind the flowing sentences and allegedly noble ideals lies a grim reality which Mr Vorster preferred to leave unstated.

The State, said the Prime Minister, did not want to interfere unduly in matters concerning the individual, but it sometimes had to in order to maintain discipline and control.

"That, too, is the duty of the Prime Minister to keep the public servants in line. He is responsible for any single "disruptive" action taken by the State." Mr Vorster went on to say that he was aware that these "discipline" actions were necessary and that they were a condition of balance and harmony.

"I urge the public servants to cooperate with the Government in maintaining the peace and order of the country," said Mr Vorster. The State," he added, "will not tolerate any disruptive actions by public servants." He concluded his speech by saying that the Prime Minister was responsible for any single "disruptive" action taken by the State.

Mr Vorster also said that the government had the task of arbitrating disputes, "to maintain the balance and harmony in the country, to prevent violence, and to protect the individual against the excesses of the State." He said that there was a need to maintain discipline and order in the country, and that the Prime Minister was responsible for any single "disruptive" action taken by the State.

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The world is shocked at the death of one of our standing young South Africans, who was in the prime of life and had a promising future. He was a brilliant man, who had been working for the betterment of our society. The news of his death has brought a wave of grief and sadness to the nation. The world is mourning the loss of a great soul, who had the potential to do great things.
Mabandla: African nation mourns Biko

UMTATA — The Speaker at the Transkei National Assembly, Mr. Z. M. Makumalo, regretted the loss of Steve Biko.

"What is more discouraging to the people is the constant loss of life by detente. We cannot ever operate the Security Police under whose hands they get to be arrested," Mr. Mabandla said.

He said when people talked about justice there was always that doubt because of the fact that white judiciaries always conduct inquiries without any black involved.

"Justice in a multinational country will not be accepted by the black people," Mr. Biko would have said with these words.

Mr. Biko would have wanted to be remembered as a champion for the fight for freedom and liberation.

Free bus transport will be provided for Pretoria on Sunday.

The Rev. P. Ntintili said a number of buses would be available.

Anyone wanting transport should telephone Umtata 3118, 2990, 3444, or ask at the bus station.

Buses will depart at midnight on Saturday from Nambewana Methodist Church. Drive to the Bible House, then to the offices of the Daily Dispatch to collect people living in town, and from there to Nangalizwe location bus rank. Thereafter they leave for Idutywa.

The buses will stop at Idutywa in the main street to East London next to a hotel, leave for Butterworth where they will stop next to the Barclays Bank, and from there the fleet leaves for King William's Town.

Political set-up blamed

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The death in detention of Mr. Steve Biko would go down in history as the death of a political system of the South African Government, Chief S. A. Burnsworth said yesterday.

The Ciskei National Unionist Party leader, who was expressing his party's sympathy with the Biko family, described Mr. Biko as a principled and courageous leader.

He said Mr. Biko's death warranted an immediate judicial inquiry.

"The loss of a leader who hated the repression of any group is deeply felt," he added.

Meanwhile, it was announced in Johannesburg yesterday that a first-class soccer match had been postponed to the following day because of the death of Mr. Biko.

A spokesman for the organisers said the Pretoria Callies-Cape Town Strikers match would be played on Monday in view of the funeral.
Detention: Put an end to apathy

From Mr. H H Esslinger
(Parow, Pinelands, CP):

FOR HOW much longer shall we "wait and see" before we all raise our voices and shout? For how much longer will voters remain quiet and apathetic? By now every thinking Nationalist, and especially every academic, should leave their MP in no doubt that they want "imprisonment without access, defence or trial" stopped. A few lawyers, a few editors — that is not enough. Why doesn’t our judiciary speak out in what is an issue of civil rights and not one of party-politics?

When the "Terrorism Act" was passed the government assured us that the anarchistic powers conferred by the Bill would never be abused by it. Only terrorists would be locked up and those who have no truck with terrorists need have no fear.

The justification for the clause in the "Terrorism Act" which permits "imprisonment without trial" is claimed to be that, the end justifies the means — while it is wrong to bypass the judicial process, we need terror to fight terror. Therefore we have a situation in which terrorists justify their casual and indiscriminate bloody violence by their wish for publicity for their ideals, while civil servants of the state justify their disregard of the basic civil rights of citizens by refusing them "due and fair process" whenever they think this will serve their ends.

In March President Carter of the USA said in a speech to the United Nations, "No member of the United Nations can claim that mistreatment of its citizens is solely its own business". In the 20th century our international connections are very important, not only in the ethical standards accepted by the West, but also in the economic and political effect produced by our interdependence with the rest of the world. While there will be increasing pressure on us from abroad, it is up to us as South Africans to put our house in order. Those who follow the "I’m all right, Jack" way of life will only have themselves to blame if the rights which they cherish are taken away from them as a consequence of their apathy.

Silenced even in death

From Mr. A Byrne
(Seaford):

DURING an interview with the New York Times, the Prime Minister, speaking of Mr. Steve Biko, said: "Before his death I do not think that one out of a hundred knew who he was." (Cape Times, September 19).

How could they (though of course they did)? Steve Biko was banned, refused a passport, restricted, silenced, confined to the district of King William's Town.

Forbidden by law to address meetings, teach, instruct, move about, be quoted or have his writings published; and the flag still stands, so even in death his voice is silenced in his own country.
In London, the British and American military and police were on high alert as they prepared for the memorial service for the late black nationalist and politician, Robert mugabe. The service was held at Victoria Grounds on the 23rd of December, 1977.

The ceremony was attended by thousands of people, including government officials and military personnel. The service was a somber and respectful event, with many speeches and tributes paid to the late leader. The crowd was united in their respect for Mugabe, who had been a symbol of the struggle for freedom and independence in Africa.

The service was broadcast live on television, and the news was carried internationally. The world watched as Mugabe's body was escorted to its final resting place, surrounded by a sea of people who had come to pay their respects.

The event was a poignant reminder of the sacrifices made by those who fought for freedom and justice, and it served as a call to remember the importance of upholding the values and principles that Mugabe stood for.

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East London

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Kruger a total disaster — Editor

DURBAN — As Minister of Justice and Police at a delicate time in South Africa's history, Mr Kruger was a total disaster, Mr Donald Woods, Editor of the Daily Dispatch, said here last night.

Addressing a protest meeting over the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko, Mr Woods said nothing could atone for his death.

"But five things can help alone and help heal the wounds of the nation," he said.

These were the resignation of Mr Kruger; an inquest into Mr Biko's death and should the inquest reveal anything, prosecution; a full scale commission of inquiry into all detentions; and the abolition of detention without trial.

Mr Woods listed 13 questions to Mr Kruger over his handling of the death of Mr Biko.

Questions put to Mr Kruger included:

Why did you rush into print and onto television with the hunger strike theory before checking it?

Why do you believe the security police when no one else in the country does?

Did you wait until after his death to accuse him publicly of terrible crimes?

Mr Woods said Mr Biko had nothing to do with pamphlets mentioned by Mr Kruger.

On the question of threats by Mr Kruger that he would sue Mr Woods following certain press statements, he said: "I hope he does. I'm waiting for him to sue.

Mr Woods also replied to the Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem who criticised him for wanting to "exploit" Mr Biko's death.

Rabbi I. Rashinowitz was reported as saying Mr Woods should never have used the word "exploit."

Mr Woods said it was a pity the rabbi focused on the word "exploit" and failed to take in the rest of his speech.

I continued by saying we should exploit Steve's death in non-violent, constitutional and carefully thought-out ways," Mr Woods said. — DDC.
Blacks will observe Friday as Biko day

JOHANNESBURG — All black consciousness organisations in South Africa are to observe Friday as a day of mourning in memory of Steve Biko, the black spiritual father of black consciousness.

Meanwhile, it is reported from Pretoria that some Western diplomatic missions in South Africa will be represented at Mr Biko's funeral in King William's Town on Sunday.

The Rev Pule Tshenkeng, vice president of the Black People's Convention, said the day had been declared days of mourning in remembrance of Mr Biko, the dead spiritual father of black consciousness.

It rained all day yesterday, making the day even gloomier.

Regrettably, an estimated 80,000 people, including many of the country's top black leaders, were unable to attend the funeral due to the police ban on the event.

Puis il regna son panier. Vraisemblable que, si on avait eu davantage de moyens, on aurait pu offrir un meilleur service.

Là une quatrième opposition, la question de la couverture des médias, l'œil ferme sur ces gestes médiatiques qui frisent le crime, et il connaît...

Il y avait des tirs, des larmes de mort qui pleuraient la mort de Steve Biko.

Registered by workers at the physiotherapy schools and is undoubtedly the quickest.

The method is as follows:

1. The student estimates the number of people involved in the event, taking into consideration any factors that may influence the count, such as the size of the event, the visibility of the posters, and the presence of any counter-protests.

2. The student then compares the estimated count with the actual number of people present at the event. This comparison is made by observing the event from a distance, or by using video or audio recordings.

3. The student uses this comparison to determine the accuracy of the method.

4. The student writes up a detailed report of the method, including any observations or conclusions drawn from the comparison.

5. The student submits the report to the seniority of the organisation, who will then decide whether to use the method in the future.

More precise figures have been required to make a case for semi-detailed surveys.

A police estimate of 80,000 was made of the crowd at the funeral, based on information from the funeral committee and other sources.

The police said that the crowd was made up of black and white people, and that the funeral was a peaceful one.

The funeral was attended by the president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, and other top leaders of the ANC.

The world watched in awe as the body of Steve Biko was carried through the streets of the city.

The funeral was a sombre and emotional event, with thousands of people attending to pay their respects to the fallen leader.

The funeral was also a symbol of the struggle for freedom in South Africa, and a reminder of the sacrifices made by those who fought for justice and equality.
Owen at Biko memorial service

LONDON. — The British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen; yesterday attended a memorial service for Mr Steve Biko, the South African black consciousness leader who died in detention last week.

The service in the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral was conducted by Canon John Collins, a bitter opponent of apartheid.

Hat in hand and his head bowed, Dr Owen entered the crypt of St Paul's, which was quickly filled by mourners. About 500 people, many of them members of anti-apartheid groups, gathered outside the cathedral while the memorial service was in progress. — Sapa-Reuters
Minister criticizes Kruger’s ‘indifference’

Yesterday he didn’t want to debate Mr Biko’s political beliefs or comment on the storm following his death in detention last week, but felt he had to speak out on Mr Kruger’s use of the words “leaves me cold.”

“A Christian should never comment on a man’s death in that way. If a minister reacts like this, it is then unusual for the ordinary citizen to do the same,” Mr Brand asked.

“My personal, and of course fallible, opinion, the ice-cold indifference of the minister was born out by his manner on television. There was no trace of Christian compassion—no sign that he realized that this man, who also sinned, was a man with a family.”

“Other people were devoted to this man, and will mourn over him.” Mr Brand asked.

Gas attack: Worker may be witness

Detectives yesterday interviewed a bakery worker who was a possible witness to the teargas bombing of the protest meeting in the Rondebosch Town Hall on Monday night.

The mill worker, Mr David Matthews, was interviewed by Cape Times reporters after the incident. He told them he saw a young man running down the bridge next to the hall shortly before people started streaming out.

The teargas bomb attack, which is believed to have been launched from the bridge, disrupted a multiracial meeting in protest at the death in detention of the black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko.

“I was crossing the road when the explosion,” said Mr Matthews, who works on the night shift at the Sascoc Bakery nearby.

“He walked to the Main Road, looking back at me every now and then, and disappeared round the corner.”

Mr Matthews described the man as blond, about 30 years old, wearing spectacles and a blue jersey.

According to police, a coloured man in the parking lot opposite Robbs Motors, near the hall, saw the same man throw something into the hall.

The coloured man in the parking lot could not be traced yet.

Yugoslav chairman

Eleven heads of state, including the President of the United States, Mr Carter, will address the Assembly, which will be under the chairmanship of Yugoslavia’s deputy foreign minister, Mr Lazar Mijakovic.

South Africa is certain not to participate this year. The Republic has stayed away from the Assembly since the anti-apartheid bloc was expelled from the 29th session.

The four-man South African mission to the UN does not have a new head since their previous incumbent, Mr F. C. Botha, became Foreign Minister earlier this year.

The attack on apartheid was a major part of the last Assembly’s activities. The subject inspired 11 Assembly resolutions and the pitche of this attack is not expected to change this year.

South West Africa

The South West African question is expected to get similar attention this session. Delegates said the African countries wanted it to go directly to the plenary session of the UN, bypassing the decolonization committee, immediately after the general debate.

Western sources said the five Western members of the Security Council were hoping to present concrete proposals before them. The five—Britain, France, the United States, Canada and West Germany—would ideally like to go to the Security Council before the question comes up in plenary session.

Their play for the territory was largely acceptable to the South African Government, the sources said. The major sticking-point was the question of maintenance of security during the period before an election in the territory. This was expected to be an important item in the week’s Pretoria talks between the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and representatives of the five. The talks start in Pretoria tomorrow.

Essex student criticizes security

In Soweto meanwhile, the Soweto Students’ Representative Council called for street protests and other forms of protest over the death of Mr Biko.

Mr Biko’s death in detention has sparked the SSRC concern as well, leader, Mr. Sefika Motsisi, is in detention. — Sapa and Own Correspondents.
Stoning: youths held

The arrests were a sequel to the stoning of a bus last Wednesday in which all its windows were broken.

The bus was stoned after a football match between Winelands and Lebowa at the George Thebe Stadium in Sharpeville.

At the time the youths involved were thought to have come from the black township of Esaton and to have thrown stones at the bus because there were not enough buses to take them home.

Yesterday's raids took place between 5 and 7 am. An unknown number of students were held. Police sources confirmed.

The police told them their children would be brought back later in the day. As far as could be ascertained, they had not been charged or released by yesterday afternoon.
Biko’s first days in student politics recalled

I have just learned, with immense sadness and some guilt, of Steve Biko's death. Badness because it is always sad that someone so young and with such a vital should die so wastefully, and guilt because he was still in South Africa working for change, and I am in Europe watching.

There are, of course, lots of South Africans in Europe and North America, watching their homeland. You meet them at parties — noisy, outgoing, friendly people, but always there is a slight presence. It is easy to recognize this South African essence — a restlessness, a lack of decision, like birds of passage waiting for a signal that will tell them it is time to moving on.

News of Biko's death makes one remember. I remember his first days in student politics, some few years ago, NUSAS then, disillusionment, then the formation of SASO and the beginning of the long and often tough road to today. I remember trading insults with him at many meetings, working down from what seemed like differences of principle to the discovery that all we were talking about was different viewpoints on the same problem.

The difference was racial. Whites may imagine what it is like to be a black in South Africa. They do not know what it is like. It was this difference which I tried to explain to black consciousness. It is evident now that Steve Biko's death will only come when blacks ask for it themselves, rather than have whites doing the asking.

Now at the age of 28, a victim of apartheid. There have been other victims of apartheid of course, and truth to tell, there will be more. But somehow this of the one is different. And we were played around the world today. I think there must be young South Africans remembering the duty that we have left to others.

Philip Middleton, the Chairman
Brussels, Belgium

The availability of the various aids was brought to the attention of all Clubs by way of an article written by Owen Metcalf which appeared in the May edition of "Hockey Happenings". The usefulness and importance of the Westminster Bank Slides has been stressed and to date 3 sets have been sold and another 5 have been requested by Clubs. Articles appearing in "Whistle Happy" and other world hockey magazines are also reproduced for distribution to Clubs.

PLANS FOR 1978 SEASON

Like the previous section, this one is divided into two categories; the first dealing with a proposed calendar and the second with non-diarised activities. These activities have not been costed because the sub-committee views this to be confidential to the Western Province Hockey Association...

February, 1978:
(i) Indoor Hockey Clinic (as for 1977)
(ii) W.P.H.A. Coaching Congress (All Club Coaches or Coaching Committees) to plan detailed activities and discuss Club requirements for 1978

March
April
(i) Representatives again to participate in National Under 18 Coaches Course,
(ii) Stellenbosch Camp for "senior" schoolboys

(iii) Provincial Coaches Course — 3 days — for Club Coaches and/or coaching committees to build Club coaches - a practical course.

May
(i) Peninsula Tournament — an exhibition of coaching aids and showing of Westminster Bank slides,
(ii) 19th and 20th and 26/27th - 2 two-day courses at George for South Cape Sub-Union players, coaches and umpires
(iii) Open House Clinics for schoolboys
Biko’s fate in hands of police, Kruger — law man

The Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, had been told of the death, Mr. Steve Biko’s, illness or hunger strike, only after his death. Somebody was guilty of a serious dereliction of duty, according to a legal expert.

Professor J. D. van der Vyver, professor of legal philosophy at the University of Pretoria as it applies to the functions of the Minister.

The professor said in terms of Section 6, the police had complete control over the fate of detainees, with the Minister of Justice in charge.

The Minister’s competence under Section 6 included the conditions under which a person could be detained and questioned.

Nobody except the Minister of Justice or an official acting in his official capacity, could visit a detainee or was entitled to official information about the detainee.

Professor van der Vyver said the courts had held that Section 6 did not entitle the police to assault a detainee. The means of obtaining information about assaults on a detainee or about a detainee’s health, was however limited.

The court could instruct the magistrate whose duty it was to see the detainee in detention to put questions to him about his well-being.

Such instructions could be given only if an applicant could produce prima facie evidence that the detainee was being ill-treated or was in poor health.

Since the detainee was secluded from the outside world it was practically impossible to obtain such evidence.

Added the professor: “I would expect the Minister of Justice to keep himself informed about every aspect of the detention of a particular person.”

HOURS LATER

“Somebody would be guilty of a serious dereliction of duty if he did not inform the Minister that a detainee was ill or had died.”

Mr. Kruger, told a Sunday newspaper last week that the police had not told him about Mr. Biko’s illness or hunger strike until after his death and that the Commissioner of Police told him of the detainee’s death on Tuesday morning — hours after it had occurred on Monday night.

“I will go into the matter and it will be dealt with by the men of my department. I will wait for the report and then consider what steps should be taken,” he said.

Three days later, the Minister reportedly said...
3. Higher Diploma in Library Science

(a) A candidate for the course must hold a Bachelor's degree or the equivalent thereof. Such a degree shall be accepted by Senate as an equivalent.

(b) Acceptance of such a degree shall be at the discretion of Senate.

(c) Preference in admission will be given to those with some previous experience of work, e.g. a total period of not less than one month, in the library field. This preference will be given to those whose experience of work is of the kind that is relevant to the course. Preference will be given to those who are the first graduates of the course.

If you are currently registered to the Faculty of Arts, you are eligible to apply for the course, as is anyone else who is eligible to apply to the University of the Witwatersrand. You must submit the following documents:

(a) a certified copy of your most recent academic record;
(b) two referees' reports.

The application date is 31 January, 1978. The result will be available in mid-December.

Acceptance to a course of study will be on a voluntary basis and you will become eligible for entrance to the course only after you have submitted your application and your examination results are made available. If your results are not satisfactory, you will be sent to me immediately. In the event that you are not admitted to the course, you will be offered another course.

Your student number, as confirmed by the University, will be informed to you. You will then be informed of the result of your application.

Yours sincerely,

O. METCALF
Arts Faculty Officer, for REGISTRAR.

HOM: gm
Dominee hits at Kruger

CAPE TOWN — An Afrikaans dominee in Parow has criticised the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, for his statement that the death of Mr Steve Biko "left him cold."

Ds H. J. Brand said in a letter to Die Burger he did not want to debate Mr Biko's political belief or comment on the storm following his death in detention last week, but felt he had to speak out on Mr Kruger's use of the words "left him cold."

"A Christian should never comment on a man's death in that way. If a minister reacts like this — is it then unusual for the ordinary citizen to do the same?" Ds Brand asked.

In my personal, and, of course, fallible opinion, the ice cold indifference of the minister was borne out by his manner on television. There was no trace of Christian compassion — no sign that he realised that this man, who also sinned, was a man with a family.

"Other people were devoted to this man and will mourn over him," Ds Brand said.

"Can we not be more careful in our use of words, especially when attitudes are being formed?" Ds Brand said.

Meanwhile, Sen Denis Worrall said yesterday he and everybody he knew understood the sense of loss experienced by those who genuinely looked to Mr Biko for leadership and inspiration.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, the National Party senator said: "I say this not out of sympathy or compassion alone — and I say this even though my concept of the South Africa of tomorrow is radically different from that of Mr Biko and his followers — but I say this out of realistic consideration because the future of all of us depends on whether we can come to grips with each other and work out a modus vivendi." — DDC-SAFA.

Bus for Herschel mourners

EAST LONDON — Transport by bus has been arranged for mourners in the Herschel district of Transkei to travel to King William's Town on Saturday for the funeral of Mr Steve Biko.

A bus will leave Sterkspruit on Saturday and people requiring transport have been requested to contact Mr D. N. Qunta, at Sterkspruit telephone 58, or Dr C. Mbete, c/o Blue Gums Number 2, before 10am on Saturday.

One of the reasons transport has been arranged for Herschel people is that they are still mourning the death of Mr Mapetla Mohapi, the political detainee who died whilst in police detention in the Kei Road police cells last year.

"The Herschel people also note with concern that another black son of Africa, who disappeared from his home in March 1979 with the South African Security Branch, Mr Selby Ngendane, is still missing. We fear for his life," Mr Qunta said. — DDR.

BPC arranging more services

EAST LONDON — The East London Branch of the Black People's Convention is to hold a memorial service for black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, at the Africa Assembly Church in Mdantsane on Saturday.

According to the branch secretary, Mr R. Mapisa, the service will begin at 1pm and will be conducted by the Presbyterian Church of Africa minister, Rev A. Bothman.

Following the service, Mr Mapisa said all people who wanted to attend the funeral service of Mr Biko in King William's Town on Sunday would be given information about transport arrangements being made for them by the East London branch of the BPC.

Mr Mapisa said the BPC had arranged bus transport for Mdantsane mourners.

A Requiem Mass will also be held in St Bartholomew's Church, Alice, at 5.30pm. The mass will be conducted by Rev N. Makasi and the Anglican Church chaplain at the University of Port Hare.

In Grahamstown, a memorial service will be held in St Philip's Church at 7pm tonight and will be conducted by Canon Ndanyanu.

Meanwhile it was reported pupils of the Thembu Labantu High School in Zwelitsha, near King, staged a boycott of classes yesterday morning.

The principal, Mr W. Yako, said none of the 800 pupils had attended school, but that on Tuesday everything had been normal at the school.

He could give no reasons for the class boycott.

At Fort Hare, the Rector, Prof J. M. de Wet, said students were back and attending lectures.

Parents of the students who had been arrested met and held discussions at Fort Hare yesterday. Among subjects discussed was the defence for the non-students who they appearing in court on September 26 and the
Biko forced election?

UNITED NATIONS — South Africa's November 30 general election probably had much more to do with "the martyred death of Steve Biko" than the Pretoria Government would admit, the US Ambassador here, Mr Andrew Young, said here.

Mr Young was questioned by reporters as he emerged from the official opening of the 32nd general assembly session. He told a Sapa man he did not know about the election announcement. When he was shown a news agency report of the Pretoria announcement, his initial reaction was: "I don't want to comment on this."

Asked why, he said: "For two reasons. Firstly, the Coloured, Asiatic as well as the black groups have not experienced any great enthusiasm. They see it as an extension of the apartheid system."

"Secondly, the effort of trying to do anything, even if it is not what the people want, is an encouraging sign.

"It probably has much more to do with the martyred death of Steve Biko than they would like to admit." — SAPA

Biko set lead says bishop

UNTATA — Mr Steve Biko had played an important part in fostering black consciousness and it was for others to take over after he had left off, the Bishop Suffragan of St John's, the Rt Rev E.A. Sobukwe, said here yesterday.

The bishop was addressing a congregation of more than 300 at St John's Anglican Cathedral during a requiem mass for Mr Biko.

He said life was a battle for everyone and the battle chosen by Steve Biko was for the nation.

"He knew this battle might cause him tears or even the loss of his life. This he experienced", he had accounted for the cost, even before he engaged in the battle, Bishop Sobukwe said.

Mr Biko, was a man of tremendous intellectual power who also had the attributes of selflessness and humility.

Among those who attended the mass was Transkei's Minister of Finance, Mr Taepo Letata.

Meanwhile, the former pro of the Labour Party, Dr. L.K. Sharpey, said that because Mr Biko's death was unexplainable, it was the duty of the Minister of Police to enforce the law by immediately arresting all those connected with Mr Biko, while he was in detention. — DDC
Envoy to attend funeral

Pretoria Bureau
United States Deputy Ambassador to the UN, Mr Donald McHenry and diplomatic representatives of all the major Western states will attend Mr Steve Biko's funeral in King William's Town on Sunday.

The move is seen as a massive demonstration of Western government sentiments on the black consciousness leader's death in detention.

A requiem mass in the Catholic Cathedral in Berek was also planned for 11.30 am tomorrow, in St Mary's Cathedral.

Meanwhile, the President of the Black People's Convention, Mr Hlaur Kenneth Boshoni, has appealed for calm and restraint at the funeral.

He gave the assurance that the BPC, in keeping with its non-racial policy, welcomed every "African" who wished to attend.

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dictum, oculos et haec verba dicit Caesar, populi Romani imperator, eos qui fratrem tuum interfecerunt puneat, si tu eum adivabis." Et ad legatos versus, "Tubete" inquit "militis vestros cibum capere et corpora curare. Adhuc satis temporis ad quietem est. Nemo ex castris excedet donec Vercobrix redierit."

1. Patruus = uncle
Advena c. Gender = a foreigner, stranger.

2. Haud multo post Marcus Rubriusque, similiter ac puer vestiti, castris summo silentio sicis tantum armati exseseurunt. Primo Vercobrix amicos eadem via ducebat qua ante processerant: sed ubi ad eum locum venit in quo ipse mortem paene obierat, ad laevam versus est. Arborum undique densae erant, neque uila semita Marco et Rubrio esse videbatur: Vercobrix tamen lente sed haud cunctanter ire pergebat, donec ad extremam silvam venit. Hic constitit, et brevi murmurare amicis rom explicavit. "Patruus meus" inquit, "haud procul hinc in caverna celatus est; sed haec caverna virgulis densissimis tecta est, nec quisquam - nisi locum bene exploravat - eam videre potest. Ego igitur inter arborum procedam solus; vos admodum taciti pone sequimi."

Sic f. = a dagger
Similiter ac = in the same way as
Pergo = to continue, proceed
Virgultum = shrubbery
Pone = behind

Biko ready to negotiate rather than confront

From Mr CLIVE KEEGAN (Wynberg):

THE DEATH in detention of Steve Biko came to many thinking South Africans as a profound and painful shock. In his death South Africa has lost one of her finest sons, a man whom only the low, moral poverty of the ruling government could damn as seditious and dangerous.

I first met Steve Biko early in 1969/70. I was an undergraduate at Rhodes; he was already a name respected and admired among students. During the four years that followed, we met frequently and all that while his huge intellect, passion and logic burnt deep into my mind. Banning orders, his in 1973 and mine in the same year, made further contact impossible. Still his influence lived on. The salient point here is that Steve Biko had a lasting impact on my generation — we learnt our politics at his feet and our insight into black opinion and black aspirations is all the more impoverished by his death.

Steve would have been the first to deny that he alone was responsible for the black renaissance of the late sixties. But many believe he was. It was he who formulated and articulated the doctrines and philosophies of the South African Students Organisation, Sasco, and laid the foundations of the great blossoming of black consciousness that developed in the years that followed up to the present day.

Those of us who were deeply involved in student politics in the sixties will never forget the agony we experienced as black students withdrew from non-racial organisations and grouped themselves into structures within which they could identify their own particular needs and formulate their own strategies, without the patronizing interference of white liberals. Of this movement, Biko was the progenitor. I am grateful that I was able to be associated with him, for I do believe I have never met a man who left so indelible an impression on myself and my student peers.

The real tragedy of Biko's death is not that I have lost a friend or that black South Africa has lost a leader of towering stature. The real tragedy lies in the fact that at a time when the apologists for violence and revolution are gaining a commanding position, we have lost a man who represented the last generation that is prepared to negotiate rather than confront.

When a country as bankrupt of leadership and inspiration as ours can allow Steve Biko to die in its prisons, it has lost all sense of its own destiny. I am not concerned at the further damage his death will do to our image in the outside world; if this government wants to destroy its credentials and reputation in the world brotherhood of nations, so be it. There are truths and there are personalities who will survive South Africa's age of Philistinism. Unlike Steve Biko, apartheid and its apostles will not be among them.

Hope in death

There must always be hope in death. If Steve Biko's death serves to concentrate the world's attention on South Africa's ills, if it serves to reinforce the West's determination to arrest our rapid slide towards mayhem, if it yet again serves to concentrate our attention on the disgraceful deaths in our prisons — if it has all or even one of these effects, then Biko will not have died in vain. Maybe his death will be the key to the awakening of a largely indifferent and apathetic white population to the true facts of the inhuman state of repression we all live in.

It is no good arguing or believing blindly, as does that erstwhile great white hope, "Pik" Botha, that the world is demanding that we sign our own suicide warrant. For as long as men like Steve Biko die in our jails, the world and indeed the majority of South Africans are entitled to believe that South Africa voluntarily initiated that particular document on its own.
Cape Times, Friday, September 23, 1977

Bar council wants Section Six changed

JOHANNESBURG. - The Johannesburg Bar Council yesterday called for changes to Section Six of the Terrorism Act, which provides for detention without trial.

But it said in a statement that reform of the act would not make detention without trial acceptable.

The statement was signed by the present chairman of the bar council, Mr J C Kriegler SC, and six past chairmen - Mr I A Maisels QC, Mr N Philips QC, Mr S Kentridge SC, Mr W H R Schreiner SC, Mr J P Coaker SC and Mr A Chaskalson SC.

If detention without trial was to be retained as part of South Africa's law, the act should be changed to permit regular and frequent visits to a detainee by a lawyer, a private doctor or other representative of his family - if necessary under police supervision, the statement said.

The statement said: "The Johannesburg bar has repeatedly expressed its condemnation of detention without trial. The government, in turn, has insisted that circumstances necessitate its retention on the statute book. "Whatever those circumstances may be, no one can pretend that they justify ill-treatment of people in detention. As long as the system is maintained there will continue to be deaths and complaints of ill-treatment of detainees and however much the authorities seek to explain such deaths or deny the existence of ill-treatment the happenings to him and, above all, he cannot seek the protection of the court. "It is true that under the act magistrates may visit detainees 'if circumstances so permit' but the magistrate has neither the power nor the duty to take any action against the officers who may be responsible for alleged irregularities, nor to forward any complaints to the detainee's family to enable them to take appropriate action.

"If detention without trial is to be retained as part of our law, then the act must be changed so as to permit regular and frequent visits to a detainee by a lawyer, a private doctor or other representative of his family - if necessary under police supervision.

"These reforms would certainly not make detention without trial acceptable, but they would go some way to protect the lives and physical safety of detainees.

"Further, there seems to be no good reason why these measures should not be acceptable to any government which wished to prevent deaths in detention, and which would rather see irregularities exposed, than covered up."

very secrecy of the system will perpetuate public suspicion and alarm. "It is significant that these things that have happened, or are alleged to have happened, to people detained under the Terrorism Act do not as a rule happen to ordinary prisoners in our jails. "The difference lies in the provisions of Section Six of the Terrorism Act. This provides not merely for detention without trial, but that no person other than an official shall have access to the detainee.

"This means that a detainee who is subjected to assault or other irregularities has no effective means of redress. "He cannot tell anyone outside the prison what is
SIR,—We would be grateful if we could use the medium of your newspaper to put the following questions to the Honourable the Minister of Justice:

- Why, within three days, were two differing versions of the circumstances of the death of Mr. Steve Biko put out?
- Why did the first version say that he died in hospital, and the second that he died in a prison cell?
- Why did Mr. Kruger try to create the impression that the State on its own initiative had arranged for the post-mortem to be carried out in the presence of a pathologist appointed by the family, yet it has been discovered that the post-mortem had started without the family representative?
- Why did Mr. Kruger suggest that Mr. Biko and his wife were estranged?
- Why did Mr. Kruger wait until after the death to accuse Mr. Biko of instigating violence, yet had not prosecuted him while he was alive?
- Why did doctors, who could find nothing wrong with him, keep referring him to other doctors?
- Why is it taking so long for the post-mortem findings to be released?

Mr. Kruger, we request that you answer these questions of reason.

V. C. ORAM
J. V. TAYLOR
Rhodes University,
Grahamstown.

SIR,—I feel sure that most readers reading my letter referring to the radios supplied to the grooms, could take no offence at the contents, for contrary to A. J. Konigsmerner's accusations, I did not classify the grooms as lawbreakers, say they would not pay their licences or slur the good names of the riders.

Unfortunately there are among us those who have one-track minds, have their own interpretation of everything and believe only what they want to.

People write under nom-de-plume for various reasons, one being "when it does not seem very important not to."

I normally would not have bothered to reply to one so naive, but your correspondence elected to pass this remark and I invite him to knock on my door at any time and I will leave him in no doubt as to my courage.

R. D. McKINLAY
3 Malega, 236 Clark Road,
Durban, 4001.

Letter shortened. — Editor.
Bar Council wants Section 6 changed

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If detention without trial was to be retained as part of South Africa’s law, the Act should be changed to permit regular and frequent visits to a detainee by a lawyer, a private doctor or other representative of his family if necessary under police supervision.

The statement said: “The Johannesburg Bar has repeatedly expressed its condemnation of detention without trial. The Government, in turn, has insisted that circumstances necessitate its retention. Whatever those circumstances may be, no one can contend that they justify ill-treatment of people in detention. As long as the system is maintained, there will continue to be deaths and complaints of ill-treatment of detainees and however much the authorities seek to explain such deaths or deny the allegations of ill-treatment, the very secrecy of the system will perpetuate public suspicion and alarm.

“It is significant that these things have happened or are alleged to have happened to people detained under the Terrorism Act not as a rule happen to ordinary prisoners in our jails.

“The difference lies in the provisions of Section 6. This provides, not merely for detention without trial, but that no person other than an official shall have access to the detainee. This means that a detainee who is subjected to assault or other irregularities has no effective means of redress. He cannot tell anyone outside the prison what is happening to him, and, above all, he cannot seek the protection of the court.

“It is true that under the Act magistrates may visit detainees ‘if circumstances so permit’ but the magistrate has neither the power nor the duty to take any action against the officers who may be responsible for alleged irregularities, nor to reveal any complaints to the detainee’s family to enable them to take appropriate action.

“If detention without trial is to be retained as part of our law, the Act must be changed so as to permit regular and frequent visits to a detainee by a lawyer, a private doctor or other representative of his family if necessary under police supervision.” — SAPA.

300 at Engcobo memorial service

ENGCOBO — More than 300 people attended a memorial service for Steve Biko in the Town Hall here not far from All Saints Hospital where his wife, Mrs. Ntsiki Biko, is a nursing sister.

One of the speakers, Mr. A. Xobolo, an executive member of the Democratic Party, said no matter how Mr. Biko died, the blame would lie with those people who put him in the cell.

He called the South African Government cowardly because they fought day and night against defenseless people. He said many blacks themselves were cowards because it was only now that Steve Biko was dead did they regard him as a hero.

Mrs. Sandah Biko, a friend of the Biko family, said: “Today we mourn the death of a man who courageously stood for justice. He was a man who was dedicated to the cause of preparing a future leadership for a just society from all the people of South Africa and for all the people of South Africa.

“Steve Biko is dead, but ideas do not die.”

Another memorial service will be held at 7 p.m. in the Norwood Hall, Umzimtini.

There will be a night vigil for Mr. Biko tomorrow from 8.30 p.m. to midnight in the Ncambendana Methodist Social Centre.

Buses will then leave at midnight for the funeral. The buses will leave from Pop In at Norwood, Bible Society in town, Methodist Social Centre, Ngangelizwe and the main bus rank in Ngangelizwe.

The organisers said passes were needed to travel documents or else they would be turned back at Kei Bridge.

Fast for Biko goes on

GRAHAMSTOWN — “No problems.” “All right.” “A bit tired.” These were comments from some of the Grahamstown people who are fasting for 82 days in memory of Mr. Steve Biko.

The call to fast was put out last week at a service in the Grahamstown Cathedral to mark the death of Mr. Biko.

People were asked to fast taking fluids only for 82 days, the length of his alleged hunger strike before he died in prison in Pretoria.

The fast ends on Sunday after Mr. Biko’s funeral.

A young man who had been on liquids only for nearly five days yesterday said: “I’ve had no problems. I am a bit tired in the evening, however, and have put my bedtime forward by about two hours.”

An older man said he was all set to “stick it out.” He added: “Life has been going on much the same as any other week.”

A woman who lives an active life was forced to compromise by eating one meal a day.
memorial notice

Naudé praisesa meeting

Catholic

12 October

[Handwritten note: 23/11/72 DAILY DISPATCH]
Resigned -

The head of the service, Mr. Abirici, has announced today that he is resigning.

ABIRICI

After many years of service, Mr. Abirici has decided to step down from his position.

ABIRICI

He has been a key figure in the organization, and his contributions will be missed.

ABIRICI

The decision has come after a thorough evaluation of his options and the needs of the organization.

ABIRICI

The organization is in the process of selecting a successor.

ABIRICI

The search is ongoing, and the organization expects to announce a new leader in the near future.

ABIRICI
The Terror Early Election

Steve the man

Biko the leader

Donny Woods

Sohin Kwee
Evidence of wide concern 29/1/77

The Border Regional Committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations extends its deep condolences to the widow and family of Steve Biko and in doing so associates itself unequivocally with the statement of the Institute’s national director calling once again for a full judicial inquiry into the mounting number of deaths in detention.

Steve’s death and the circumstances surrounding it have caused a wave of protest to roll over South Africa. Whites who do not normally react to political events have been noticeably stirred and are showing deep concern over what is happening in our country today.

What is sad, though, is that there are still people who will not face up to the realities of the situation. They discount every protest as being politically motivated and so rationalise their fears and prejudices. Of course, as in every such situation there are people who try and make political capital out of events, but what so many whites do not realise is that the reaction we are witnessing is very largely a spontaneous upsurge of deep and sincere feeling.

F. O. Joseph, Regional Secretary, Border Region, S.A. Institute of Race Relations,
116 Medina House, 40 Cambridge St., EL.

Standards

I will never believe Steve Biko was a man of violence.

In 1973 I decided to get first-hand information from politicians and what they thought about God as there had been a lot of talk in previous years in the township, especially in certain spheres of religion, about politicians being ungodly men.

The short time I spent at Leopold Street with Steve Biko left me convinced he was a God-fearing man.

Three years later, young men I knew joined BPC and I saw them undergoing a complete moral change. They cut down on drinks. They started reading the Bible as they believed “our liberation is in this book”. There was also a drive against the corruption of girls by men. These were some of the moral standards set by Steve Biko’s BPC.

L. V. Tutu,
412 Fumazele Street,
Duncan Village Ext., EL.

Tribute

I have just read Mrs Bandi Mwoko’s poetic tribute to her brother with shock and horror.

There is only one Son of God, Mrs Mwoko. Steve Biko is not He, nor ever was.

G. R. Morgan,
53 Market St.,
Eliot.
The t statistic, however, has been computed and the observed proportions could have come from a normal distribution. Significance levels are indicated by the t value being greater than the critical value at the 0.05 level. According to the bimodal distribution, it was feared that the public peace would be seriously endangered.

The prohibition order was served on Mr. H. Mkhize, who was said to have directed the meeting organised by the Black People's Convention.

As the expenditure 'weights' in the calculation of the income deflator, which was used in Table 3.2.6 to compare real incomes in Hanover Park with the BMR figures.

Next, the 'diary' of expenditure was analysed to give expenditure on four categories of goods, by day of the week, for 40 households.

**TABLE 4.2 TOTAL WEEKLY EXPENDITURE ON FOOD, CLEANING AND WASHING MATERIALS, TOBACCO AND ALCOHOL AND FUEL FOR N = 40 HOUSEHOLDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Cleaning and Washing</th>
<th>Tobacco and Alcohol</th>
<th>Fuel</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Proportion (excl. 'Other')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>26-51</td>
<td>-80</td>
<td>2-28</td>
<td>-39</td>
<td>29-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>36-37</td>
<td>1-59</td>
<td>1-76</td>
<td>2-13</td>
<td>41-86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>43-31</td>
<td>2-35</td>
<td>2-53</td>
<td>5-65</td>
<td>48-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>46-52</td>
<td>1-34</td>
<td>3-14</td>
<td>1-35</td>
<td>52-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>51-65</td>
<td>-92</td>
<td>5-41</td>
<td>1-66</td>
<td>59-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>130-10</td>
<td>4-61</td>
<td>4-25</td>
<td>3-00</td>
<td>141-96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>254-20</td>
<td>10-53</td>
<td>4-32</td>
<td>7-52</td>
<td>276-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>66-19</td>
<td>6-70</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-23</td>
<td>73-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>654-87</td>
<td>28-85</td>
<td>23-70</td>
<td>16-93</td>
<td>724-37</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Proportion</strong></td>
<td>0,90</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,02</td>
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The category 'Other' includes any goods, usually purchased during the week, but not during the week recorded.

It is clear that the bulk of expenditure is on food, the main purchasing day being Saturday, followed by Friday. These figures are useful for estimating the volume of expenditure which a consumer co-operative would have to handle on a daily basis (see Section 5).
Call by congressmen

Biko—
envoys

HUNDREDS
OF WIREs
POUR IN

Kansas City Star 24/9/77

SOUTH AFRICA’S Ambassador to the US, Mr. Donald Sole has made it clear to a delegation of 12 congressmen that he is unhappy with the Government’s handling of the Steve Biko death.

Teargas at Soweto Hall

His reaction came during a meeting at which the congressmen pressed for an independent International Red Cross autopsy. Mr. Sole told the congressmen the matter had been “shrouded with questions.”

亦 at the meeting was Mr. Herbert Beukes, third in command at the SA Embassy, who said it had been handled in an “unfortunate way” and went on to describe it as a “painful affair.”

The implied criticism of the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, by the South African diplomats was disclosed by the congressmen at a press conference shortly after the meeting.

OX WAGON

After prayers the coffin will be borne to the Victoria sports ground on an ox wagon. Members of the family and representatives of the Black...
A policeman, attracted by my flashgun, grabbed me by the jacket and pulled me over to a police group," he said. "I was pushed into the centre of the group. Police were smashing bus windows with stones. They then started hurling teargas into the hall.

"One hit me on the neck with a rifle butt. I fell and the rest beat me with rifle butts and kicked me."

Mr. Kusimane said he took refuge in a nearby house.

CONFRONTED
A Soweto police spokesman confirmed 98 mourners, 42 of them women, had been arrested and would be charged "as soon as possible."

Early today riot squad police who had guarded clothing, suitcases, food and other possessions left by fleeing mournersolf night, threw teargas canisters at a crowd that tried to get into the hall.

"Police were guarding the possessions in the interests of mourners," said a police spokesman. "There was a danger that these items would be stolen overnight and we were doing our best to safeguard them."

Police, armed with automatic weapons, rifles and shotguns were out in force.

Later confirmed the statements.

The group of congressmen also disclosed:

- The fate of South African political prisoners will be closely monitored by Congress in the future.

- There will be moves to investigate the deaths of other political prisoners.

- Congressmen intend to take a much closer interest in South African affairs from now on.

Congressman Andrew Maguire said Mr. Sole went to considerable pains to emphasize that concern within South Africa over the Biko death outweighed that abroad.

The ambassador had also indicated legal action would be taken if it was warranted.

Emphasised

Mr. Beukes had emphasized there was a legal process taking place in which he had the greatest confidence.

Senator Dick Clark yesterday continued his attack on the South African Government over the Biko death from the Senate floor.

The Senator, who has described Mr. Biko as "one of South Africa's most gifted black leaders," said: "When I first heard Kruger's account, I said this explanation was highly unsatisfactory, as so many of the explanations of previous South African deaths in detention have been. Subsequent events seem to confirm my conclusion."

Clark once again slammed Mr. Krueger for his "tireless and tasteless" comment that Biko had the "democratic right" to starve himself to death.

"It has emerged as the world's top financiers gathered in Washington for International Monetary Fund meetings that Mr. Biko's death has harmed South Africa in these circles," a top financier said. "The Biko affair has only served to further erode international business confidence in South Africa."
Owen attends service for Biko

The British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, centre, attended a memorial service in St Paul's Cathedral, London, this week for Steve Biko, the South African black consciousness leader who died in detention. Diplomatic representatives from the major Western countries will attend Mr Biko's funeral in King William's Town tomorrow.

M AR I T Z B U R G. — A magistrate's order banned a Steve Biko memorial service which was to have been held at the Lotus Hall in Maritzburg yesterday evening.

The head of the Security Police in the Natal Inland Division, Colonel Dreyer, said a prohibition order, issued by the Chief Magistrate of Maritzburg, had been served on Mr Important Mkhize, one of the organisers of the service. A Rand Daily Mail correspondent in King William's Town reported that boarders at Ciskei school hostels who did not attend school yesterday will not be allowed to return to the hostels "for good".

This has been made clear by the Ciskei Government, who yesterday issued an ultimatum for the boarders to either return to class or leave the boarding establishments for good.

The Government said it was not its intention to make available to scholars from elsewhere its boarding facilities, and would not negotiate with scholars regarding their attendance of classes.

"The Cabinet of the Ciskei deplores the recent events surrounding unrest arising out of so-called memorial services connected with the death of the late Steve Biko."

A staff reporter writes that the Mamelodi Students' Representative Council has threatened to take action against teachers of the Mamelodi branch of the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (Tuata), who it said, had arranged a cultural meeting.

"Instead of arranging for teachers to attend Mr Steve Biko's funeral, you are arranging for games," the SRC said in a letter. Tuata announced yesterday that the cultural day which was to be held in Potchefstroom has been cancelled "in honour of Mr Biko's death.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paraffin</th>
<th>Gas</th>
<th>Coal</th>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>None</th>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43.5</td>
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TABLE A.7 RUNNING WATER?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cold</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Biko bus ban strands mourners

STAFF REPORTER

HUNDREDS of mourners were stranded in Soweto last night after a last-minute refusal by authorities to allow bus companies to transport people to King William's Town for the funeral of Mr Steve Biko tomorrow.

An urgent appeal against the Local Road Transportation Board's refusal failed to go before the National Road Transportation Board because the offices closed yesterday at 2 pm.

The national board said they had finished their business for the day and refused to reconvene to discuss the refusal, according to lawyers who prepared an appeal on behalf of the Black People's Convention for submission to the board.

Eleven buses, each capable of carrying about 60 passengers, had been booked by mourners for the US Embassy was yesterday unable to confirm that the leader of the Big Five delegation, the US Deputy Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Donald McHenry, would be attending the funeral.

As far as could be ascertained last night, no official representative of the South African Government will attend the funeral.

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, and Dr Zac de Beer will represent the Progressive Federal Party at the funeral.

Most of the Western diplomats will lay wreaths. A spokesman for the Australian Embassy said its representative would be handing expressions of sympathy to Mr Biko's widow and mother, and to the BPC.
20 000 may be at funeral

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The major Western countries will be represented through their embassy officials at the funeral of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, here tomorrow.

South African Members of Parliament and over 100 church leaders will also be among the 20 000 mourners expected. Unconfirmed reports said yesterday the leader of the Western delegation which met with Mr Vorster earlier this week, Mr Don McHenry, may also attend. Mr McHenry is the deputy US ambassador to the United Nations.

The MPs include Mrs Helen Suzman and Dr Alex Boraine, both of the Progressive Federal Party, as well as Dr Zac de Beer, vice-chairman of the Southern Transvaal branch of the PFP.

And arriving at East London airport today is the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Lesotho, who will officiate at the funeral service.

Among the over 100 church leaders representing churches throughout South Africa at the funeral service will be Bishop John Murphy, of the Catholic diocese in Port Elizabeth, who will represent the Administrative Board of the South African Bishops, and Monagomoratse D. Hatton, national director of the society for the Propagation of the Faith.

Also arriving at East London airport tomorrow for the funeral is Dr Nhato Motlana, of the Black Community Programme's offices in Johannesurg, Dr Farouk Meer, vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress Mr Fikile Bam, of the Zimele Trust Fund, Mr Faith Matlaupane, of the South African Student's Organisation, and the general secretary of the Black People's Convention in Johannesburg, Mr Thandisizwe Makubu.

A large contingent of journalists and television crewmen representing the foreign news service and press in South Africa is also expected to arrive in East London for the funeral.

Among the foreign press will be journalists representing international magazines, United Press International, Associated Press and BBC television.

Diplomatic sources have also disclosed that the Netherlands, Belgium and Italy are likely to send representatives.

Meanwhile, BPC members from all parts of the country have started arriving. Cars, panelvans, trucks and buses have begun arriving at the offices of the BCP in Leopold Street with mourners from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Lesotho.

More than 400 adults and pupils from Port country, have made arrangements to travel to King today.

Late last night, national president of the BPC in Johannesburg, Mr Hlakantwe Ratchidi, who is in King assisting the Biko family and BPC with the funeral preparations, said:

"Most of the mourners are now travelling to King William's Town, either by car, van, bus, or plane. Many mourners have already arrived, but tonight and tomorrow we are expecting the buses to pour into town."

Mr Ratchidi said he had heard that 18 buses had passed through Queenstown at 6pm last night and a constant stream of cars were arriving in the town.

Almost all of the mourners will be accommodated at houses in the Gisnberg township, near King, he said, while many of the expected 20 000 may have to camp and sleep in their transport.

Mr Ratchidi outlined the funeral programme, decided on by the Biko family and BPC.

"The service will be opened at 8am tomorrow at the home of Mrs Alice Biko in Gisnberg with a prayer by Rev P. Ncoana, of the Anglican Church in King," he said.

Mr Ratchidi said Rev Ncoana, together with the Rev Leo Rakale, of St Peters College, in mourners will be asked to stand and sing the national anthem, Nkule Ntshenzhe.

Mr Ratchidi said 93 priests who would attend the requiem mass will be the Rev Drake Tshelong, the Rev Geoffrey Motlaoa and Rev Mr Xundu.

Apart from addresses by various black consciousness speakers, the programme has also allowed for the reading of poems written as tributes to Mr Biko.

Personal black consciousness friends of Mr Biko and family will then read to the mourners the many embodiment of sympathy received by the family, and the hundreds of letters and notes of condolences sent from all corners of South Africa.

Mr Ratchidi will be the speaker for the BPC, the King William's Town community will be represented by Mr P. Mabombo and Mr T. Gqaliwe will speak on behalf of the family.

Mr Madikwe Mhatha, the BPC Secretary for Labour, will be MC.

The requiem mass will last until 4pm and then pall bearers chosen by the Biko family will carry the coffin to the ground for King, where Mr Biko will be

EDITORIAL OPINION

Peace in grief

We applaud the leaders of the Black Peoples' Convention and the organisers of the Steve Biko funeral tomorrow for their appeal for calm and dignity during the funeral proceedings.

This will be the highest honour that the friends and admirers of Steve Biko can pay on this solemn occasion - to honour public their memory in spirit of strict self-discipline and brotherhood among all men, all races, that he stood for.

The most important mourners tomorrow will be the members of the Biko family, and in common with all their friends, we trust the bearing of the large crowd and the entire tone of tomorrow's solemn occasion will be a reflection
US protest over Biko

WASHINGTON — Eleven members of Congress yesterday expressed their concern to the South African Ambassador here, Mr. Dlamini, over the death of Mr. Biko. They told reporters later the Ambassador had rejected their request that the International Red Cross be allowed to investigate Mr. Biko’s death.

The Congressmen said they would try to monitor future South African treatment of political prisoners and would seek support from their colleagues for a letter of concern to South Africa over the Biko case.

Mr. Andrew Maguire, a Democrat, said Mr. Sole promised legal action would be taken in the Biko case — if warranted — following a report on the autopsy being conducted by three pathologists.

The delegation said Mr. Sole had referred to the Biko affair as “painful,” but they said they “did not hear at any point a direct expression of regret” at the black leader’s death. — SAPA-RNS.

Mr. Rachidi appealed again for calm and discipline and emphasised that in accordance with the BPC policy of non-racialism, all mourners at the funeral would be welcomed regardless of race.

The assurance was reiterated, he said, to those whites who have inquired about their acceptance at the service tomorrow and emphasised BPC was not anti-white, but pro-black.

“The success of this solemn and revered occasion of burying our brother depends entirely on the behaviour of those attending.”

“Myths, we bury Steve Biko with the respect he deserves,” Mr. Rachidi said.

Meanwhile for the mourners intending leaving King William’s Town after the funeral service, special arrangements have been made by the BPC for petrol on Sunday.

Mr. Rachidi said a garage near the stadium would remain open tomorrow from 7 am to 9 am and from 4 pm to 7 pm for mourners who wanted petrol to return home.

Mr. Ken Rachidi, president of the Black People’s Convention, was inundated by telephone inquiries yesterday relating to Mr. Biko’s funeral today.
In memory of Steve Biko

The following are the words published after the murder of his friend and comrade Martin Luther King. Nothing need be said.

Once upon this planet, earth
Lived a man of humble birth
Freedom being his only goal
For his fellow human beings.

He was dreaming of the Peace would come to earth to stay
And he spread this message all across the globe
Turn the other cheek he'd
Love thy neighbor was his creed.

Pain, humiliation, death he did not dread
With his Bible at his side
From his face he did not hide
It's hard to think that this great man is dead

For his murders never cease
Are they men or are they beasts
What do they hope, ever hope to gain
Will it all stand, stand or fall?
And did Martin Luther King just die in vain?

Can we hope that we could not stop
Always living with the threat of death ahead
Fools, you better stop and think
Cos we're heading for the brink.

What will happen now that he is dead
He was for equality
For all people, you and me
Poor and rich, black and white
Hate was not his way
He could not and would not lie
Tell me folks if you can
What info can you give me
Shots down the other day?

Jon D. Mayham, Flat 7, Worsdell Rd, Grahamstown

Letter to the editor

A song

We should remember them

Steve Biko championed the black man's right to self-expression in South Africa, and was murdered in 1977. His advocacy for freedom, justice and equality is an inspiration to all who believe in the fight against apartheid.

Donne's words

Mr Kruger was reported by a Thunder Bay Transvaal Nationalist correspondent: "Steve Biko's death leaves me cold." He followed this by saying: "We have to be concerned about the essence of African identity!"}

Scraps!

If you were a disabled soldier, would you consider the amputated leg a gift? If you look at the World Health Organisation's statistics, it's clear that it is. The statistics show that there are more amputated legs than ever before, and that this trend is likely to continue.

The way this is achieved is through the use of a new technology called "surgical amputation". This method involves the use of a laser to cut through the skin, muscle and bone, leaving a clean, smooth wound that heals quickly.

This is just an example of the kind of technology that is being used in South Africa today. There are many other examples, such as the "Limb Salvage Procedure" which is used to repair damaged limbs.

We are now entering a new era in medicine, where technology and medicine are being used together to improve the quality of life for all people.

Nation denied

That nightmare vision - the African is now the target for scounging.

The agony of imprisonment, the lungs constricted, the heart withered. All this has never been so apparent. If it's going to happen, it's going to happen. I see emergingkey with many South Africans like me who have risen to the challenge and are actively involved in the national movement. They've been unscathed by death, unscathed by the threat.

And they will continue to fight for their rights and for the rights of all people.

In Apartheid, they have found a new home.

They are singing songs of hope and freedom, songs that inspire us all.

The music is powerful and the words are powerful.

Steve Biko, the man who gave his life for the cause of freedom, will always be remembered.

We are surrounded by hate and violence, but we must not give in. We must fight for what is right.

The fight against apartheid is not over. It is only just beginning.

In memory of Steve Biko, a man who gave his life for the cause of freedom.

Biko, my friend, you will always be remembered.
Soul-searching over Biko

MANY words have been written in the Afrikaans Press about the death of Steve Biko. There was much fierce denunciation of the English-language newspapers and indeed of all who have joined in holding the Government responsible for an appalling blot on South Africa's shaky reputation.

On the other hand several Afrikaans newspapers — notably Rapport, Die Transvaler, Oogendblad and even the ultra-cautious Die Burger — were quick to express grave disquiet over the incident and call for a searching inquiry.

Now Die Vaderland, after a lukewarm initial comment, has gone so far as to say that Mr Kruger's statements were sometimes so divergent as to be in danger of arousing suspicion — 'not to mention that congress episode' — a cartoon shows Mr Kruger standing in a huge dark shadow labelled 'Die Burger'.

But of all the thousands of words on the subject that I have read in the past 10 days, two quite simple statements have left the deepest impression:

Rykje van Reenen, Rapport columnist: "Biko's angle of vision was, in the nature of things, not always the same as mine. But if the only discussion I had with him left me with one conviction, it is that this young Black man — he was only 29 — was basically not a destroyer but a builder and unless I am grievously mistaken, no idealist. It is depressing, therefore — and I choose my word — that a voice like his has vanished from the dialogue of our country."

Dr H J D Brand, of the Gereformeerde Church, Parow North, in a letter to Die Burger about Mr Kruger's attitude towards Biko's death: "In my personal, and of course fallible, opinion, the ice-cold indifference of the Minister was borne out by his manner on television. There was no trace of Christian compassion, no sign that he realised that this man, who also sinned, was a man with a family."

UNLIKE most of his colleagues, the editor of Die Vaderland, Mr Dirk Richard, drew some sombre conclusions from the attitude revealed by delegates to the four National Party congresses.

"These conclusions," he says, "seem to me, in the light of Mr Vorster's decision, since announced, to hold a general election in two months' time, where Beeld, for instance, was moved to declare that the Nationalists of the four provinces had "remained faithful to their ideals and tasks of renewal", Mr Richard saw reason for apprehension.

"A government," he wrote, "that dare not move too far ahead of its supporters. But if the present state of affairs must serve as a measure of how far the Government can go on, one may well doubt whether we shall ever be able to make up leeway in race relations — let alone step up the pace."

After the congresses, he continued, one could well wonder whether the average Afrikaner would be willing to let his party's policy develop so that equal rights and peaceful co-existence could be assured to those of all colours.

The Prime Minister had told the Transvaal delegates: "The future depends on you and the NP."

"If congresses alone are to be the pacemakers for adaptation," commented Mr Richard, "we will drive more on the brakes than on the accelerator.

..."
Police harass
Biko mourners

Tribune Reporters 9.5.77

COUNTRYWIDE harassment of thousands of mourners heading for the King William's Town funeral of Mr Steve Biko has led to the Government gesture of allowing banned Ciskei black consciousness leaders to attend the ceremony.

Reports reaching the Black Community Programme's headquarters in King William's Town indicate that large numbers of mourners travelling in buses and cars have been harassed and turned back by a grid of police roadblocks on all access roads to the town.

The Government has allowed certain black consciousness leaders, living in the Ciskei, to attend Mr Biko's funeral today.

The ban on anti-apartheid literature and visits to the Ciskei has been lifted and a meeting of the Ciskei press is to be held this week.

Mr Rachidi said last night: "We are not deterred by this provocation and we will bury Steve with the honour and respect that he deserves."

BPC as well as Mr. Biko's family, are concerned about this harassment because our calls for community restraint were being heeded.

The motive behind the police harassment was obviously to reduce the number of people attending the funeral, said Mr Rachidi. The Government hoped, the funeral, which was set to draw about 20,000 people, would now be attended by far fewer.

Among the wreaths for Mr Biko is one shaped in the form of Africa from Mr Andrew Young, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, and another from American tennis star Arthur Ashe.

Mr Biko's coffin, made of umbila wood and has a sculptured bust of the "dead man and below it a carved representation of the BPC symbol, two hands breaking a chain.

Inserted on the coffin are the words: "One Arise, one Nation."

Television crews and pressmen from around the world have converged on the town but thousands of mourners from distant centres have been stopped from attending by local road transportation boards, which have refused permits for buses to transport them.

The bus banners carried a clash in Soweto on Friday night in which police opened fire with shotguns and 9mm pistols and threw teargas. Nearly 100 people were arrested.

Bishop's wife beaten.

...try the tellypot, BAC
BISHOP’S WIFE SAYS: POLICE BEAT ME

colour processing technique can be made of the colour of photos, even within the me photos is a bright yellow over the entire print.
the exhaustion of chemicals, improve with experience,

The advantage of over black and white photos is probably providing a great

tail of colour photographs have been established in the not investigated here but

The second is in the interpretation of colour first is the matter of colour
type number of units.
flavours with certain objects.
the ground had a particular image.

An attempt to note any direct correlation of hue with species dominance or species group dominance was made. It was found that some characteristic colours were associated with certain species groups. These hue-species relationships were found to be consistent in spite of the background variation in hue from photograph to photograph. Positive examples of these associations are:

Hue (ISCC-NBS) Species or species group
grey-Brown or brown-Grey Elionurus argenteus - Themeda triandra
Grey Heteropogon contortus - Ergrostis chloromelas
Brown Ergrostis chloromelas
Olive Elionurus argenteus - Themeda triandra
Purple Ergrostis plana
yellow-Grey Ergrostis gummiflua
Eragrostis lehmanniana - Eragrostis chloromelas - Cynodon hirsutus
Injured

Brian

Biko's

Report

Early PM

Reveals

Express

Minister's claims 'torn apart', this is what the man who led the protests told the

Minister of Police, Dr. Botha, the day he was arrested. The

\[ \text{Image with text}\]
Biko’s brain was injured — report

Mr Shum Chetty

Biko family lawyer

had been “shrouded with questions”, while Mr Benkes told the congressmen it had been handled in an “unfortunate way”, characterising it as a part of a “painful affair”.

The criticism was disclosed by the congressmen to Washington reporters after the meeting. Significantly, however, Mr Sole and Mr Benkes have confirmed the statements. According to political observers in Washington, the deputation of protesting congressmen indicates that the Biko affair has generated an almost unprecedented level of emotion in the American capital.

At home, police in Soweto have arrested about 100 people, including 42 women, who intended to travel by bus to King Williams’ Town today. The arrests are a sequel to the Government’s refusal to grant travel permits to bus companies.

A senior police officer confirmed that his men had opened fire over the mourners with birdshot, 9 mm pistols, and teargas when a crowd of about 1 000 people attacked police vehicles and stoned windows and a YWCA building.

And shortly before going to press I learned that a bus from Pretoria had been stopped at Parys, on its way to the funeral.

According to a lawyer representing some of the Black People’s Convention members involved, a number of those travelling on the bus have been taken to prison.

Meanwhile, no curb appears to have been placed on mourners travelling from the Cape, and streams of cars are converging on King William’s Town.

Many foreign delegations to South Africa, not to mention a large overseas Press contingent, will attend the funeral — expected to attract about 20 000 people.
end today

Biko fast

by Joan Taylor

MP to apply to court

Press but was denied. 

Mr. Mbeki told the Bo press he wanted to more

press

...no
craving for food.

The couple, who last heard from Colleen, 23, last week, have been revisiting the Department of Health. 

They have been told that they will not be allowed to see her until after the 10th of the month. 

The couple's daughter, who was not at the press conference, said that they had been told that they would not be allowed to see her until after the 10th of the month. 

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Histerie koel af oor Biko

Van KOBUS TERBLANCHE

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.

DIE wereld-opwinding oor die dood van mnr. Steve Biko, 30, sal nie vandag op King William's Town se geweldadige uitbarsting as nasleep hê nie. Dis die algemene verwagting.

RAPPORT het gister die afleiding gemaak na 'n week waarin vele grusame berigte die wereld ingestuur is soos dieegle dat 2 000 wite, vandag hier met sterf om die dood van Biko te wreë. Veel eerder het dit aan die verandering van die begrafnis op die dorpie gelyk asof die histories (in gletende reën) hier kom afkoel het.

Politie magne, wat uit 'n wy se gebied na King William's Town gebring is, het Vrydagdag en gister nie nodig gehad om in te gryp nie, in weerwil van gerigte dat brandstigting en ander voorvalle vir Vrydagdag beplan was. Vrees in die week was daar wel spoor van die oorlogskragte.

Steek daar duik meer in gerigte dat onderswarte in die gebied vertel dat die storm môre kan uitbarst?

Tradisie

Redes vir die beplande stilswye en kalme dit by die tanaartestelling is:

*Die swartse vrees dat hulle onafhanklik weggewe sal word.
*Net familie sal by die graf toegelaat word.

Party het ook greeks dat hulle aangedoen kan word indien 'n ou sou ontstaan en dat hulle geweldig ook nie by die graf sou uitkom nie.

Ander voel dit sou 'n verbrokking van Xhosa-tradisie wees omdat hulle nie eerder aan 'n dooie sou betoon as daar oorlogskragte by die graf is nie.

mensie die diens sal bywoon, is buitesporig. Dit lyk eerder of dit sowat 20 000 kan was. Deurdringende reën val sedert Vrydag en sal vandag 'n demper wees.

Voor die rustigheid wat Vrydag begin het, was daar 'n opgewondenheidsstille toe die dorp se grootste swart tykebe

verloop. Die sukses van die geheime hag af van die gedrag van die begrafnisvagters.

Die polisie gaan nie beskerming bied aan mense wat die begrafnis bywoon nie, hoewel hulle teenwoordig sal wees by die roudienis in die Victoria-Stadion op die dorpie.

*Woordvoerder het aan RAPPORT gesê dat mense die begrafnis op die risiko bywoon.

*Die diens begin vanoggend om nege-uur na 'n blyder om agtertu met Biko se huis. Die diens sal die hele dag duur.

*Rasse blanke inwoners van die dorp het toe kenee genee dat hulle vir die naewk tikers gaan kaap, veral nadat die gereg versprei was dat blanke 'n-vandag moet "sterf" om Biko se dood te wreë. Die polisie het die gereg as belage vergelyk met "inrest om in die "onvoorspelbare situasie".

LV's daar

Dit was net vangstel was dat Biko se lyk aan 'n wit onderneemers besorg is. Die onderneemers van die begrafnis het aangevoer dat die wit onderneemers beter geriewe het.

Toen last gister kon nog nie bevestig word of verteenwoordigers van die van groot Westerner moonghede wel die begrafnis sou bywoon, soos vroeër gene. In die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek is sowat 100 kerkleres en tientalle oorsese nuusmags sal wel daar wees.

Onder hulle is nie Volksraadslede nie, Helen Suzman en Dr. Alex Boraine. Gister het hul eers, Desmond Tutu, Bis

kip van Lesotho, per vlygtuig in Oos-Londen aangekom om die begrafnis by te woon. Hy is een van die spreekwoorde.

Verskeie busse en ander voertuie het teen gistermiddag en lang teure op die dorp aangekom en RAPPORT het verneem dat daar lang wagtes is van mense wat nog vervoer soek.

Tussen hier mar, Ken Ra
dbild, voorliterator van die Black People's Convention, 'n strug
gende beroep op alle begraf
ningsgangers gedoen om vandag kalm te blij. Hy het aangevoer dat alle barse by die begrafnis welkom is, aangesien dit BPC-beleid is om nie rassisme te dul nie.

Histories

Hy het gestig die BPC is nie anti-wit nie, maar prag
swart. "Al die moontlike voorbereiding is getoet om te verseker dat Steve Biko se histories begrafnis ordelik
Embassy man tries to backtrack on Biko remarks

By EUGENE HUGO

WASHINGTON: South African Embassy officials have attempted to backtrack on critical remarks about the handling of the death in detention of Steve Biko in what could develop into an international rumpus.

The controversy centres on the comments of embassy counsellor Herbert Beukes to a delegation of 12 congressmen who, on Friday, sought agreement from the South African Government for an International Red Cross autopsy on Biko.

Congressmen reported at a press conference that Mr. Beukes had described as unfortunate the handling of the Biko affair while ambassador Donald Sole had said the matter had been shrouded with questions.

But after what is assumed were urgent communications yesterday from the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Beukes sought to establish that he had made critical of the way in which the untimely death of Biko had been handled.

'Unfortunate'

Mr. Beukes told them he had in fact said: "Mr. Biko's death was an unfortunate event and an unfortunate experience. I have a belief in the system of Jewish, and the autopsy result will be sent to the attorney-general who will then decide whether or not to institute legal proceedings. I am sure justice will be done."

Two of the congressmen contacted later yesterday maintained, however, that Mr. Beukes had linked the word "unfortunate" with the way in which the matter had been handled.

Congressman Andrew Maguire said there was no doubt in his mind about what Mr. Beukes said. "Precisely" tomorrow, he said the matter was unfortunate in its handling and painful in the way it developed.
Death of Steve Biko

Biko, dead on 12 December. The battle for freedom is still going on.

A letter to the editor...

Dear Editor,

I am writing to express my concern about the lack of coverage of the death of Steve Biko. As you are aware, Biko was a prominent activist and leader in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. His death was a tragic event that had a profound impact on the anti-apartheid movement.

It is important that we continue to remember and honor Biko's legacy. His work towards a free and democratic South Africa is a testament to the power of nonviolent resistance and the importance of defending human rights.

Sincerely,
[Your Name]
Naked racism, says Motlana

By J S MOTAPELO

THE chairman of Soweto's Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, has described police action to stop mourners going to Steve Biko's funeral in King William's Town as "a display of naked racism and brutality".

Dr Motlana, speaking at the funeral for the former honorary president of the Black People's Convention, was commenting on the police stopping mourners from the Transvaal and Orange Free State from attending the funeral yesterday.

He described the incident in Soweto, where mourners about to leave for King William's Town were stopped by the police. While they were peaceably boarding the bus the forces of "law and order" arrived to supervise the buses.

"Those of us who saw what happened will never forget," Dr Motlana said. "Every time a black child in Soweto gets buck-shot in the stomach, brains, or jaws, all the newspapers in South Africa, and especially radio and TV report that there was a stone-throwing incident," he said.

Dr Motlana said police saw police break windscreen of buses, windows of the Dube YMCA and shot teargas canisters into the hall full of mourners.

The police assaulted people. People found in the bus were taken to Police to be charged with public violence or under the Riotous Assemblies Act.
‘Kruger’s vendetta hasn’t hurt BPC’

By ZWELAKHE SISULU

KING WILLIAM’S TOWN — Attacks by the Government on the Black People’s Convention aimed at discrediting the organisation were having the opposite effect, Mr Haku Rachidi, the BPC president said yesterday.

Mr Rachidi was speaking at the funeral of Mr Steve Biko.

“We believe that the vendetta on black consciousness is a means by Mr Jimmy Kruger to try and play down the significance of the death of Steve Biko and all those who died in detention.

“It is fortunate for us because what Mr Kruger promotes is having the opposite effect,” Mr Rachidi said.

Mr Biko’s death was seen as the culmination of attacks and onslaughts on the movement by those who wield power.

“The harassment of the BPC was seen as an attempt to uproot and entrench white supremacy and economic and political domination over the blacks.”

He told mourners who packed the Victoria Grounds: “Steve Biko remains the vanguard of not only the resistance, but a creator of sound and healthier alternatives.”

He urged heads of homeland governments to withdraw from participating in the creation of homelands before it was too late.

“This also applied to members of the Coloured Representative Council and the South African Indian Congress.

“The publicity secretary for Swapo, Mr Mokganedi Thabanele, said the death of Mr Biko was another manifestation of white South Africa’s determination to crush by whatever means any black opposition to the system of apartheid.

“The death of this gifted philosopher has once more shown to the world that for white South Africa, human life, especially that of a black man, is less important than the maintenance and perpetuation of white domination and black enslavement,” he said.

Dr Faour Meer of the Natal Indian Congress said: “There is only one form of hunger that Steve Biko could have died from; and that is the hunger for freedom.”

Mr Fikile Bam, of the Zimelle Trust Fund, praised Mr Biko as the founder of the fund which caters for former political prisoners on their release and, also for their children.

“We have not been left cold by his death, but pride in his contribution and the quality of his work,” he said.

“We have not been left boiling hot with impatience, anger and grief.”
Police beat me, Mrs Tutu

BY MIKE LOUY

THE wife of the Anglican Bishop of South African police assaulted her in Dube on Friday.

In an interview yesterday Mrs Nomaliso Leah Tutu, whose husband is the Right Reverend Desmond Tutu, said she was attacked on her way to the funeral of the black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

Bishop Tutu officiated at the funeral.

Mrs Tutu said she and others boarded a bus at Kaiso, Krugersdorp. They went to Dube YWCA, where other Kaffirs were waiting.

"I suddenly heard shots being fired and noticed police wearing camouflage uniforms in the vicinity. A black policeman pointed a light towards a window of the bus."

WHISTLE

"I heard him whistling and shortly thereafter his colleagues came to our bus. A white policeman stood at the door: while five black policemen entered and started hitting us with sjamboks."

"I was also hit with a sjambok several times on the shoulders and all over my body. I sprawled my left foot."

"I fell out of the door of the bus and noticed a black policeman pointing a gun at me. He used abusive words, including calling me a bitch. I was powerless."

Mrs Tutu said she arrived at John Smuts Airport on Wednesday and she decided to go by bus to King William's Town. Mrs Tutu said: "Apart from being assaulted by policemen I suffered the loss of a travelling bag containing R15 and clothes."
The service of defence in Archibishop's Shop

Sir — Your note on the memorial service held on Sunday, September 18, for Seven Biko who died in the Biko Power Station are clearly evident in the

The raised arms and clenched fists of the Montefiore's Steel Book f.006.

1890s.

The service was given when the

dedication. The service was held for seven people who died in the Biko Power Station.

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The service was held for seven people who died in the Biko Power Station.
BPC man held as bus is turned back

Staff Reporters

Mr. Kanakane Matseng, an official of the Black People's Convention, was detained at the weekend after a bus heading for the Biko funeral was stopped in Parys and escorted back to Pretoria by police.

Matseng had arranged for the privately-owned bus, which has a blanket permit to take 68 mourners from Mamelodi to King William's Town. At the last minute the Road Transportation Board refused to grant permits for buses to take people to the funeral.

A passenger on the bus said it had been allowed through five road blocks between Mamelodi and Parys.

At the sixth it was stopped by police who searched the passengers' luggage. According to the passenger, who asked not to be named, they told Mr. Matseng there were more road blocks ahead but a permit could be arranged for them to go on if the bus returned to the last town.

The driver turned back. When it next stopped, a policeman got on board and told him to drive directly to the Central Prison in Pretoria.

On the way the bus stopped when several passengers said they wanted to relieve themselves.

The passenger said that before anyone could get out, four policemen carrying guns stationed themselves round the bus, so they decided to stay inside.

At Pretoria the bus was again surrounded by police. Mr. Matseng was arrested and is thought to have been taken to Security Police headquarters. The bus was then allowed to continue to Mamelodi.

Mr. James Moleya, branch chairman of the BPC, said he was on a bus from Tembisa which police stopped at a roadblock just outside the township at 10 pm on Friday. They got in and demanded reference books.

According to Mr. Moleya, one of the policemen said: "They know who they are going to bury but they forgot their reference books."

Of the 65 passengers, 31 were not carrying their reference books.

They explained that they had left their passports at home for safety and asked to be taken home to get them. Instead they were charged. The bus driver was detained.

Four of those held were Kalahari students who were too young to carry reference books.
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — BPC officials said in King William's Town yesterday three of their colleagues in Port Elizabeth were believed to have been detained on Saturday morning. They are Mr Khaya Mahavisia, Mr Ntebele Moquedela and Miss Hwa McKay, who were organising buses from Port Elizabeth to the funeral.
Diplomat backtracks on Biko

Own Correspondent

— South African Embassy officials here have attempted to backtrack on critical remarks about the handling of the death in detention of Mr. Steve Biko in what could well develop into an international row.

The controversy centres on the comments of embassy counselor Herbert Beukes to a delegation of 12 Congolese trade unionists from South Africa for an International Red Cross delegation on Mr. Biko’s body.

Congressmen reported at a press conference that the South African diplomat had described as “unfortunate” the “handling” of the Biko affair while Ambassador Donald Sole had said the matter had been “shrouded with questions.”

But after what is assumed were urgent communications early on Saturday from the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Beukes sought to establish that he had in fact not been critical of the way in which the untimely death of the civil rights leader had been handled.

JUSTICE

The counselor asserted that what he had in fact said was: “Mr. Biko’s death was an unfortunate event and a painful experience. I have a belief in the system of justice and the outcome will be sent to the Attorney-General who will decide whether or not to institute legal proceedings.”

Two of the Congressmen contacted later on Saturday maintained, however, that Mr. Beukes had linked the word “unfortunate” with the way in which the matter had been handled.

Congressman Andrew Boyce, after hearing Mr. Beukes’ Saturday morning version of his remarks, said: “That is not what he said. He said what I heard.”

The court was no doubt in his mind as to whether he had said that. Precisely from my notes he said the matter was unfortunate in its handling and painful in the way it developed. Congressman John Andrews said he had not taken notes but his interpretation of Mr. Beukes’ counsel was that the way the matter developed and dealt with was unfortunate.

The coffin of dead black leader, Mr. Steve Biko, is carried through a large crowd which packed the Victoria Rugby Stadium in King William’s Town yesterday for his funeral. A banner of the Black People’s Convention is held aloft.

Biko in t
Left: A priest joins thousands of other mourners in flourishing a clenched fist salute at yesterday's funeral of black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko.

Right: The body of Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention, is carried on a cart drawn by oxen at his funeral.

...the spirit lives on in the hearts of thousands.

Police out in full force

Own Correspondent
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN—Police in camouflage uniforms and security policemen manned roadblocks on major roads leading to King William's Town at the weekend and patrolled the streets of the town.

Many residents locked up their homes and left for the weekend.

Buses left early on Friday for Mr Biko's home in Port Shepstone. There were seven roadblocks on the Transvaal road, four on the Durban road and three on the OFS road.

Two cars carrying journalists from Johannesburg were searched.

In Aliwal North police confiscated literature belonging to the Union of Black Journalists. Miss Juby Moyet, assistant secretary-treasurer of the UBJ, was carrying UBJ letterheads for a Durban member.

Mr Vus Soni, Mr James Mabola, Mr Ameen Akhahawa, Mr John Matjane, Mr Zwelethu Nkulunkulu and Mr Ronnie Kwejayiil, all of the Rand Daily Mail, were questioned and asked to identify themselves.

Mr M Subramoney of the Daily News, Durban, had his car thoroughly searched at Komga. He was also stopped at Harding and Kokstad.

Two buses from Durban were turned back at Port Shepstone after police found that the drivers did not have the necessary permits.

Dr N信托tshi Motlana, chairman of the "Committee of Ten" in Soweto, said witnesses had told him of police stopping Soweto people from boarding buses to leave for King William's Town.

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...the spirit lives on in the hearts of thousands.
Steve Biko

"And who our true leaders are.

"This year's national conference elected me president of the national executive. I was in detention then, this included not only the president and secretary, who were elected for the second term in office, Steve Biko, who was banned from any activities and affairs of the party, and was elected party president for five years.

"Believe me when I say that if it was not for the dedication of those who are currently under detention, banning orders would not have penetrated our ranks." 

"Steve Biko lived for the respect and security of man, his dignity and life regardless of colour. I hope that all of you who gathered here shall understand the need for and strive for the realization of peace and happiness in this land.

"As for Jimmy Kruger's verbal acrobatics pertaining to the death of Steve Biko, we believe that Jimmy Kruger has been deliberately distorting the BPC philosophy and policy to prepare the white populace for the general election announced recently.

"We also believe that there is no substitute for black consciousness, a means by which we, as black people, can really understand the significance of the death of Steve Biko and all those who died in detention.

Delivering a message from Swapo, Mr M Thabanele said: "Today we are standing at this open grave — not to mourn and shed tears for him, but to rededicate ourselves to the long and bitter struggle against racism and all that goes with it, the struggle to which Steve Biko was committed.

"He said that the day would come when members of the present regime would be prosecuted for crimes against humanity just as some of our countrymen are now doing.

"We have shown the world that white South Africa is not the only place in the world that the struggle for humanity has been won."

"We are not only the death of a leader, but a leader whose death will make us work with the world to create a world where all men are equal.

"A few tears in the mud

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — There were few tears among the thousands who turned up to pay their last respects to Steve Biko. The day was marked by a sense of loss and anger, as the coffin was lowered into the grave. The crowd chanted, "Amandla!" — Power! — and the answer was "Yes!" — DBB.

Leadership vacuum fears over death

JOHANNESBURG — There was deep concern in Europe and South Africa that the death of Steve Biko would leave a leadership vacuum that would be filled by militants, Mr Colin Eglin said yesterday.

Mr Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, was speaking shortly after returning two weeks early from a tour of African and European countries following the death of Steve Biko. He said that the leadership vacuum would have in terms of black leadership.

"Here was a man who did not believe in violence and was not a militant or a radical who professed that blacks should live a free from discrimination. The death of a leader of this stature has left deep concern that a leadership vacuum could arise in which the masses are led and controlled by those advocating violence."

Food at last! Mr Graham Macintosh and his wife Sandie ended their eight-day fast. The Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinetown and his wife had been protesting the death of Mr Steve Biko in detention.
Catholic priests pass resolution

EAST LONDON — The South African Council of Catholic Priests passed a resolution of shock and dismay at the death of Mr Steve Biko at the council’s meeting at Hamansdakraal in the Transvaal.

The resolution read: “The SACP registers extreme shock and dismay at the tragic and wasteful death of Mr Steve Biko. This council expresses its profound and prayerful sympathy more especially to the members of Mr Biko’s family on their loss, and also with members of Saso, BPC and the black consciousness movement on the loss of a leader who could have led South Africa towards real change and justice without violence.”

“The SACP expresses its gravest concern for the welfare of all people presently detained without trial in South Africa and urges prayers for the detainees to be offered by all Christians in this country.

The council also urges all those in a position to do so, to give all assistance to the families of those detained without trial and, in particular, to seek out and assist the cases of greatest hardship.

“The SACP condemns as totally unjust and unchristian the system of detention without trial and calls for the return of the system of habeas corpus without delay,” the statement said. — DDR.

Roadblocks set up

KING WILLIAM’S TOWN — Roads leading to King and the Cape and the Cape.

Police in camouflage uniforms could be seen in little pockets all over King, but they kept well in the background while the funeral was taking place at the Victoria Grounds and there was no police uniform to be seen in the grounds.

Last night police vehicles were still patrolling the town. — DDR.

In Europe, Mr Kruger’s “leaves me cold” remark was almost as great a shock as the news of Mr Biko’s death,” he said.

Mr. Eglin visited Ethiopia, Somalia, Senegal, Germany, Switzerland and Israel.

He called the announcement by Pres Leopold Senghor of Senegal that he would no longer have contact with the South African Government “a very serious loss for South Africa.” — DDC.

Tributes to

KING WILLIAM’S TOWN — The intention of the Government in South Africa was to destroy black consciousness said the president of the South African Students Organisation, Mr Faith Malaunake at yesterday’s funeral service.

The Saso president said it was not necessary to demolish the minds of the South Africans by banning demonstrations and detaining critics as to how Mr. Biko had died, but that it was important to note and mark what he had died for in detention.

“‘Apartheid is evil. It has been declared a crime by the United Nations,” he said.

“We want complete re-institution of our humanity and reconstruction of society where there will be open participation of all people as individuals, without regard to race, colour or creed,” he said.

Detailing the permanent banning and detention of the BPC spokesman, the president Mr H. K. Racudi said Mr Biko’s death was a culmination of outrages and outrages on the movement.

“Still, the BPC persistently goes on with its noble activities. We are convinced: there is no struggle without casualties. We further maintain that nobody on this earth is going to dictate to us except one with selfless and humane ethics, on what to say and do.”
En ce qui concerne l'aspect pratique, organiser l'itinéraire des professeurs et des hôtesses n'ait pas à financer les frais de passage des étudiants, j'espère pouvoir vous donner une réponse.

Quant à la rémunération (qui est incluse dans les frais de séjour, nourriture et logement) et aux frais de séjour (nourriture, logement totalité à votre université).

Je suis à votre disposition pour que vous puissiez profiter du paysage de croire, cher Collège, à votre université.

PP: gh

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Biko: 2 students shot dead

Two students were shot dead in Soweto, Johannesburg, and another in Pretoria. The local police are investigating the mysterious circumstances surrounding the killing of Willem Glommka (32) last night and the death of another student at the University of the Witwatersrand. The police said that the cause of death was a self-inflicted gunshot wound.

The student was shot dead during a protest against the death of Steve Biko. The police said that the protesters were shot by police who were deployed to control the crowd.

The disturbances began after police fired tear gas to disperse a crowd of demonstrators. The police said that they were trying to prevent the students from reaching the university. The police said that they had arrested several students and that they were still trying to clear the area.

The university said that it would continue to monitor the situation and that it would take appropriate action to ensure the safety of its students.

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Afrique du Sud, je vous présente mes sentiments cordiaux et dévoués.
Stop fraternising with ‘illegal’ regime—call

All whites to blame—Swapo man

Kruger’s words shocked Europe—Eglin

Mr Jimmy Kruger’s statement that Black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko’s death shocked the black people of Africa.

Mr Eglin said Mr Kruger’s statement made headlines in many European countries. “This statement had a very adverse affect on South African and European relationships,” he added.

Mr Eglin said the big question mark was not only how the event could have taken place but also the possible consequences.
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — More than 15,000 people paid peaceful homage to the founder of black-consciousness, Mr Steve Biko, at a mass funeral service here yesterday.

The ceremony, which lasted nearly five hours, was marked by an atmosphere of joy and disciplined grief. It began with a Requiem Mass and the singing of hymns, conducted from a central platform flanked by members of the Biko family and representatives of a number of foreign embassies.

Among the embassies represented were those of the United States, Great Britain, West Germany, France, The Netherlands, Belgium, Finland, Australia, Canada, Italy, Sweden and Brazil.

The United States was represented by Ambassador Bowdler and the Deputy Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr D. McHenry.

Leading churchmen associated with the service were the Bishop of Lesotho, Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Bishop of Zululand, Bishop Alpheus Zulu, the Rev Pat Nosipho of Zwelitsha, Bishop J. Murphy of Port Elizabeth and Monsignor J. J. Hatton, representing the Vatican.

Others who attended included Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, Dr Alex Boraine, MP, and Dr E. J. de Beer, all of the Progressive Federal Party, as well as Dr Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town, Mr and Mrs D. J. Woods and Mr D. Briceleaf, Managing Director of the Daily Dispatch, author Noel Mostert of Cape Town and the Rev. David Russell, all personal friends of the late Mr Biko.

Several hundred whites were scattering throughout the large crowd. Although there were moments of emotional tension during the speeches, which lasted several hours, there were no incidents and a spirit of good nature prevailed.

Thousands who had planned to attend from all over the country were prevented when road blocks were set up stopping buses from leaving Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.

In Soweto alone 12 buses were turned back by police, and black spokesmen bitterly criticised police action, alleging intimidation, violence and wrongful arrest of dozens of mourners.

Police patrolled King William's Town but remained out of the Victoria Grounds during the service.

After Mr Biko was buried in the Leightonville cemetery in Gugulethu township, police patrolled the centre of the town but no incidents were reported.

Speaker after speaker reiterated that Mr Biko had been a man of peace, and several speakers, including Bishop Tutu, said that there were growing pressures on that self-restraint.

"Unlike certain others, the death of Steve Biko does not leave us cold," Mr Ram said.

The Rev E. Baartman said the people of South Africa were thirsty for justice and the country needed men of love.

Bishop Tutu said that leaders who expressed self-restraint were finding their influence growing thin. "We are in the greatest danger that our credibility is being eroded."

The BPC secretary for labour, Mr Madikwe Manthata, concluded the speeches by saying: "To protect all of you, the BPC says there shall be non-racism. You shall be protected whatever your colour."
They came in their thousands.

The fews were being flown south for feeding grounds.

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Pretoria quiet on 26/9/77

Staff Reporter

Riot police in Pretoria had an easy time yesterday, with no incidents being reported in Pretoria's two main African townships of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville.

Not was there any trouble in the Hammanskraal homeland area, or the homelands townships of GaRankuwa and Mabopane.

In a roundup of the townships it was established that prayers were said for Mr Steve Biko at most normal Sunday church services — but other than this there were no big memorial meetings.
The violence that wounds a nation

The influence of people who urge self-restraint in today’s South Africa is growing perilously thin, said Bishop Desmond Tutu of Lesotho at the Steve Biko funeral yesterday.

As if to bear out his words, excesses both by some mourners and some police marred what ought to have been an occasion totally dedicated to a reaffirmation of non-violence.

Returning to East London from the funeral, a crowd of youths ran amok. They stoned and killed two policemen, set fire to vehicles and attacked and looted buildings.

There is no excuse for such actions; just as there was little justification for some of the inflammatory talks at the funeral itself. Mr Biko’s burial was admittedly a political and highly charged occasion. But to talk of hunting down “Afrikaner Nazis” after liberation, as did a spokesman for Swapo, is to play needlessly with fire.

By the same token, what need was there for the police to mount such an operation of harassment against mourners who were setting off for the funerals in the Transvaal?

At the YWCA in Soweto they set upon assembling crowds, for no apparent reason. Scablers were used, shots were heard. Among those hurt, and testifying to the unprovoked nature of the attack, was the wife of Bishop Tutu.

“Later, on the way to the funeral, busloads of mourners were stopped and searched at repeated roadblocks. Some were turned back.

All this police activity was in marked contrast to their sensible behaviour at the funeral itself, where they kept an extremely low profile.

We need to avoid the tactics and vocabulary of confrontation. Black leaders and the police must call for calm, must declare themselves unequivocally against unnecessary violence. Without this total commitment, it will be infinitely more difficult to restore and keep the peace.
Resistance Campaign of 1952. Indians and Africans played a major role.

The struggles were organized by the Indian National Congress (INC). They demanded equal rights, voting rights, and equal treatment.

The INC's leader, Mohandas K. Gandhi, led the campaign with a strategy of peaceful protest and civil disobedience.

2. The campaign was met with strong opposition from the British colonial government. The government responded with violence, arrests, and imprisonment.

3. The campaign had a significant impact on the national consciousness of both Indians and Africans. It also influenced the struggle for independence and the fight against apartheid.

The INC continued to organize and lead other campaigns, including the Women's League and the Youth League, to fight for their rights and against apartheid.
outside Kings Williams Town:

The coffin of black consciousness leader Mr. Steve Biko, Envoy from 12 countries attended the funeral service in Ginsberg Town.

Part of the multi racial crowd of 20000 people who listened to angry speeches, sorrowful speeches and words of hope spoken of...
By DOC BIKITSHA

DUBE YWCA looked like it had been hit by a cyclone after police confronted mourners preparing to leave Soweto on Friday night for Mr Steve Biko's funeral.

At midday on Saturday Mr Edward Mthembu was busy with "Operation Mop-up" with young Morris Made, who simply said: "I am helping to keep the club clean because I like it."

They were sweeping up shattered glass from all over the club's buildings. Bread, chips, cartons of food, papers and all manner of articles left behind by people who fled Friday night's teargas, baton and sjambok charges, were strewn around.

People living near the club said that from 8 pm until 10 pm scores of people came running into their houses seeking shelter from police who were beating them up.

Mr David Mabaso said: "I was asleep and other members of my family woke up when people who had prepared to leave for the Biko funeral came stampeding into my home with police in camouflage uniforms chasing them."

Other nearby residents claimed police searched their houses and said: "Where's Steve Biko?" Some claimed police fed their dogs with chickens belonging to mourners.

In one house 26 fleeing mourners were said to have taken refuge. Many lay hidden on rooftops and scuttled away as police patrols advanced. Many did not sleep, for fear they would be found. Many shots were fired through the night and screams could be heard at intervals.

The police are said to have been on the scene until about midnight on Saturday. They claimed to be guarding mourners' possessions from 'looters'.

Mr Dukara kaMegan, an official of the Soweto Arts Association, and an artist, Mr Ben Arnold, were yesterday relieved that some paintings had not 'been damaged during the night's uproar. The two paintings, including "Dance of the Second Creation" by Fikile, had been left at the club after a recent exhibition.

Mr M T Moemans, editor of The World, said he also got a beating from the police when he had gone to catch the buses for the funeral.

"He said (of someone he felt inside the house and said was unruly): After she was struck, she said she ducked under the car and saw it flash as it went through fire and heard glass shattering."

A Soweto police spokesman last night described claims that police had broken buses' windscreen and windows at the centre as "nonsense". He said it was "unbelievable that the police would go that far."

He could not comment on the claim that police had assaulted people, but said there was nothing in it if the people could lay charges, which would be investigated.
World's Press at funeral

OWN CORRESPONDENT

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Press, radio, and TV correspondents from all over the world were in King William's Town yesterday to witness Steve Biko's funeral. They crowded in front of the main stand among them at least half a dozen TV crews from the BBC, America's CBS, Britain's Independent Television News, and the SABC. Wreaths were sent by diplomatic representatives from countries as diverse as Brazil and West Germany.
20000 mass as Biko is buried

Mourners surround Mr Steve Biko's coffin as it is carried through Victoria Ground, King William's Town, on the shoulders of Black Consciousness Movement leaders.
Kruger won’t talk on ‘brain damage’ reports

Staff Reporter

A POLICEMAN stood guard yesterday outside the Pretoria home of Mr Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Police and Prisons.

Inside, Mr Kruger was declining to be interviewed on Press reports that black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko died of brain damage.

It is believed that Mr Kruger has preliminary results of an autopsy on Mr Biko, who died in detention.

Mr Kruger has previously given assurances that he would give the facts as soon as they were available.

An informed source says the final autopsy results should be ready in about a week.

"It will then be up to Mr Kruger to decide when to release the report," the source added. Because of the circumstances of the case and the strong overseas reaction, Mr Kruger may decide to release the findings before the inquest, although this would be highly unusual, the source said.

Yesterday Mr Kruger declined to come to the telephone to discuss the matter and a policeman turned newsmen away from the house.

"It's up to Mr Kruger and he never speaks to the Press on Sunday," said Mr Kruger's aide.

Asked about the policeman outside the house, the son replied: "The Minister is always guarded." Meanwhile, senior counsel are being briefed to represent Mr Biko's family at the inquest.

Leading lawyers such as Sir Sidney Kentridge and Mr Wild Cooper will be mentioned as probable members of the legal team although negotiations are not complete.

*Editorial comment - Page 12*
danger in that our credibility is being eroded. I want to say with deep responsibility: the people can take so much and no more."

He warned of the impact of "most provocative acts", including the "legalised violence" of detention without trial, banning and banishment by decree, and bulldozing of squatter camps.

But even in the moment of anguish over the death of its founder, the Black Consciousness Movement continued to express its followers against the temptation of black racism as a response to white racism.

Mr Madikwe Manabata, the BPC secretary for labour, who concluded the speech-making, said: "To protect all of you, the BPC says there shall be non-racism. You shall all be protected, whatever your colour."

Among the crowd at the funeral were representatives of 13 Western countries, churches, the Parliamentary Opposition, South African Indian Council and Coloured People's Representative Council.

The overseas countries represented were Canada, Finland, Brazil, Sweden, West Germany, Australia, France, America, Britain, Holland, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy.

Also present were Mrs Helen Suzman and Dr Alex Boraine, Progressive Federal Party MPs; Dr Farouk Meer, vice-chairman of the Indian Council, and Mr Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party in the CRC.

The 20,000 mourners early in the day packed out the Victoria Grounds, normally the scene for white-only cricket and rugby.

As the coffin entered the grounds through a long and dense avenue of people, the crowd began to sing, "Nhlozi Sikelele l'Africa".

The singing went on as the procession made its slow way to the makeshift wooden platform put-up for the occasion in front of the main stand.

Police were not to be seen anywhere in the grounds, though in the main streets of the town dozens or riot police carrying guns and wearing camouflage uniforms were seen.

Crowding in front of the stand were representatives of the world Press and at least half a dozen TV crews — from the BBC, CBS, British ITV, SABC and others.

The smell of incense drifted over the crowd in front of the platform where the hand-carved coffin with the body of Steve Biko rested.

In the speeches which followed the speakers always returned to the theme — Steve Biko was not a racist; he stood for peace and reconciliation.
PE woman held by Security Police

PORT ELIZABETH — Miss I. S. McKay, 24, was detained by Security Police at her home in Rabie Street, Korsten, at the weekend.

Miss Mackay, daughter of Mr. T. B. McKay, principal of the Alpha Primary School, was talking at her father's home when police arrived with a warrant. "They told me my daughter was being detained under the General Law Amendment Act."

Mr. McKay said his daughter had applied for an exit permit. "She has been granted asylum in London, and was waiting for a visa. She felt there was no future for her in South Africa."

Miss McKay was detained from last August to December. She works at Eastern Province Newspapers as a library assistant.
THOUSANDS AT BURIAL

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A multi-racial crowd of about 10,000 people attended the requiem mass and burial of Black Consciousness leader Mr. Steve Biko here yesterday.

Thirteen Western countries were represented — including Mr. Don McHenry, U.S. Deputy Ambassador to the United Nations.

Representatives of 13 Western countries attended the service.

Mr. Biko's body, dressed in a gold robe and lying in a black velvet in a solid mahogany coffin, was brought before the altar in the open stadium in the town by pall bearers from the Biko family and members of the South African Students' Organisation of the Zimbabwe Trust Fund, the BCP and BPC.

The crowd sang the Black anthem 'Nkosi Sikelelwa Afrika', ending with a resounding shout of 'Amandla (power)' and the Black Power salute.

After the mass, a succession of speakers told the crowd how the apartheid system of the White South African Government had caused Mr. Biko's death.

Dr. Farouk Maré, vice-chairman of the SAIC, called for a national convention of all races, including Blacks imprisoned on Robben Island, to meet and build a free 'Azania.'

During a speech by Saso president Mr. Faith Masianapane, Ms. Biko broke down in one corner of the stadium where Black youths - accused an 'Africans' power spy' — were being 'knocked about' by police.

The public secretary of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo), Mr. Nkolaba, said he had come to express his sympathy with the family of Steve Biko and the 'oppressed people of Azania.'

He said Black leaders like Chief Kaizer Mantzana, Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Gatsina Bhelele, and Mr. Sonny Lees were 'punks' — and that the South African Government was guilty of Gestapo-like activities.

Mr. Biko was buried shortly before 3 p.m. at nearby Liebenberg, near his mother's house. — (Sapo.)
Roadblocks on way to funeral

STAFF REPORTER. 24/9/71

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.—Police were out-in-force at the weekend and roadblocks were erected on routes to King William's Town.

Cars carrying journalists from Johannesburg and Durban were stopped at roadblocks on Friday and Saturday.

Ronnie Kweyi, Zwelakhe Sisulu and John Mojelela, all of the Rand Daily Mail, were stopped on Friday at six roadblocks between Johannesburg and King William's Town.

A car carrying Ameed Akhalwaya, Vas Soni, and James Mabula, all of the "Mail", and Juby Mayet, of the Voice, the black numerical newspaper, was stopped at five roadblocks out of the seven they went through.

Police wanted to see petrol permits and wanted to know the purpose of the visit.

At Aliwal North both cars were thoroughly searched.

The police asked for a copy of the latest edition of the Voice from Mrs Mayet, and a letterhead she had of the Union of Black Journalists.

Mrs Mayet said she was to give the letterhead to Natal members of the UBJ who are organizing the union's annual conference in Durban next month.

Ronnie Kweyi was questioned about some of his notes and a letter he had received from the United States.

A car carrying journalist Mr. Subramoney of the Daily News, Durban, was stopped at four roadblocks and searched at Komga, near King William's Town.
BPC's peaceful intent proved, says president

Staff Reporters

JOHANNESBURG: The president of the Black People's Convention, Mr. H自由, has said yesterday's funeral for Mr. Steve Biko had "given" the lie to allegations that the BPC was a militant organization.

The big turnout at the funeral, he said, proved the BPC had widespread support.

Speaking after the funeral, Mr. H自由 said: "Despite the harassment of our people, buses and cars from the Transvaal, Natal and parts of the Cape being turned back, the people still came from all over the country."

"Last week we had a peaceful turnout of thousands of people at the memorial service at Regina Mundi in Soweto," he said.

At Mr. Biko's funeral, he added, there was double that number of people. Their behaviour then was "enormous".

"We have shown the authorities we are not what they think we are," Mr. H自由 said.

Despite all the police activity and fears of violence, "all was calm and no violence was involved," Mr. H自由 said.
SA police turn back Lesotho mourners

MASERU. — The South African border police refused entry on Saturday to a group of Lesotho citizens who wanted to travel by bus to King William's Town to attend the funeral of Mr Steve Biko.

This was said in Maseru yesterday by a member of a delegation of about 25, mainly students, from the University of Lesotho. He said the group was turned back at the Caledon River Bridge border post near Maseru on Saturday morning.

A student committee from the University organised a memorial ceremony for Mr Biko at the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Maseru yesterday. — Sapa.
Staff Reporter

ARMED police stood by in Lenasia yesterday while more than 1,000 Indians, coloureds and blacks sang and read poetry specially written and dedicated to the late Mr Steve Biko.

The meeting, held at the Lenasia Civic Centre in honour of Mr Biko, led to no violence — only shouts of “freedom” and black power salutes while students read prepared speeches on the Black Consciousness Movement.

One speaker, Mr Sadrque Varela, a friend of Mr Biko, said: “Blacks have been defined as those people who are by law and tradition politically, socially and economically discriminated against as a group in South African society.”

“Furthermore, blacks who identify themselves as an oppressed unit and thus unite in attaining their freedom and liberation.”
Biko funeral ‘a tragic reminder of apartheid’

The Bantustan policy perpetuated apartheid and did not solve the problems posed by this “insulting” policy, he said.

The nine would do “everything possible to bring about a non-racial government in South Africa that will permit the people of that country to participate fully in the life of the nation,” he said.

Mr Simonet said Rhodesia would need economic help once the illegal minority regime had gone.

The nine were prepared to consider carefully and sympathetically proposals that have already been made for a Zimbabwe development fund.
P.E. detainee ill in hospital

PORT ELIZABETH — Mr. Moki Cesani (39) a Port Elizabeth detainee who was admitted to the Livingstone Hospital yesterday morning suffering from epilepsy, is in his fourth term of detention this year, his brother, Mr. Gladwell Cesani said yesterday.

Mr. Moki Cesani, president of the Black People’s Convention in Port Elizabeth, was detained on August 25.

In an interview Mr. Gladwell Cesani, a former detainee, said he visited his brother in hospital yesterday after receiving an anonymous telephone call yesterday morning about his illness.

He said that his brother, who was under police guard in hospital was unconscious and appeared to be in a serious condition.

He said his brother started suffering from epilepsy this year.

He had been treated at Livingstone Hospital for the disease.

The Commissioner of Police, General Gert Prinsloo, through a spokesman, said: “My information is that the man was taken ill and admitted to hospital. I have nothing further to say.”

A hospital spokesman last night declined to comment on Mr. Cesani’s condition.

Col. P. J. Goosen, head of the Security Police for the Eastern Cape, said yesterday that he did not think Mr. Cesani’s condition was “very serious.”

Verandering in netto goed- en ander buitelandse reserves weens betalingsbalanstransaksies

Change in net gold and other foreign reserves owing to balance of payments transactions

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1. Alle tabelle in hierdie afdeling het betrekking op die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en Suidwes-Afrika.
2. Gepubliseerde Doenerslysers aangesuwer vir betalingsbalansdoelendaars.
3. Laste verwant aan die goed- en ander buitelandse reserves is beperk tot alle korttermyn buitelandse laste van die Reservebank en korttermyn buitelandse lenings van die sentrale regering en monetêre bankinstellings van buitelandse banke en overhede.
Biko’s funeral a ‘tragic reminder.’

Assembly told

NEW YORK — Mr. Steven Biko’s funeral in King William’s Town on Sunday was a “tragic reminder of the fate of the victims of the malignant branch of human rights which is apartheid,” Belgium’s Foreign Minister, Mr. Henri Simonot, said in the General Assembly’s world affairs debate yesterday.

Mr. Simonot was speaking for the nine, EEC members on the opening day of the debate, which will last a fortnight.

Mr. Biko would always be remembered, he said. His death was also a reminder of the fate of other political prisoners throughout the world who appealed to universal conscience.

Mr. Simonot reiterated the Nine’s policy on Southern Africa as originally set out at UN-sponsored conferences in Lagos and Maputo this year.

The Bantu States policy perpetuated apartheid and did not solve the problems posed by this “insulting” policy, he said.

The Nine would do “everything possible to bring about a non-racial government in South Africa that will permit the country to participate fully in the life of the nation,” he said.

Publication by the Nine of a code of conduct for European firms and South African subsidiaries was “a first measure among others which are still being considered.”

The Nine expressed the strong desire that current efforts aimed at a peaceful South West African solution should succeed. — (Saps.)

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MEN.
AFTER THE FUNERAL

IF THE DEATH of Stephen Biko, whose funeral at King William’s Town on Sunday made world news, is to be more than a senseless tragedy and a smouldering martyrdom in the future life of the country, there is a need for all men of good will, both in South Africa and abroad, to try to salvage something constructive from the damage that has been done.

Race relations at home have been put under further strain and the disaster for the Republic’s image seems virtually unmitigated. Extensive international news coverage, including the major television networks in America and Britain, have ensured that millions in the West have had the affair impressed on their minds perhaps more vividly than most South Africans.

The conspicuous presence of the representatives of 13 Western countries, among them the U.S. Deputy Ambassador to the United Nations, signifies — and was intended to signify — not only condolence but also strong and public disapproval of the Government’s policies.

In all that has been said since Mr. Biko’s death there has inevitably been some extravagance and exploitation. But running parallel with the grief and anger of Blacks for whom Steve Biko was a symbolic figure, there has also been a sense of shock and sorrow shared by many people of all races and coupled with a deep concern for the fundamental values that make our society worth preserving.

One of the strengths of that society, as even our sternest critics must acknowledge, is that all the facts concerning Mr. Biko’s death that can be adduced through the inexorable process of law will be adduced and made public, and that if anyone is to blame the law will take its course.

But if the Government has any sense and any humility it will also do what it was urged to do many months ago — order a full judicial inquiry into the alarming number of deaths in detention and the whole present system of detention without trial. This ugly cloud must be lifted without delay.

Another point that can hardly escape the honest critic or the objective observer is that in White-dominated South Africa, much of the most articulate and vigorous protest over the Biko affair has come from individual Whites and predominantly White institutions, including newspapers that usually support the Government.

Where else in Africa could one find the same degree of open criticism of the authorities? In Mozambique or Angola, where a dozen Bikos could die unnoticed in overcrowded gaols? In Tanzania, where there are more than 4,000 untried political prisoners? In Nigeria, soon to be honoured with a visit from President Carter? Or among Swapo’s power-hungry leaders who have imprisoned some 2,000 of their own dissidents in Zambia and elsewhere?

Let the Western democracies criticise South Africa for her shortcomings — but let them do it with both eyes open.
Chief Buthelezi takes umbrage at NIC statement

SIR,—I want to place on record my umbrage at the statements made in the Mercury of September 23 about incidents at the University of Durban-Wesville, last week, by Mr. M. J. Naidoo, the president of the Natal Indian Congress.

Mr. Naidoo is quoted in the Natal Mercury saying "No leader of the Indian Council and Durban Councils or homelands should feel pruned at student demonstrations." This statement astounds me so far as it exposes Mr. Naidoo's political hypocrisy. Can he really compare my leadership in KwaZulu and in South Africa to these Councils in all sincerity.

FACT
I say so without trying in anyway to belittle the councils or the leaders who run them. In other words he deserves what happened because I refuse to support the Zulu people, a people whom I am not a leader because of his policy. One would expect a leader of a prestigious organisation like the Natal Indian Congress to know this fact.

At the same time Mr. Naidoo attacks the Natal Indian Congress, to which we in Umkhonto we Sizwe cannot belong. This is the reason of the conflict between the Natal Indian Congress and it is an organisation for the Indians of Natal. But I must abandon the idea of my people within this province, for ideological reasons, according to Mr. Naidoo's reasoning.

If leaders who worked don political homework would have known that I am a leader of Black people in KwaZulu long before the imposition of the separate development policy. I want to add that my responsibility and duty to millions of my people is far greater than that of Mr. Naidoo and the activities amongst the students at Durban-Wesville University.

The students at Durban-Wesville operate "within the system" but their responsibility extend so further than themselves: mine extend over five million people.

DEVIL
The question of collaboration or "sipping with the devil" means that they see operation with these organisations, must be examined in great depth at this stage. These institutions are as imposed on us as Reservoir Hills, Chatsworth, Verulam etc. are imposed on the Indians.

It is as imposed on us as much as the lowest salariates which Africans with the same qualifications receive as compared with Whites, Coloureds and Indians.

We have never held these disparities against Indians and Coloured brothers. We have never demanded that they refuse to take the extra pay they receive which is determined on racial lines in order to show solidarity with us. We do not hold these discriminatory differences against them.

They have not refused to live in areas set aside for Indians, as this is not a matter of choice. They have never refused to patronise Indian schools and hospitals and university and yet Mr. Naidoo often speaks of our participation in institutions as instigation for us with such arrogance and contempt.

FOUNDER
I wish to end by saying that however much I revile the name of the Natal Indian Congress, Mahatma Gandhi. I value his philosophy, the philosophy of King Dzantuzo, who was sentenced to high treason for his alleged participation in the Zulu Rebellion of 1906. Mahatma Gandhi operated with the powers that be at the time by arranging Indian trustees to help the White Zulu uprising.

I have never held this against Gandhi nor the Indians nor do my people do so. This was a black armed struggle against the Zulu against the system.

Do we judge the founder of the Natal Indian Congress, Mahatma Gandhi as a sell-out because he worked with those who wielded power at the time. Did he have much choice?

We are getting a bit tired of empty rhetoric by people who walk stiffly in derogatory terms about people "who operate within the system" when they are also operating within the system. I think the time has come now when we should examine these allegations from the time Black people were subjected. The role of each racial group needs to be examined separately if we are to be fair to each other. This time is now.

I am also getting tired of being sooted at by people whose policies is confined to rhetoric in drawing rooms and newspapers rather than among the masses. I am a leader of the largest mass movement in South Africa.

Mr. Naidoo is not prevented from recruiting Indians into his Congress. What is the present membership of the Natal Indian Congress? What right has he to make such provocative remarks as he makes from time to time in the name of the Indian people?

BROTHERS
I think it is high time our Indian brothers and sisters told us whether he and the Natal Indian Congress really speaks for them in their thousands.

I have always respected the Natal Indian Congress very much as a time when it was supported by the mass movements. At the present time I am not so sure that the rhetoric and speeches of the Congress is in common with the part he has done the Indian people.

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
President
Inkatha
Yenkukhize Yenzawere
(National Congress of a Liberation Movement)
Private Bag X01
Umlazi
KwaZulu

A puzzling set of values

SIR,—Steve Biko died in custody, BTW media of the world screen indignation and condemnation. World leaders are stunned and shocked. Local civic leaders are displaying anger and crying loudly for justice and end to the commission of inquiry. Politicians and churchmen are volunteering for a week’s fast.

Father George Joeger of the Order of Oblates of the Holy Fathers is cruelly murdered after a kangaroo court session, bringing to forefront the number of missionaries especially priests and heroic nurses) killed bycombine, backed by local police controlled terrorists in Rhodesia.

Not a sound is heard from overseas leaders and our local opposition parties seem to be enacted in a deathly silence. No bishop stands in protest next to members of the Black Sash movement in front of an empty coffin in a silence church. Nobody cares. Strange isn’t it?

PUZZLED
Envoy visits Biko's grave

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The Federal Republic of Germany's Ambassador to South Africa said yesterday his Government was "most upset" at the death of Steve Biko and the country's citizens had asked him to pay tribute to the black consciousness leader.

Mr. Hans-Joachim Eick could not be at the funeral on Sunday but made arrangements to travel to King William's Town to pay tribute on behalf of his country.

Mr. Eick visited Mr. Biko's grave yesterday and spoke with his head bowed for a minute.

Mr. Eick said he had received Mr. Biko but had initial plans to see him two weeks before he was detained.

"It was a terrible shock for me to learn of his death," Mr. Eick said.

He had heard a lot about Mr. Biko before. "I have been told of this remarkable young man in the media. He is a symbol of leadership," he said.

Before visiting the graveyard, Mr. Eick went to the Biko home at Ginsberg where he expressed condolences and chatted with Mrs Alice Biko, the leader's mother, his wife, Ntsiki, and his brother, Mr. Khaya Biko.

There was a strained atmosphere of unrest as the Ambassador's car was driven into Ginsberg. At one stage the car was held up at a roadblock of boulders and refuse collection bins.

Some students standing nearby, who either identified the German flag on the car or recognised the black journalists in the car, removed the obstacles.

It was learnt later the blockade was meant for the police patrolling the area.

Meanwhile, the Australian Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. R. B. Harry, expressed condolences to the Biko family yesterday.

Speaking as chairman for the month of September of the group of Western European and other states in the United Nations, he said the death and the circumstances surrounding it was a matter of deep concern to "those who hope, as we do, that there can be a peaceful and early end to the apartheid system."

He also expressed the concern of the Australian Government and people in Mr. Biko's death.

It was such police action which made South Africa cry out for protection, redress and return to sanity and civilisation.

The message added: "Special thanks go to the representatives of the embassies who attended. BPC hopes they will present the aspirations of the black people to their governments."

BPC thanks mourners

It was both a heartrending and heart-warming occasion to see the multitude of people at Mr. Steve Biko's funeral. They seemed to be "wrapped in sorrow and reverence in sympathy with Steve's family and the nation that he died for," a message of thanks from the Black People's Convention said yesterday.

BPC assisted the bereaved family with the funeral arrangements. Mr. Biko was the organisation's honorary president.

The message said: "BPC sympathises with the multitude from all over the country who had their minds set to see the last of their leader, but were stopped and returned home or put in prison in cases like Pretoria and Johannesburg."

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Edward Arnold, 1970.

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Two black leaders detained in Cape Town.

The South African Security Police have detained two black leaders in Cape Town, according to the South African News Agency. The leaders, who are members of the black nationalist movement, were arrested under the Terrorism Act. The police have said that they were detained for questioning in relation to alleged terrorist activities.

The leaders are well-known figures in the black community and have been active in political and social movements. The detention has sparked outrage among the black community, who see it as a violation of their rights.

The South African government has not commented on the matter, and the leaders' families are demanding their release.

The South African Police have a long history of suppressing political dissent, and this incident is likely to spark further protests and protests among the black community.
MOB VICTIMS WERE WAITING FOR BUS RIDE

CAPE TOWN — Two off-duty Fort Jackson policemen who were attacked, stoned and murdered by a mob of about 400 mourners returning from the funeral of Mr. Steve Bike in King William's Town on Sunday, were simply standing at a bus stop waiting for a ride home.

This was said yesterday by Brigadier P. J. Smal, regional Commissioner of Police, East London.

Fifteen buses carrying about 1,200 mourners arrived at the Mantzanes bus terminal outside East London at about 4 p.m. on Sunday.

Brigadier Smal said Sergeant M. D. Mntshali (29) and Constable L. I. Mrazi (40), had been on duty to help maintain order in Fort Jackson and Mantzanes on the day of the Bike funeral and had just checked off duty and were waiting to be dropped in their uniforms for a bus home.

The mourners' buses discharged about 400 people who went on the rampage.

Brigadier Smal believed that the sight of the police uniform selected the crowd to pick up stones and begin to stone them.

Sergeant Mntshali was killed instantly under the hail of stones. Constable Mrazi was knocked unconscious.

The crowd picked him up and threw him under the wheels of one of the buses which was just pulling off,

Constable Mrazi was crushed to death.

Both policemen were certified to be dead on arrival at East London Hospital.

There was confusion on the return journey.

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whereas the proportion was smaller than in the agricultural sector of strategic and clerical type. The main difference occurred in the sector of

323 detente
THE recent death during detention of Mr. Steve Biko raises a host of questions — legal, political and, presumably, medical. Of the legal aspects, perhaps the most important is the holding of an inquest, and it is on this point that there is some public uncertainty, if not confusion.

Basically, an inquest is a procedure to investigate the circumstances of a death (or an alleged death, if not to be found) apparently occurring from other than natural causes.

The first principle to remember is that an inquest is not a criminal trial. Such a trial is under the direct control of the Attorney General, and also in the last analysis the Minister of Justice himself. An inquest, on the other hand, is totally outside that control. It follows from this, for example, that the Minister has no power to order or to prevent an inquest.

There are three persons who play vital roles. The first is the person who reports the death to the police. The second is the person who has reason to believe that a death has occurred from other than natural causes. The third is the magistrate, who will make the decision.

The heart of the matter is that the Act requires the magistrate to hold an inquest if there is reasonable doubt, the identity of the deceased, the cause of death, the date thereof, and whether it was brought about by any act or omission involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person. The inquest record is then submitted to the Attorney General, who will decide whether or not to bring criminal charges.

All this appears to be fairly watertight. There is, however, one defect, perhaps inevitable. There is no doubt that the police can so delay their investigations that when the inquest is ultimately held the full facts — and all the witnesses — are no longer available to the magistrate.

Public confidence in the administration of justice is absolutely essential in an orderly society, and that confidence is broken if there is an inexplicable delay in the holding of an inquest. The public can, and should, insist on expedition, particularly when death in detention is involved, because in the nature of things the potential for a cover-up would be present.

Certainly in the case of Mr. Steve Biko, it is to be hoped that the inquest will commence soon after final post-mortem findings indicating, if they do, a non-natural cause of death — unless of course this is rendered unnecessary by the immediate bringing of criminal charges.

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**What’s in an inquest**

By **SENATOR BRIAN BAMFORD, SC**

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News by B. R. Bamford, 47 Sandown Road, Randjesbosch.
No Dane at Biko funeral — criticism

The Argus Correspondent

COPENHAGEN: — The Danish Foreign Ministry has come under sharp attack at home for failing to send an official representative to the recent funeral of Mr Steve Biko.

Fourteen countries sent representatives. The American Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, expressed consternation.

The Danish Foreign Ministry said after Press inquiries that it was "not aware" that the funeral would be made the occasion for "manifestation".

The Danish Consul-General in Johannesburg, Mr J. O. Stephenson, has been quoted as saying he had informed Copenhagen about the funeral but that Denmark had wished to keep a low profile in South Africa for the time being.

LAUGH OR WEEP

"It is impossible to know whether to laugh or to weep over these explanations," the newspaper Liberal Politiken commented.

The funeral was an excellent occasion to demonstrate the strength of the governing Social Democratic Party's decision to support those "struggling for economic and political freedom and independence."

"One could also be sarcastic about a Foreign Minister who does not like to miss any occasion to lift a moralising finger at others, particularly when Denmark runs no risk.

CHANCE MISSED

"He missed an excellent opportunity to show solidarity with the black civil rights movement in South Africa. A demonstrative Danish presence at Biko's funeral would undoubtedly have been more encouraging for the politically-aware blacks in South Africa than yet another fine speech in the UN or another routine vote condemning Vorster's regime."

The West German Embassy in South Africa was to make a condolence visit to Mr Biko's widow.

The Danish Consulate-General could be told to do the same. That would be a good way to correct any omission. The alternative that Denmark really wants to show a low profile in South Africa at present is simply too contemptible to be considered."
Police chief: Biko case "receiving attention"

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — There will be no police investigation into the death in detention of black leader Mr Steve Biko until the post-mortem is complete, the Commissioner of Police, General Gert Prinsloo, said in Pretoria today.

But General Prinsloo added in a short statement made through an official in his office, the matter was "receiving attention."

The chief State pathologist, Professor J. D. Loubscher, said yesterday that he expected to complete the full post-mortem by October 10. An interim autopsy report had, however, been made by him following the initial examination of Mr Biko's body on September 13.

This had been made available for any possible police investigation. American and South African Sunday newspapers reports have alleged that Mr Biko had multiple body and brain injuries before his death. However, both Professor Loubscher and Dr J. D. Gluckman, a pathologist who attended the post-mortem on behalf of Mr Biko's family, have declined to confirm or deny the allegations.
A kind of miracle

By DONALD WOODS

time. This is one of the times that each course of say a year, receiving money and handing hands in the real amount of money

TAKING A CROWD of 15 000 to 20 000 blacks at the funeral of a well-loved leader who has died in detention, add to their sorrow a large measure of anger over the circumstances of his death, anger over certain callous remarks passed by a white politician about that death, anger over the stopping of many thousands of fellow-mourners from attending the funeral, anger over the general racial situation, and anger expressed in speeches of a highly emotional nature.

Add to all this several hundred whites personally unknown to any in this multitude — teenagers, students and others — and have them all intermingled in this vast black confluence. Predictably, in this land of racial tension, it requires but one stumble, one word, one tactless remark to touch off a tragic racial incident.

No incident

Yet no incident of the sort took place at the funeral of Steve Biko last weekend. Through five hours of ceremony and speech-making by spokesmen of all those allegedly anti-white organizations such as Sasco and BPC, not one single white there present was made to feel unwelcome or under direct threat by that emotional multitude.

Hard and fiery words were said about the Nationalist Government and individual ministers of it, especially Mr J T Kruger, and about apartheid, and about white racism, and about security laws and about 300 years of bigotry but no single white, whether in the midst of the crowd or on the VIP podium, was touched other than in friendship. It was a kind of miracle.

My wife and I were in the middle of the standing crowd and afterwards compared notes about certain moments of apprehension. One came for me when I noticed what appeared to be a hard-bitten township tough guy standing fairly close and looking at me with stony face through slitted eyes. He had a large knife-scar on one cheek and appeared in my imagination to be sizing me up for a cutting job. One is very conscious of one's whiteness on such occasions...

However, when he became aware that I was looking back at him that rocklike face broke into a friendly smile and a nod of greeting. I have never been so relieved in my life.

Helen Suzman, Alex Vorster and Zac de Beer arrived early, and a sea of blacks on one of the packed stands hurriedly made their way to find a seat for Helen — but few of the other whites present were as well known. Most were young people, and probably most of them were conscious of the risk they ran.

I think what motivated many of the whites who attended, apart from natural motives of condolence, was a sort of act of faith in the kind of country South Africa could become, with people judged as human beings rather than as members of a race group.

That certainly was a point made in many of the speeches. Admittedly it was a minor theme to the major theme of black activism, yet consistent throughout was the message that the end result envisaged is a non-racial, non-ethnic society.

I have long believed that South African blacks are simply not racist by inclination, and that to the extent that one ever validly generalizes, blacks do not seem as readily disposed towards racial bigotry as so many whites appear to be.

Which, in the circumstances, is also a kind of miracle.

Several whites who had been personal friends of Steve Biko were discomforted on the crowd, notably the Rev David Russell and Dr Francis Wilson, and all the major embassies were well represented as well as all the major Christian churches.

Greatest sadness

It was a fittingly sad and solemn occasion, but for my wife and me the greatest sadness after all the tributes and speeches was over when the journey home with the renewed realization that the Steve Biko we shall miss most painfully is not the revered leader most of the masses will miss, nor the young philosopher the academic visitors will miss, nor the brilliant conversationalist the overseas journalists will miss, but the lovable friend who always made for the same chair in our house and whose inflexions of voice and gestures in lighting a cigarette and quaffing a beer and greeting a child and slouching for a chat are so vividly remembered...

I think he would say that the reason why there was no racial incident at his funeral is that the people were all known to be there in friendship; that they were intermingled — not standing in separate racial groups — and that just as hostility grows from separation and isolation, so love grows from closeness and contact.

The total numbness of
More Biko questions put to Kruger

EAST LONDON.—A post-mortem report on the death in detention of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, had already been delivered to the Minister of Justice, The Daily Dispatch suggests today.

In a front page editorial, the editor, Mr Donald Woods, asks the minister, Mr Jimmy Kruger, to confirm or deny that the report—said to be 16 pages long—mentions brain damage consistent with severe impact to the forehead.

The editorial says:

"Here are some more questions for Minister J. T. Kruger to confirm or deny in connection with the death in detention of Steve Biko:

1. Was a 16-page pathological report on the prime findings of the post-mortem delivered to you on Monday this week?

2. Did this report indicate that death could have been caused by brain damage consistent with severe impact on the forehead?

3. Did the report mention internal chest injury resulting from impact on the ribcage?

4. Did the report mention any other injuries totally unrelated with hunger-strike theories?

"Make another TV appearance, Mr Kruger. — The Editor."
The West German ambassador in South Africa, Mr. Hans-Joachim Eck, stands in silent homage at the foot of Mr. Steve Biko's grave in King William's Town. The black consciousness leader was buried on Sunday after dying while in police detention earlier this month.


Disgraced, Mr Kruger!