TOTALITARIANISM

DETENTION

1977

SEPTEMBER - to END

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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.

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Cleric's detention deplored

PORT ELIZABETH — Members of the East Cape Council of Churches executive issued a statement yesterday deploring the detention of their chairman, the Rev Chris Wessels, here last week.

Mr Wessels was taken from his home by the security police last Thursday and placed in detention. No reasons have been given.

The executive said it was distressed by the detention of Mr Wessels. "We value highly his integrity, vision and Christian leadership of the council.

"We identify ourselves with the feelings of his family who, for the second time within a year, find themselves without a husband and father.

"We are saddened about the loss to his congregation. We deplore this arrest.

"No reason has yet been made public for his four-month imprisonment last year. We also deplore all other similar detentions, such as those of Mr Barney Pityana and Mr Patrick Titi.

"The destructive effect on relationships within the country is incalculable," the statement said.

It was signed by the vice-chairman, Rev P. Fox, Rev M. du Plessis (Anglican), Rev N. Richardson (Methodist), Rev J. Alberts (Congregational), Rev B. Buckleley (Catholic) and Rev R. Phenya (Presbyterian). — SAPA.

(325 detained)

2 430 detained under security laws — Kruger

CAPE TIMES 2/9/77

Own Correspondent

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. Dorty leaders had also had restrictions placed on them.

amber of Mines sought and obtained a permit for blast' to the Union's initiative. This, now open, the Nyasaland labour reserves placed Southern lemma. They preferred a 'free flow' (so-called se under it a greater probability existed of more ford the prohibitive costs of protracted and/or the Limpopo. It was also openly admitted in 1939 the recruiters for the Rand mines, with their huge ily ... they are surely not a type of opponent to sis.8/

r put into abeyance the prospect of Southern Rhodes- taking serious initiatives in regard to W.N.L.A. d to grow in the North. In any event, the t (1943-46) in Southern Rhodesia secured tens of ns of local Africans for short-term employment, especially in low-wage industries.

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).9/ In terms of 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.10/ 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).11/ 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' .....

(325 detention)
Cape Times 7/9/77

Journalist detained at Athlone

A MEMBER of the editorial staff of the Muslim News, Mr A Q Sayed, was detained by the security police yesterday.

This was confirmed by a security police spokesman who said his family "and those who should know of his whereabouts" had been informed of his detention. "He has been held for questioning".

At 3.30pm four security policemen entered the offices of the Muslim News in Belgravia Road, Athlone, and searched the premises.

Mr Sayed's home nearby was also searched.

After a second search of the newspaper offices, Mr Sayed — also a director of Sayed and Sons Printers — was told to accompany the policemen.

...e suggestions involves great outlays of capital. In any ...price of these simple and basic alterations ever be considered

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...s made to accommodation should be done by direct consultation ...ct workers themselves. Increasingly the same men return to ...odation each year. And it is a trite point that the men have ...accommodation provided. The above suggestions are made with ...can be considered to be the bare necessities of human decency ... to say that further or alternative needs will not be arti- ...men themselves. Not only does consultation with the men ...e elementary principles of common sense, but it avoids in part ...rnalism and alienation endemic to standard employer-worker

...Board's Hostels

...f the hostels are far less glaring than those of the employer ... Comparatively the hostels provide better accommodation for ...gly. 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 recommendations 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.

(325) detentions

RAND DAILY MAIL, Friday, September 9, 1977.

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 L Sekame, now Deputy Commissioner of Police in Bophutha-Tswana, 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. Booysen gave the cause or likely 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. J. 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 about 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 Riotous Assemblies Act. He was detained on June 27 after an incident involving the stoning of buses.

In a statement, the Very Rev T. S. Stanage, 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 Stanage, 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 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 even 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 here 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 such as 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." — SAPA.



MR MABIJA

Girl, 5, battered to death

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

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 near her home.

Her father, Mr J. Potgieter, had earlier left his teaching post at Scottburgh High School to look for her after she had gone to play with a rabbit at the back of the house next

CAPE TIMES 10/9/77 (325 detained)

Epileptic detained

BLOEMFONTEIN. — An epileptic student was among people detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act after disturbances in townships here, it was reported yesterday.

The student, Andrew Sondiyase, studies at Leroko High School, one of the schools affected during demonstration last week. He was receiving epilepsy treatment before his detention.

Inquest found window-jump was suicide

325
detention

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.

& N. Mercury
19/9/77

Mr. J. H. C. Booysen gave the cause, or likely cause of death, as multiple injuries sustained when Mr. Mabija jumped 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 Vergenoeg, had led a double life, pretending to be a churchworker and yet being engaged in subversive activities.

Mr. Basson said 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 stoning of buses.

Volunteer

In a statement, the Very Reverend T. S. Stanage, 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. Stanage, who said he had met Mr. Mabiya 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. Stanage 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. Stanage 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 alone?"

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

Mr. Stanage replied that this could have been written before Mr. Mabija's conversion-experience and before his training as a Nomad.

Mr. Basson suggested the idea was "to stir up people to do something about their conditions and I would say even more than that, to overthrow the Government."

EDITORIAL OPINION

Priority for Kaiser

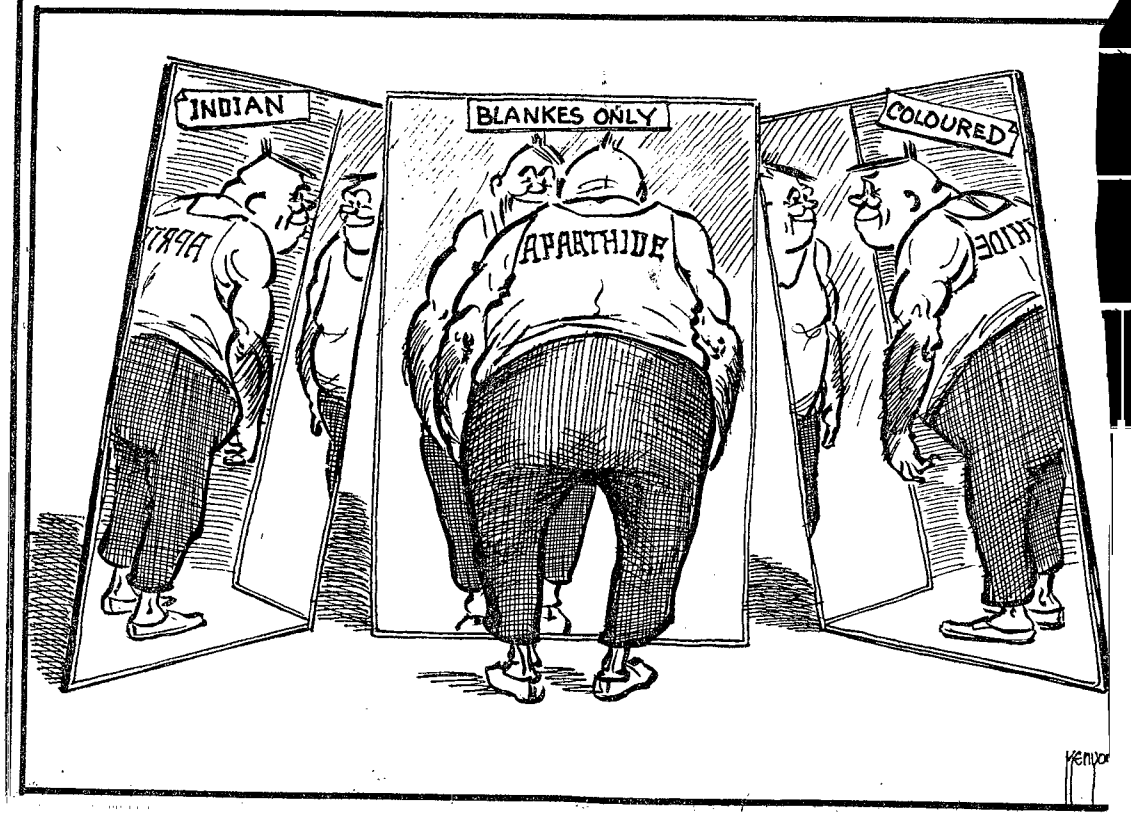
Transkei's Prime Minister Kaiser Matanzima flies to Pretoria tomorrow for talks with senior South African Government officials. At the top of the agenda should be the position of squatters, many of them Transkeians, who are being evicted and harassed from their shacks in the Western Cape, many of them 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 Umtata'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 no 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 BAAB officials are making helpless playthings of Transkei citizens — in effect telling Umtata that they do not give a damn for Transkei independence. BAAB 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 BAAB 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.



'It is simply that the venue has changed. There is no difference between living in Brandfort and Soweto.'
— Jimmy Kruger.



● Winnie Mandela — the roadsign sums up exactly what she must do in Brandfort.



Zinzi and her hell on earth called Brandfort

Sun. Trib. 11/9/77 325-B detention

THE BLEAK little town of Brandfort, according to Orange Free State MP Mr H J Coetsee, has the freshest air in South Africa and is ideal for a holiday. To 16-year-old Zinzi Mandela, it has become a living nightmare.

Zinzi is an ordinary, everyday teenager who likes meeting boys and listening to the latest records with her young friends.

Innocuous enough pastimes? Not when your father is Robben Island life prisoner Nelson Mandela and your mother is Winnie Mandela, banished and confined by ministerial decree to a three-roomed, semi-detached-house in Brandfort township.

The summary upheaval of Mrs Mandela from her Orlando home last May heralded a "reign of terror" by the Security Police against her daughter, who went with her into banishment, the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein was told this week.

From the time she arrived in Brandfort with her mother, according to affidavits before the court, she and her newly-made friends were subjected to police harassment and intimidation: some of her friends were detained, interrogated. In one case a friend was assaulted by police.

The loneliness and mental anguish of teenager Zinzi was highlighted in sworn statements from a psychiatrist and a general practitioner who had both treated her.

They were used by her father, former African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, in an urgent application for an interdict restraining two Security Policemen from intimidating or harassing his daughter.

The interdict was granted by Mr Justice De Wet, with costs to be paid by the two policemen, Sergeant Gert Grinsloo and Sergeant Zakia Ramalthwane of the Bloemfontein Security Police, who were named as the two respondents in the action.

The two policemen have been prohibited from:

- Unlawfully preventing visits from Zinzi's friends and acquaintances at her home, as well as visits from medical personnel and legal advisers;
- Unlawfully preventing Zinzi from visiting or communicating with any of her friends, her doctor or legal advisers.

Mr Justice De Wet was told that Zinzi was suffering extreme emotional stress and was "acutely depressed" as a result of police harassment of her and her friends.



● Zinzi (left) and her mother Winnie Mandela . . . Winnie is banished, but it's Zindzi who has just won a case to prevent harassment by security police.

By JENNIFER HYMAN

A Johannesburg psychiatrist, Dr Ronald Garb, stated in an affidavit that he had been treating Zinzi for personal problems since the beginning of the year.

Dr Garb said: "It is absolutely essential for the resolution of Zinzi's problems that she be allowed to develop and maintain meaningful, effective peer relationships."

He added that if the intimidation and harassment continued "I am convinced Zinzi will suffer a deep emotional reaction . . . which might well have the effect of destroying the process of therapy to which she has been subjected whilst under my specialised care".

Dr Garb also pointed that repeated applications by Mrs Winnie Mandela for permission to take her daughter to Johannesburg for the purpose of consulting Dr Garb had been turned down by the Brandfort magistrate.

Dr Kwandile Stofile, a Bloemfontein general practitioner, testified that he had first seen Zinzi in June after she was referred to him with a skin disease.

"After subsequent consultations . . . I established that she was suffering from a psychosomatic skin disease," he said.

Dr Stofile stated that Zinzi was acutely depressed and suffering from a "manic depressive neurosis".

According to statements before the court, Zinzi was unable to sleep at night and was prone to uncontrollable weeping fits.

In her affidavit, Zinzi said that in all probability she would have been able to adapt to her new life in Brandfort, if it was not for the attitudes of the Security Police.

Zinzi said she had asked her mother to sleep with her "as I am no longer able to sleep alone".

She said: "I understand that I cry at night. I no longer have the desire to read books as I used to, and I often do not even wish to eat."

Documents before the court established that only Mrs Mandela is restricted and prevented from receiving visitors.

Zinzi Mandela describes several incidents in her affidavit in which she was entertaining young friends she had made in Brandfort when Security policemen burst into the house and demanded their names and addresses, threatened them, and finally evicted them.

She maintained that on several occasions her friends were taken for questioning, while Security Police visits to their own homes had made them "terrified of coming to see me".

After continued police raids, she decided to leave the door to the house open "so that it would be clear to the police that I was entertaining my guests without the presence of my mother".

Eventually she resorted to talking to friends for a few minutes at a time over the fence or in the yard.

Affidavits described several occasions on which Zinzi's friends were evicted from the house or detained, even though Mrs Mandela was in another room at the time.

Lawyers acting for the Mandela family said that once Mrs Mandela herself was arrested as a result of her daughter entertaining friends in the house.

Affidavits from two of Zinzi's friends, both young men, state that they were interrogated, arrested, assaulted and threatened with imprisonment if they continued to have anything to do with Zinzi Mandela.

One of them, Frank Mpinga, said he was also asked to work for the Security Police as an informer.

An affidavit from Miss Devikarani Jana, an articled clerk with Mr Ismail Ayob, Mrs Mandela's attorney, described how her car was followed through Brandfort as she tried to consult with Zinzi on the question of her intimidation.

She said it was quite clear to her that the Security Police were "blatantly trying to harass" Zinzi and her friends during the legal consultation.

Mrs Jana described how they drove into the veld to try to hold a consultation free from Security Police surveillance.

Mr Justice De Wet granted the order to Mr Nelson Mandela, with costs.

RAND
Daily Mail
ANPA WORLD PRESS AWARD 1966

RDM 13/9/77
325 detentions

Steve Biko in detentio

STEVE BIKO

WE can only express our sense of shock and outrage at the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

We have been deeply concerned for a long time at the way people keep on dying while in the hands of the Security Police.

And at the way these deaths seem to be on the increase. This is the 20th person to die in 18 months.

We have been particularly concerned at the number which have been surrounded by unsatisfactory circumstances. Such as the Imam Haron, to whose widow the State later made an ex gratia payment of R5 000.

And Mr Joseph Mdluli, of whose fatal injuries Mr Justice Howard said in a judgment two months ago: "The most probable explanation is that all or most of (the wounds) were inflicted by the Security Police."

All this has been disturbing enough. But it fades into insignificance compared with the death of Steve Biko.

Because this is the first time a major black leader has died in the hands of the Security Police. Perhaps the most important black leader in South Africa.

Steve Biko was the founder of Saso; the honorary life president of the [illegible] People's Convention; the spiritual leader of the whole black consciousness movement.

His following was vast, particularly among the black youth.

He was also an international figure. For this was an unusually talented man whom many foreign dignitaries went out of their way to visit — and who was regarded by some as a man of potential greatness.

His death will have in-

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" and was transferred to Pretoria 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 Ginzberg 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.

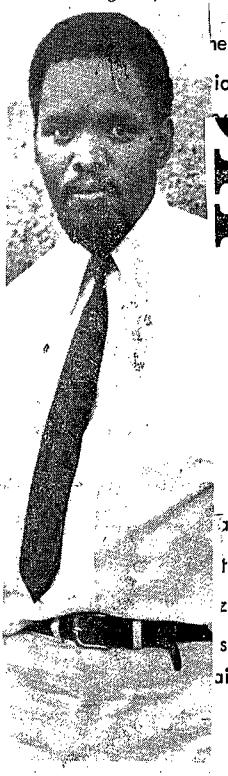
Mr Biko's wife, Ntsiki, who lives at a mission hospital 50 kms from King William's Town was told by friends and broke the news to their two small sons, Nkosinati, 7, and Samora, 2. The name Nkosinati means "God with us".

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, "Nkosi Sikelele 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 1968, was regarded as the father of



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sions.

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 weeks. Bernie Wrankmore 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?

movement and the spiritual leader of the new politics of black solidarity.

In 1973 Mr Biko was banned for five years and restricted to King William's Town which became one of the strongholds of the black consciousness movement.

Mr Kruger yesterday gave the following account of Mr Biko's detention and death:

● On August 18 he was arrested with a coloured, Mr Peter Jones, at a roadblock between Cape Town and King William's Town. His arrest related to activities connected with riots in Port Elizabeth "inter alia for the drafting and distribution of pamphlets which incited arson and violence."

He was held at the Walmer Police Station in Port Elizabeth.

● During his detention a magistrate visited him on September 2 in accordance with the law.

● From September 5 he refused meals and threatened a hunger-strike. But "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 said 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.

● On September 9, Mr Biko was examined again by a doctor who kept him for observation.

● On September 11 Mr Biko was removed from the prison hospital to the Walmer police station on the

• TO PAGE TWO

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 Gatsha 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 entering a grave."

Mr Skenjana Raji, secretary general of SASO said: "State repression was growing stronger to contain the momentum of liberation movements. But the people were determined 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 that lies ahead."

Dr C F Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute, said Mr Biko's death would have similar repercussions as the outbreak of the Soweto riots on June 16 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 justice and liberation.

"His outstanding qualities of justice and leadership, the breath 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," Dr Naude said.

White 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, emphasises for once and all the need for a judicial inquiry under the full glare of public scrutiny."

Speaking from Senegal yesterday, the PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said he was "deeply shocked" at the news. Mr Biko was not the kind of man likely to take his own life, he said.

"His death will have serious repercussions inside and outside South Africa."

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokesman on justice, said Mr Biko's death would be a great loss to all South Africans. "From what I know of this young man, he was a moderating influence," she said.

"I am astonished that Mr Kruger should appear to have anticipated the findings of the postmortem by his statement about Mr Biko's hunger strike."

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.

● See Page 9



Part of the crowd at the short service at Daikonia House in Braamfontein yesterday.



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

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MR STEVE BIKO

Steve Biko dies in detention

STAR 13/9/77

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 a Pretoria hospital.

King William's Town 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 to have been held this morning at the Pretoria Government Mortuary was postponed, after the family's attorneys made representations, according to Mr T M Mazibuko, 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 Justice and of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, hurriedly left the Transvaal congress of the National Party apparently after [illegible] of Mr Biko's death.

The Minister is expected to make a statement

To Page 3, Col 3

Detainee toll rises to 44

Black leader dies in detention

▶▶From page 1

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 20th detainee known to have died since March 19, 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 the rate could be held to be increasing. Mr Biko is the 17th to have died in the 12-month period — a rate of almost 1,5 a month.

He is also the 11th to have died this year.

STATEMENTS

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

Another three of the dead could, from the police statements, have committed suicide. One died from an "application of force to the neck"; one fell to his death from the 10th 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 Mdluli (Durban, March 19, 1976); Mapetla Mohapi (King Williamstown, August 5, 1976); Luke Mazwembe (Cape Town, September 2, 1976); Jacob Mashabane (Johannesburg, October 5, 1976); William Tshwane, (Johannesburg, July 26, 1976); George Botha (Port Elizabeth, December 15, 1976); Dumisani Mbatha (Johannesburg, September 25, 1976); Ernest Mamasila (Balfour, November 19, 1976).

Wellington Tshazibane (Johannesburg, December 11, 1976); Nanoatn Ntshuntsha (Leslie, January 9, 1977); Mathews Mabelane (Johannesburg, February 15, 1977); Elmon Malale (Johannesburg, January 20, 1977); Lawrence Ndzanga, (Johannesburg, January 8, 1977); Samuel Malinga, (Maritzburg, February 22, 1977); Aaron Khoza (Maritsburg, March 26, 1977); Phakamile Mabije (Kimberley, July 7, 1977) Elijah Loza (Cape Town, August 1, 1977); Hoosen Haffejee (Durban, August 3, 1977); Bayempin Mzizi (Durban, August, 1977) and Steve Biko (September, 1977).

health, who died in detention.

"I know Biko very well. He was a healthy, robust young man in the prime of life."

Dr Motlana said he hoped demands being made for a full judicial inquiry would now be acceded to.

Mr W D Wilson, retired deputy chairman of the Anglo American Corporation who knew Mr Biko well, said: "This is incredibly sad. It is the loss of a very great man. I am terribly sorry."

PERSONALITY

At the time of Mr Biko's detention in 1976, Mr Wilson said of him:

"His personality and presence give one a feeling of warmth and gaiety coupled with seriousness, courage, integrity and directness. . . . I find it difficult to accept what he is suffering at the moment and even more difficult to accept the situation that none of us know what is happening to him."

Meanwhile, The Star was inundated with calls today from people who heard of Mr Biko's death.

Mr Donald Woods, editor of the East London Daily Dispatch and a close friend of Mr Biko said the news of his death "had come as a terrible shock.

"I am still waiting to hear from his family for more details of his death. He was my closest friend for about four years and was the greatest man I have ever met.

"He was about 30 years old and a strong, fit man. I don't know what could have caused his death.

"The news has come as a terrible shock to his family," Mr Woods said.

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 "robust young man."

He was founder president of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) and honorary president of the Black People's Convention.

He was banned and restricted to King William's Town in 1973, and was arrested 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 the banned leader.

Mr Biko's wife, Ntsikie, is working as a nurse 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 Maseru where he was attending the African-American conference, to see Mr Biko in East London.

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

It was halted when Mr Shun Chetty, a Johannesburg attorney, appearing for Mr Biko's family, asked 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.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said he was disturbed by the growing number of detained

325 - detention 1971

Completely fit, says doctor

Star 12/9/77

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 AILMENTS

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

[redacted] marketing [redacted]

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 trike, Mr MacStiofain told a courtroom that he would be dead within six days. During this court appearance he was constantly revived and massaged by a medical team.

Four days later he broke his strike.

At the time of his strike legal arguments reverberated around Britain as the 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 Chikurbi 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 Wrankmore 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 the priest'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 contractee. Additional perspectives came from Wenela propaganda handed to contractees (documents in the vernacular translated by Wilbert Garaba).

64/ Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd., Reports and Financial Statements For The Year Ended 31 December 1974, Johannesburg.

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/ .....

Steve Biko was something special

Kevin Stocks
for The Star's Insight Team

First news was also last

"Steve Biko is dead."

Add two more words to the sentence and it becomes not merely momentous — but calamitous:

"Steve Biko is dead in detention."

Many whites, and perhaps some blacks, will wonder what the fuss is all about. After all, 10 others have died in detention this year without provoking more than the normal round of protests.

Why, then, did so many politically-aware people catch their breath when told: "Steve Biko is dead"?

Because he was Steve Biko. Some called him an intellectual giant, a young Mandela, and the bright particular hope of black South Africa — if not all

The first time the police called on Mr Steve Biko's King William's Town home to give his family news of his detention was when they called yesterday to say he was dead.

The only news the family had of Mr Biko's detention early in August came from newspapers. They did not know he had been ill or moved to Pretoria where he died.

When the police arrived shortly before 9 am yesterday Mr Biko's mother was on the veranda of their home.

"They started telling her Steve had been taken ill and had gone to Pretoria when she started screaming. She didn't even wait for them to tell her he was dead," said Mr Biko's sister-in-law, Mrs Bandi Mvovo.

When she heard the news, Mrs Mvovo, telephoned the matron at the All Saints Hospital, near Engcobo, where Mrs Ntsiki Biko is a nursing sister.

Mrs Biko was taken from the hospital at about 11 am to be told of her husband's death. She travelled home with Umtata priest, the Reverend Xundu. The hospital is about 240 km from King William's Town.

Mrs Mvovo said she was unaware of her sister being "separated" from her husband and there were no marital problems.

"Ever since they were married (in 1970) they never stayed together because she could not get work here. Whenever she was off duty she would come home."

Mrs Mvovo said the last time Mrs Biko saw her husband was on August 7 in King William's Town.

Mrs Mvovo said the funeral would probably be held in King William's Town on either September 24 or 25.

MARTYR

Perhaps he was all, or none, of these things. What is certain is that he was something special — it was impossible to speak to anyone who knew him without becoming aware of that.

It was not just the devotees of Black Consciousness who thought so — or the white liberals who flock to worship at the feet of any reasonably articulate black radical.

Journalists sated with interviewing would-be political saviours and liberators thought so; the experience - hardened deputy chairman of the Anglo American Corporation thought so; foreign diplomats and politicians who pilgrimed to East London to see him thought so — even the Security Police thought so.

Steve Biko was special and among the young black militants he commanded an immense, sometimes reverential respect.

Now he is a martyr.

Living, he might have achieved great things for South Africa. As a Dead man, many things could be done in his name and in his memory of which the living man might never have approved.

Steve Biko was the founding president of the South African Students Organisation (Saso) and much of its constitution was his work.

He was the presiding genius of the Black Consciousness movement; he was honorary president of the Black People's Convention (BPC); he was the survivor of bannings, detentions and charges — until this week.

There were those who, because of his devotion to Black Consciousness and his insistence on a black unity that excluded whites, considered him a racist.

Because he was banned he cannot be quoted in his own defence, but few who knew him thought of him as racist.

PREJUDICES

He seems to have seen Black Consciousness as a weapon for the liberation of blacks from psychological and political repression and, equally, for the liberation of whites from the bonds of prejudices.

Once that dual liberation had taken place perhaps the two groups could work together.

Now others will take over his work — but will they have Biko's quality and understanding?

59/ See Presidential Address, Chamber of Mines Rhodesia, 9 April 1975. (mimeo) where the following statement is found: 'the availability of unskilled labour, both now and in the future, has become much more
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Detainee death toll rises to 20

RDM 14/9/77

325 detentions

By CLIVE EMDON

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 Bikos, were Mr Bayempin Mzizi who died in Durban on August 13; Mr Hoosen Haffejee, 25, who died in Durban on August 3; and Mr Elijah Loza, 59, who died in Cape Town on August 1.

So far only the cause of death of Mr Loza 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 Mdluli, 50, "application of force to the neck".
- Two detainees, Mr Elmon Malele, 52, and Mr Loza, as a result of strokes.
- Mr Samuel Malinga, 45, from "natural causes" as with Mr Dumisani Mbatha.

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

Mr T M Mosala, detained in Transkei under proclamation R400, died on November 29 last year. Cause of death was not reported.

14/9/77

325 - detention

Biko: An inquest only, says Kruger

ARGUS 14/9/77

325 - Detention

The Argus Political Staff

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.

This was made clear today by the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, in an interview here as the outcry over yet another detainee death — this time of a black protest leader — continued to mount.

Mr Biko died on Monday. A statement

Biko: Inquest only

(Continued from Page 1)

from using it until Parliament is given the opportunity of striking it off the statute book.'

The death of so celebrated a person as Mr Biko, coming on top of so many other detainee deaths, was rapidly causing South Africa to acquire the image of a country handled by ruthless police methods, Mrs Suzman said.

There would be an inquest, Mrs Suzman said, 'and it will be extremely interesting to see what will come out of it.

'What is needed is not just a judicial inquiry into the death of Mr Biko, but an inquiry into the whole overall picture of detainee deaths and their causes, by a completely independent body.'

Questioned on the prospect of Mr Biko being regarded as a political martyr, Mrs Suzman replied:

'I have no doubt that repercussions will be far and wide over the untimely death of this young man, whom many people held in high regard.

'I consider his death is a loss for all South Africa. Those who knew him well all testified to his modifying influence in racial affairs.'

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d surface features from air photographs of
Wales. Photogramm. Rec.

Argus 14/9/77 (328)

'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. Loubser, 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 Loubser today.

He said the autopsy then 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 Loubser to attend.

Professor Loubser 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 Simson were in attendance, he said.

The autopsy findings are now sub-judice until the formal inquest is held into the cause of the 30-year-old black leader's death.

Service and student fast for Biko

ARRANGEMENTS have been made for an interdenominational 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 indicated he died after a week-long 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 Timol 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, instead 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 those 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

CAPE TIMES 14/9/77

325-Bebelhos

PUBLIC FIGURES in Britain, the United States and throughout South Africa yesterday expressed shock and grief at the death in 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 most 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."

The president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, Archbishop J P Fitzgerald, has appealed for a full inquiry.

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.

"As no crime has ever been proved 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 the non-governmental, international human rights movements, 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 PFP, called for a judicial inquiry to erase all doubts inside and outside of South Africa on the causes of deaths in detention.

"Departmental inquiries will certainly not be enough nor will ministerial

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 Lional Murray, NRP, said: "This is one more error to a series of deaths in detention. There is an urgent neccesity for a judicial inquiry."

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

"After Mdluli'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 less tangible. 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 siege rhetoric and coercion," the statement said.

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

"South Africa will certainly be the 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, PFP 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 sordid details, I am convinced that Ste-

Mr Kenneth Rachidi, 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 Theo Coggan, 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 Bamford said Mr Biko was "a top South African, a man of leadership, intellect 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 incitatory 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

14/9/77

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CT

...ministerial excuses. The stage is now set where it is imperative for a full judicial inquiry."

Speaking from Dakar in Senegal, Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PFP, said Mr Biko was not the kind of man likely to take his own life.

"His death will have serious repercussions inside and outside South Africa."

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP, said Mr Biko's death would be a great loss to all South Africans.

"From what I know of this young man, he was a moderating influence."

Mr Myburgh Streicher, South African Party MP, said only the post-mortem could indicate what had caused Mr Biko's death. If the Minister of Prisons, Mr ... just die" — 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 Boraine 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 intellects in South Africa. His philosophy and black pride will remain in spite of everything that was against him in South Africa."

The Rev Theo Kotze, Western Cape regional director of the Christian Institute: "I knew Steve Biko very well. As usual, we do not know — and will probably never know — what actually happened. The most important witness is dead."

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 men, 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 the future but the present that has become too ghastly to contemplate."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten in Soweto: "I knew Biko very well. He was a healthy, robust young man in the prime of life."

He hoped demands for a full judicial inquiry would now be acceded to.

Mr W D Wilson, retired deputy chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, who knew Mr Biko well, said: "This is incredibly sad. It is the loss of a very great man. I am terribly sorry."

... Steve didn't answer back.

"Finally, Mr Kruger's statement does not explain why — even if one accepts the hunger strike theory — the Biko family were not informed and doctors of their choice not allowed access to him. In fact I understand clearly from the family that as recently as 8.30 yesterday (Monday) morning Major R Hansen of the King William's Town security police had told Steve's mother on the phone that he was in good health."

The Bishop of Stepney, England, the Rev Trevor Huddleston, said it was "disgraceful" news.

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

"Here was a man who was one of the outstanding young blacks in South Africa. There is no possible reason why he should have died."

Mr Chris Matebane of Pretoria, British representative of the BPC, said in London he would issue a statement today when it was hoped to have more details.

For Senate

In Washington Senator Dick Clark, chairman of the Senate foreign relations African committee, was preparing a statement he planned to give on the Senate floor.

ko's death 'like
s of Kennedy'

ing 'shock and sadness,' the State Department said whatever the immediate causes of Mr Biko's untimely death he had to be regarded as another victim of apartheid.

The Argus Bureau in London reports that the Guardian today points to Mr Biko as perhaps the only South African leader who could claim to have the mass support of the young radical urban Blacks, 'a force which is playing an increasingly significant role since the Soweto uprisings last year.'

On September 11 Mr Biko was removed from the prison hospital to Walmer police station on the recommendation of the district surgeon.

'By Sunday he still had 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,' Mr Kruger said.

On September 12 Mr Biko was again examined and medically treated by the district surgeon in Pretoria, but died the same night.

Bik Something
los special'
about Biko

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Why did so many politically aware people catch their breath when told: 'Steve Biko is dead?'

Some called him an intellectual giant, a young Mandela and the bright particular hope of black South Africa.

What is certain is that he was something special — it is impossible to speak to those who knew him without becoming aware of that.

Steve Biko was the founding president of the South African Students Organisation (Saso) and much of its constitution was his work.

He was the presiding genius of the black consciousness movement and honorary president of the Black People's Convention (BPC) until his banning.

BLACK UNITY

There were those who, because of his devotion to black consciousness and his insistence on a black unity that excluded whites, considered him a racist.

Because he was banned he cannot be quoted in his own defence, but few who knew him thought of him as racist.

He seems to have seen black consciousness as a weapon for the liberation of blacks from psychological and political repression and, equally, for the liberation of whites from the bonds of prejudices.

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 for 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 and chairman of the committee's Africa subcommittee, 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.'

Mr Young compared the death of the Black leader to the loss to America of President Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King.

'These losses cost nearly a decade of progress. Certainly a future non-racial South Africa will mourn . . . dedicated

Kruger tells of hunger strike

The Argus Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, Mr J. T. Kruger, gave details yesterday afternoon showing that Mr Steve Biko had been on a hunger strike when he died.

Mr Kruger said Mr Biko and a coloured man were arrested at a roadblock near Grahamstown on August 18 for activities relating to riots in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Biko had been detained at Walmer police station.

Since September 5 he had refused meals and threatened a hunger strike, but had regularly been supplied with meals and water.

Mr Kruger said the district surgeon had been called in on September 7 after Mr Biko appeared unwell. The doctor found nothing wrong.

On September 8 the police arranged that he be examined again by the district surgeon, as well as the chief district surgeon.

HOSPITAL

'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

325. detention

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 19th person to die while being held by the police in the past 18 months. 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 Peoples' 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

"On September 11 Mr. Biko was removed from the hospital to the Walmer police station.

"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.

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

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

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 Party, Mr. Colin Eglin, 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.



3. Racial Prejudice

Telephone Conversation

The price seemed reasonable,
Indifferent. The landlady swept
Off premises. Nothing remains
But self-confession, 'Madam,'
'I hate a wasted journey – I'll
Silence. Silenced transmission
Pressurized good-breeding. Voice
Lipstick coated, long-nib-nail
Cigarette-holder dipped. Caught
'How dark?' . . . Admitted admission
LIGHT
OR VERY DARK? Rings of hideous derision affecting dom
Of racial breath of public hide-and-speak.
Red boob. Red fury. Red double-decker
Omnibus squelch Piccadilly Circus
By ill-mannered s surrender
Pushed dumbfou Jeering major division into
Considerate she w e the emphasis –
'ARE YOU DARK– OR VERY LIGHT?' Revelation came.
'You mean – like this?'

See p

325-Detention

6

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 numbed 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 Mapetla Mohapi, 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.

YEAR
1972
1973
1974
1975

TABLE

Year	Number	% of Total
1956	309 775	50,8
1961	278 373	45,4
1969	229 154	34,0
1972	221 788	27,7
1975	214 021	23,0

Source: Rhodesia, Final Report on the September 1961 Census of Employees, C.S.O., Salisbury; Rhodesia, 1969 Census of Employees, C.S.O., Salisbury, (mimeo); C.S.O., African Employees By Country of Origin, DL/978/15, Salisbury, (mimeo)

As an .....

Biko died after hunger strike — Kruger



CAPE TIMES
14/9/77

325-Detention

Own Correspondent

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

Mr Kruger detailed how Mr Biko, 30, refused meals and water from September 5 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 UN representative)
Major loss to South Africa.

Archbishop J P Fitzgerald
Appeal for a full inquiry.

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

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

Labour Party
SA certainly the poorer.

Amnesty International
Telegram to Kruger.

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

Mr Myburgh Streicher
(Leader of the SAP)
Only post-mortem will tell.

(325)

CT

14/9/77

president of Saso (South African Students' Organization) in 1968/69, became honorary president of the Black Peoples' Convention and was regarded as a radical force behind the black consciousness movement.

He was seen as the true leader of black consciousness, a political awareness which has affected a generation of students and school children.

Roadblock

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, inter alia 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 5 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

Continued on page 2

Biko death

Continued from page 1

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

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 Programmes (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 Braamfontein and conducted by Dr Wolfran Kitsner, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) director of justice and reconciliation division.

In his message, Dr Kitsner 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 the 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.

ıe Act now makes it not only an offence
ined as a person born outside Rhodesia)
area (presently the main urban areas)
ch a person already in employment.
t will only apply to men, but the Minister
ed to apply to women. The 69 000 foreign
ining employment would appear to be those
by this measure. They constitute 35
000) of foreign male workers in 1975.

ERS IN RHODESIA

All Workers		
e	Female	Total
663	105 177	801 840
497	119 487	852 984
055	123 373	889 428
482	127 158	928 640

ERS IN RHODESIA

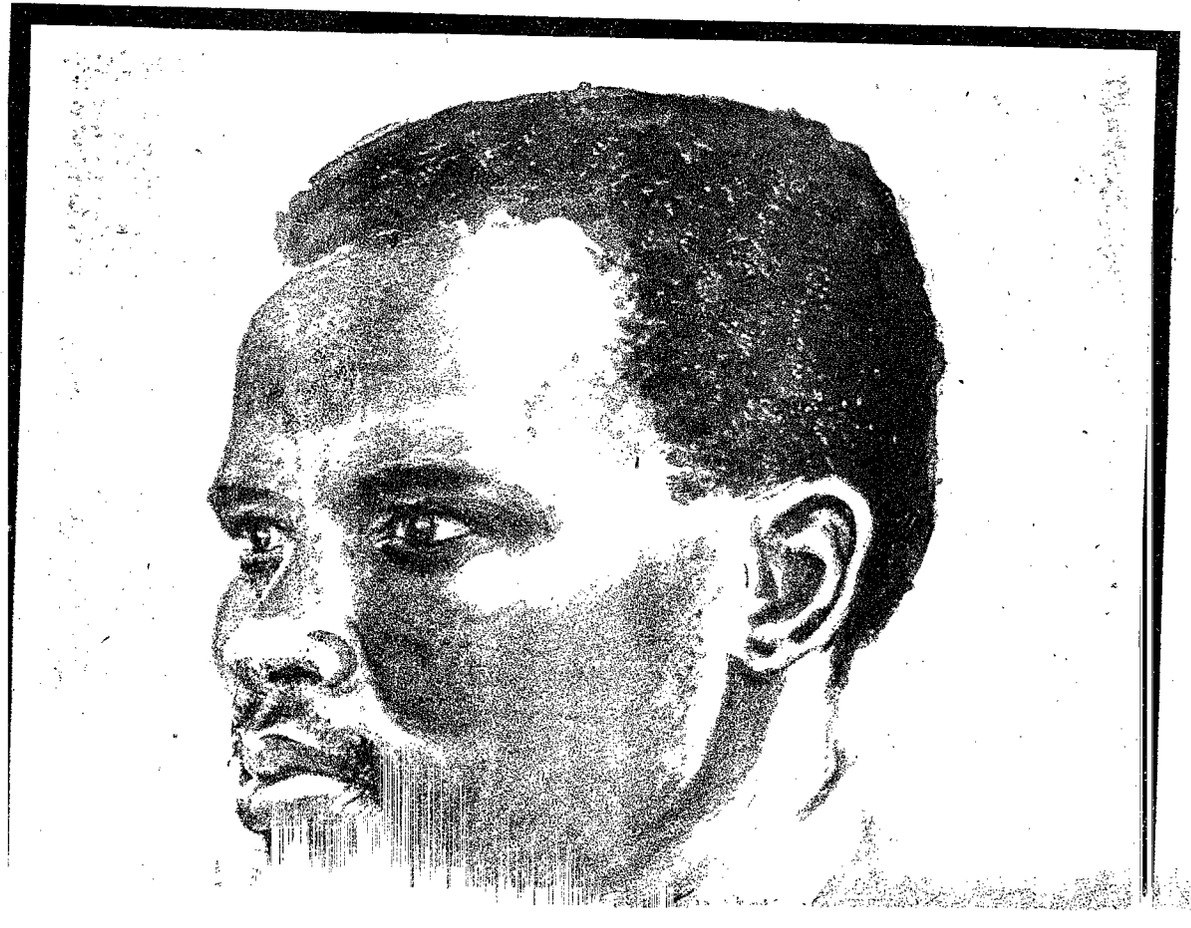
		% of Total
1972	221 788	50,8
1975	214 021	45,4
		34,0
		27,7
		23,0

Source: Rhodesia, Final Report on the September 1961 Census of Employees, C.S.O., Salisbury; Rhodesia, 1969 Census of Employees, C.S.O., Salisbury, (mimeo);
C.S.O., African Employees By Country of Origin, DL/978/15, Salisbury, (mimeo)

As an

BIKO DIES IN DETENTION

325 detention
D.D. 14/9/77



WE SALUTE A HERO OF THE NATION

SIKHAHLELA INDODA YAMADODA

Portrait of Steve Biko by Donald Kenyon

Countrywide reaction

14/9/77 (325) AD

EAST LONDON — Security police yesterday informed Mrs A. N. Biko that her 30-year-old son, Steve, leader of the Black Peoples Convention and the black consciousness movement of South Africa, had died in detention.

Steve Biko, who founded the South African Students Organisation in 1972, was banned in 1973 for a five-year period, detained on August 17, 1976, for 101 days, detained again on March 21, 1977 for 10 days, detained again, for a single day, on July 4 and detained again, under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, on August 19 last month.

He was prosecuted several times during the past year but not convicted of any offence under security laws.

When his mother was told of his death yesterday morning on the verandah of her small home in Ginsberg Township, King William's Town, where he had been living with her during his term of restriction, she wept quietly. But later on entering the house she collapsed and a doctor had to be called to treat her.

Mr Biko's wife, Ntsiki, who lives at a mission hospital near Engcobo, Transkei, because as a nursing sister she cannot get work in the town, was told by friends and broke the news to her two small sons, Nkosinati, 7, and Samora, 2. The name Nkosinati means "God is with us".

Yesterday afternoon the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, issued the following statement:

"Mr Stephen Bantu Biko, previously attached to Saso and the BPC, had been restricted to the magisterial district of King William's Town.

"Mr Biko and a Coloured man were arrested at a road block near Grahamstown on August 18 after information had been received that Mr Biko was travelling between Cape Town and King William's Town.

"He was arrested in connection with activities related to the riots in Port Elizabeth, inter alia for the drafting and distribution of pamphlets which incited arson and violence.

"He was detained at Walmer Police Station in Port Elizabeth. Since September 5 Mr Biko refused his meals and threatened a hunger strike, but he was, however, regularly supplied with meals and water which he refused to partake of.

"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. 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.

"A post-mortem is to be undertaken by the chief State pathologist in the presence of a private pathologist appointed by Mr Biko's relatives. 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, according to the law," Mr Kruger said.

News of Mr Biko's death was greeted with a storm of angry statements and questions by people from all over the country who phoned the Daily Dispatch because of Mr Biko's known friendship with the newspaper's Editor, Mr D.J. Woods.

Mr Woods said yesterday: "I don't accept Minister Kruger's statement in several respects. For a start, Ntsiki and Steve Biko were not separated in the sense implied in the statement. Ntsiki is a devoted wife who had to live apart from Steve because she couldn't get work in the King William's Town area to which Mr Kruger had restricted her husband, and she had to earn a living because Mr Kruger effectively stopped Steve from earning one as he had been doing. If Mr Kruger's men had really tried to trace her they could have done so through any of several thousand of us who are friends of the family.

"Secondly I am not impressed by Mr Kruger's statement that Steve was arrested in connection with riots or preparation of incitatory 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 answer back.

"Finally, Mr Kruger's statement does not explain why — even if one accepts the hunger strike theory — the Biko family were not informed and doctors of their choice not allowed access to him. In fact I understand clearly from the family that as recently as 8.30 yesterday morning Major R Hansen of the King William's Town security police had told Steve's mother on the phone that he was in good health.

"There are too many unanswered questions in this matter and they will be asked until they are answered."

Mrs Helen Suzman MP said: "On behalf of the Progressive Federal Party I express our deepest sympathy to the Biko family and their many friends throughout the country.

"The whole country has suffered a great loss, and once again the villain of the piece is Section 6 of the Terrorism Act which allows the Minister of Justice and Police to hold a person indefinitely without the protection of legal representation."

She added: "Why weren't members of the Biko family informed immediately there was concern for Steve's health?

"I am astonished that the Minister of Justice should issue a statement which appears to anticipate the post-mortem inquiry."

Mr Skenjana Roji, Secretary General of Saso, said: "As the march towards freedom gains momentum the State machine of oppression grows with it. Deprivation and exploitation of the black people over the years have needed a growing mountain of repressive measures to contain the situation. After 300 years these measures, which always need to be reinforced, continue to grow. This in itself speaks volumes for the determination of the people to be free.

"Thus in 1960 we witnessed Sharpeville. In 1976 we witnessed a more brutal and devastating Soweto.

"It should therefore be clear that the weapons and strategy to be adopted in the peoples' liberation struggle are not chosen by the people themselves. In fact, it is the aggressive rulers who determine the strategies and tactics to be used by the liberation movement and because of this we call on all progressive forces for change to have no illusions about the task we have ahead of us."

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Tributes pour in, Page 9.

Inside Mail

My friend Steve Biko

(32)
D 14/9/77

A personal tribute by DONALD WOODS editor of the Daily Dispatch



I HAVE just received the news that my most valued friend, Steve Biko, has died in detention.

He needs no tributes from me. He never did. He was a special and extraordinary man who at the age of 30 had already acquired a towering status in the hearts and minds of countless thousands of young blacks throughout the length and breadth of South Africa.

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

Wisdom, humour, compassion, understanding, brilliancy of intellect, unselfishness, modesty, courage — he had all these attributes. You could take the most complex problems to him and he would in one or two sentences strike unerringly to the core of the matter and provide the obvious solution.

How I wish I could publish for all South Africans his thoughts on all their fears, prejudices and political timidities, and what he saw as the clear and peaceful answers to these — but the Government through its banning orders silenced all public statements of his and even in death he may not be quoted.

His thoughts could be repeated somehow, it is true, and will, but part of their force was that they came directly from him in his uniquely influential position as a black spokesman of major standing.

I once went to Minister J T Kruger and begged him to lift the restrictions on Steve and to speak to him. The result of that visit was an increase in Steve's restrictions and a State prosecution against me.

Steve's reaction was to burst out laughing — nothing ever daunted his spirit.

He was detained more than once. He experienced solitary confinement more than once. He always came out of such ordeals as tough as ever and as resiliently humorous about the interrogation sessions.

He had a far closer understanding of his interrogators' fears and motivations than they will ever know, and with almost total recall he recounted to me the full range of their questions. Many were simply incredible. I'll say no more than that — at this stage.

Although he was under banning orders for four years, restricting him to King William's Town, he went pretty much where he liked — to Durban, to Cape Town, to Johannesburg, to Pretoria, to Bloemfontein and other places. He visited my home in East London on a number of occasions. He regarded all of South Africa as his home and he had helpful friends everywhere.

Any contest of wits between him and his many watchers in the Security Police was an absurdly one-sided mismatch.

Only one thing could bring him down to earth — and now it has done so.

Whether all the circumstances surrounding his death will ever come to light cannot be known at this stage, but there areenough basic facts known to apportion blame.

The basic facts are that barely three weeks ago, when he was detained, he was completely fit and healthy (I know because I was with him a day or two before his detention), that this healthy and strong young man was detained without trial, and that he died three weeks later still in such detention in hospital.

Therefore whatever the cause of his death — I repeat, whatever the cause — I hold responsible all those who were associated with his detention, because his death occurred while under their control and control exercised through morally wrong powers such as detention without trial is control that is morally unjustifiable, making those who exercise it morally accountable for all that occurs in terms of it.

And because Minister Kruger heads the department which exercises such powers, I hold him particularly accountable in this tragedy.

As to those more directly concerned with his detention, all things humanly possible will be done to bring their role to light. This can confidently be promised because without any doubt a great many South Africans have sworn this oath today, and I am one of these many.

The Government quite clearly never understood the extent to which Steve was a man of peace. He was militant in standing up for his principles, yes, but his abiding goal was for a peaceful reconciliation of all South Africans, and this happen to know, he was moderating influence.

Man out of the ordinary

By WENDY WOODS

STEVE BIKO was once unknown to my husband, Donald, and myself. We had heard of him but did not know him. And then because of persistent urging on the part of various people, we met him and the foundations of a deep and committed friendship were laid.

We were drawn to him at once. Physically, he was an imposing figure, very tall, extremely well-built and with a noble face. He was not an extrovert — one had a sense of a great capacity for self-containment.

He spoke quietly, generally unemotionally and all the time one was aware of his acute sensibilities — his ability to listen, to sift and make judgments on what people were saying to know what they were really like.

He had every excuse, perhaps, to fail to notice people and not to remember their names or faces, because as a national leader he was a very busy man. But he never forgot to acknowledge anybody — and this he did because it was in his nature to be like that.

His intellect was razor-sharp. It was thrilling to hear him talk on abstract concepts, ideologies, moralities, people and ordinary everyday happenings.

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We loved him dearly and the pain of knowing that he is dead will not leave us for a long time.

Because of space reasons, the question and answer interview with Peter Katjavivi, Swapo's information secretary in London, has been held over until tomorrow.

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EDITORIAL OPINION

Death of a martyr

DD 14/9/77 325

Many South Africans are in mourning today. Steve Biko is dead. The nation has lost a great man, a person who represented the best aspirations of a new South Africa — 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, of detention without trial. He is yet another person who has 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 to many a light will have gone out of 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 tem 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? And 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.

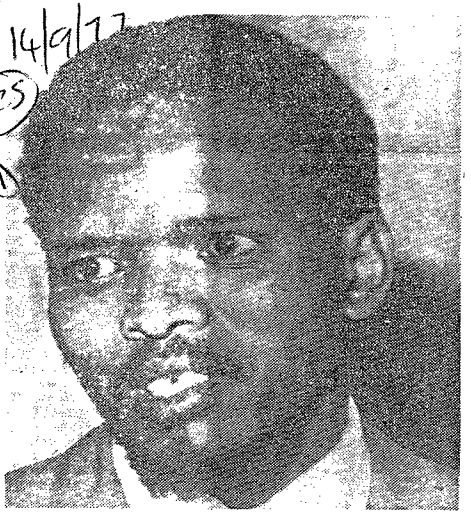
He has become a victim of the society he tried to change. And although he is dead, his ideas will live on. While South Africa mourns today, that should be remembered. Steve Biko should be remembered as he would like to be remembered — a man who wanted love and reconciliation, not bitterness and hatred.

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



A tribute to Steve Biko



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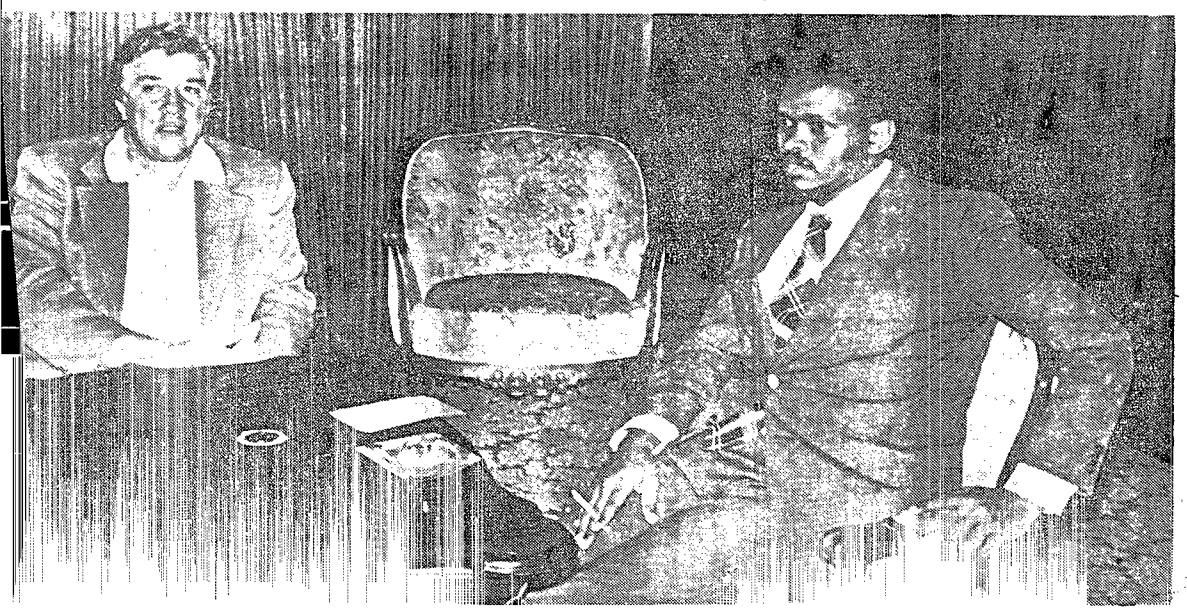
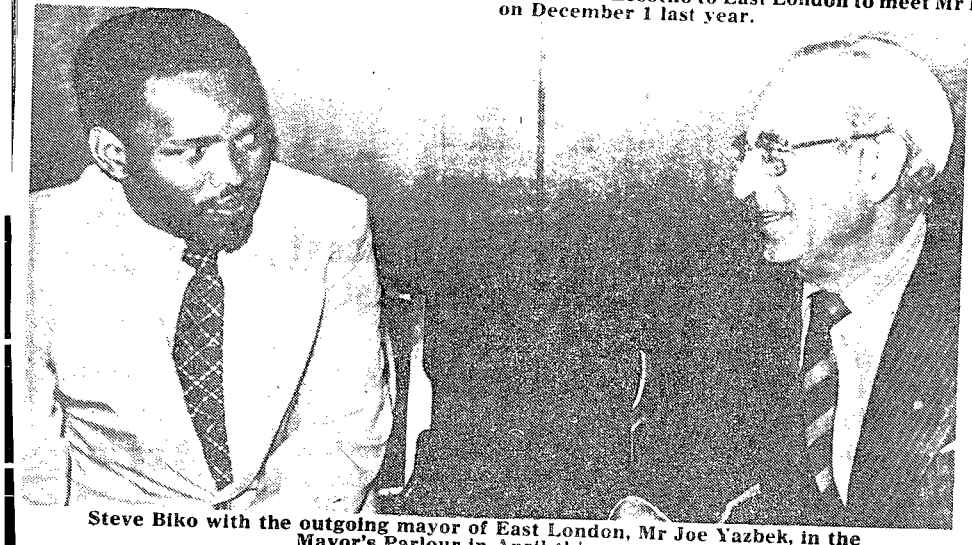
The many different faces of Steve Biko




Steve Biko with United States Sen Dick Clarke, chairman of the Senate sub-committee on Africa, who flew from Lesotho to East London to meet Mr Biko on December 1 last year.



Steve Biko with the outgoing mayor of East London, Mr Joe Yazbek, in the Mayor's Parlour in April this year.

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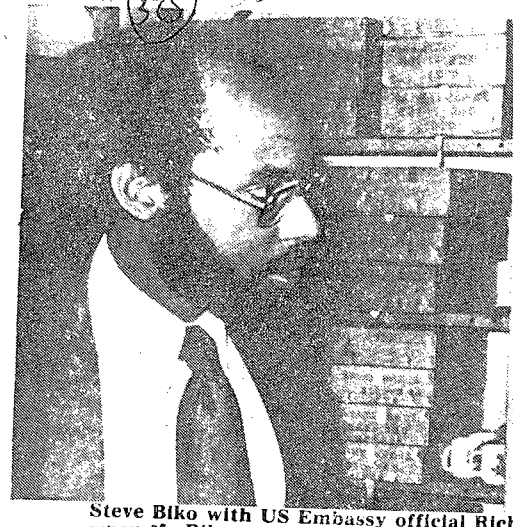
Steve Biko outside the King William's Town magistrate's court in July when he appeared on a charge of breaking his banning order.





Steve Biko with US Embassy official Richard Baltimore in March this year when Mr Biko was charged with subornation to perjury. He was acquitted.

Tributes from two friends

By DONALD WOODS

I have just received the news that my most valued friend, Steve Biko, has died in detention.

He needs no tributes from me. He never did. He was a special and extraordinary man who at the age of 30 had already acquired a towering status in the hearts and minds of countless thousands of young blacks throughout the length and breadth of South Africa.

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

Wisdom, humour, compassion, understanding, brilliancy of intellect, unselfishness, modesty, courage — he had all these attributes. You could take the most complex problems to him and he would in one or two sentences strike unerringly to the core of the matter and provide the obvious solution.

How I wish I could publish for all South Africans his thoughts on all their fears, prejudices and political timidities, and what he saw as the clear and peaceful answers to these — but the Government through its banning orders silenced all public statements of his and even in death he may not be quoted.

His thoughts could be repeated somehow, it is true, and will, but part of their force was that they came directly from him in his uniquely influential position as a black spokesman of major standing.

I once went to Minister J. T. Kruger and begged him to lift the restrictions on Steve and to speak to him. The result of that visit was an increase in Steve's restrictions and a state prosecution against me.

Steve's reaction was to burst out laughing — nothing ever daunted his spirit.

He was detained, more than once. He experienced solitary confienement more than once. He always came out of such ordeals as tough as ever and as resiliently humorous about the interrogation sessions.

He had a far closer understanding of his interrogators' fears and motivations than they will ever know, and with almost total recall he recounted to me the full range of their questions. Many were simply incredible. I'll say no more than that — at this stage.

Although he was under banning orders for four years, restricting him to King William's Town, he went pretty much where he liked — to Durban, to Cape Town, to Johannesburg, to Pretoria, to Bloemfontein and other places. He visited my home in East London on a number of occasions. He regarded all of South Africa as his home and he had helpful friends everywhere.

Any contest of wits between him and his many watchers in the Security Police was an absurdly one-sided mismatch.

The only thing that could bring him down was death — and now it has done so.

Whether all the circumstances surrounding his death will ever come to light cannot be known at this stage, but there are enough basic facts known to apportion blame.

The basic facts are that barely three weeks ago, when he was detained, he was completely fit and healthy (I know because I was with him a day or two before his detention) and that this healthy and strong young man was imprisoned without trial by political police, and that he died three weeks later still in such captivity.

Therefore whatever the cause of his death — I repeat, whatever the cause — I hold responsible all those who were associated with his detention, because his death occurred while under their control, and control exercised through morally wrong powers such as detention without trial is control that is morally unjustifiable, making those who exercise it morally accountable for all that occurs in terms of it.

And because Minister J. T. Kruger heads the department which exercises such powers, I hold him particularly accountable in this tragedy.

As to those more directly concerned with the interrogations to which he was subjected, all things humanly possible will be done to bring their role to light. This can confidently be promised, because without any doubt a great many South Africans have sworn this oath today, and I am only one of these many.

The Government quite clearly never understood the extent to which Steve was a man of peace. He was militant in standing up for his principles, yes, but his abiding goal was for a peaceful reconciliation of all South Africans, and in this I happen to know he was a moderating influence.

Therefore to the racists who might gloat over my grief today, even twisting scriptural texts to coat their venom, I reply in the same vein:

"Weep not for me, but for yourselves and for your children."



Mr and Mrs Steve Biko with their son, Nkosinati, now aged 6½.

By WENDY WOODS

Steve Biko was once unknown to my husband, Donald, and myself. We had heard of him but did not know him. And then because of persistent urging on the part of various people, we met him and the foundations of a deep and committed friendship were laid.

We were drawn to him at once. Physically, he was an imposing figure, very tall, extremely well-built and with a noble face. He was not an extrovert — one had a sense of a great capacity for self-containment. He spoke quietly, generally unemotionally and all the time one was aware of his acute sensibilities — his ability to listen, to sift and make judgments on what people were saying to know what they were really like.

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World reacts with shock

JOHANNESBURG — The death in detention of Steve Biko triggered shock and grief around the world yesterday.

At the United Nations, America's UN representative, Mr Andrew Young, compared Mr Biko's death with the loss to America of Pres Kennedy, Dr Martin Luther King, and Sen Robert Kennedy.

Mr Young, who met Mr Biko while in South Africa, said: "No nation can afford to lose its most dedicated and creative leadership and yet prosper.

"Certainly a future non-racial South Africa will mourn the loss of a dedicated native son."

Speaking from Dakar in Senegal, Mr Colin Eglin, who also met Mr Biko during his recent tour of the Ciskei, said he was deeply shocked at the news. Mr Biko was not the kind of man who was likely to take his own life, he said.

"His death will have serious repercussions inside and outside South Africa."

In London, Amnesty International, the non-governmental, international human rights movement, urged an immediate, open and independent inquiry into Mr Biko's death.

In a telegram to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, the organisation said failure to have an inquiry would "strengthen the widespread belief that the South African Government officially condones the torture of detainees by the Security Police."

The movement said Mr Biko joined the "long list of martyrs who have died for the cause of freedom in South Africa."

Mr Chris Matebane from Pretoria, the British representative of the BPC, said the news had taken his organisation completely by surprise. "We are shocked ... Biko has finally emphasised his failure to uphold our once proud system of criminal justice.

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

He said Mr Biko's death was the most tragic indictment 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.

"The price that will have to be paid by this country for his death under these ... well. What violence caused his death?

"There is a realisation 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 the future, but the present that has become too ghastly to contemplate."

The Labour Party said in a statement: "We are agonised by the untimely death of Mr Steve Biko.

"South Africa will certainly be the poorer. A clear thinker, purposeful and dedicated to the

Clerk at King clinic detained

EAST LONDON — An administrative clerk at the Zanempilo Community ... Clinic near King ... me a chance to get him any clothes," Mrs Ndzengu said.

She said her husband

death of a very dear comrade."

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

"I am appalled by the news. I believe that this, following on a number of other deaths in detention, necessitates for once and all the need for a judicial inquiry under the full glare of public scrutiny."

Dr Alex Boraine, PFP Member for Pinelands, said: "I don't weep easily, but I wept when I heard Steve Biko was dead. Now that I have heard some of the sordid details, I am convinced that Steve didn't just die — 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.

"As long as Mr Kruger and Cabinet members refuse to deal with men of the stature of Steve Biko, closer draws the time when they will be forced to deal with men who are not nearly as compassionate. They will no longer find reasonable men, but violent men."

Mr Myburgh Streicher, South African Party MP, said only the post-mortem could indicate what had caused Mr Biko's death. If Mr Kruger did not give a satisfactory explanation after the 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."

The New Republic Party MP for East London City, Mr Harland Bell, demanded that Mr Kruger resign immediately.

"A more concerned Minister must be appointed to guide the justice system of our country back to the norms of a democratic society," he said.

Mr Bell said he was amazed and appalled at the death of a highly regarded leader of BPC.

"Our sense of justice has been consistently outraged with the death of each unconvicted detainee and 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 in South Africa.

"As the Minister of Justice has consistently refused to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the deaths of

will be very high."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of 10 in Soweto, said he was disturbed by the growing number of detained people, in apparent good health, who died in detention.

"I knew Biko very well. He was a healthy, robust young man in the prime of life."

Mr W. D. Wilson, retired deputy chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, who knew Mr Biko well, said: "This is incredibly sad. It is the loss of a very great man. I am terribly sorry."

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

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

Mrs Sheena Duncan, national president of the Black Sash, said: "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."

Sen Brian Bamford said Mr Biko was "a top South African, a man of leadership, intellect and tremendous potential."

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

The Rev Theo Kotze, Western Cape regional director of the Christian Institute, said: "I knew Steve Biko very well. As usual, we do not know — and will probably never know — what actually happened. The most important witness is dead.

"I am filled with horror and revulsion. His death spells great danger for the future of South Africa — we cannot afford to lose a man of his majestic stature."

Dr Francis Wilson of the economics department, University of Cape Town, said: "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 men, a leader of leaders from whom thousands drew strength and hope.

"Steve Biko was detained more than once, but never was he convicted by the courts for any crime. When arrested last

liberation of all South Africans, his death should be a motivation to all to become involved in the creation of a new society."

The professor of Comparative African Government and Law at the University of Cape Town, Prof David Welsh, a long-time friend of Mr Biko, said: "He generated hope and fearlessness.

"Even in the civil death of restriction under the Internal Security Act, Mr Biko was for hundreds of thousands of young blacks the symbol of a new black man who refused to take it lying down.

"His hatred of racism was so profound that he could not bring himself ever to accept racism in reverse.

"For all his militance, Steve Biko was ultimately a man who stood for reconciliation in South Africa."

The office of the president of the Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference, Archbishop J. P. Fitzgerald, has appealed for a full inquiry.

"We wish to express our deepest sympathy and solidarity in Christ with his family and friends," he said.

As no crime has ever been proved 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.

"He was known to be a healthy man, and we join many in appealing for a full inquiry into the circumstances of his death."

A statement from South African Council of Churches read by Mr Obed Musi said: "We mourn the death of Steve Biko. 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 the case with Mr Biko — that he had died in detention.

In East London, chairman of the Coloured Management Committee, Mr Peter Mopp, said: "Is the death of Steve Biko another case of suicide? There are many of us who refuse to believe that a man like Steve Biko would commit suicide"

The former Mayor of East London, Mr Joe Yazbek, said he was very upset.

"Steve Biko had a charming character. My acquaintance with him was too short." — DDC-DDR.

William's Town was detained by three Security Policemen from Port Elizabeth last night while awaiting a telephone call at the clinic.

The wife of Mr Mzoxolo Ndzengu said her husband was awaiting a telephone call at 8 pm last night when three Security Policemen arrived.

"They waited for him to finish on the phone and then wanted to know from him who was on duty. When he told them he was not, but was on call, they instructed him to accompany them to Port Elizabeth," she said.

Mrs Ndzengu said her husband was refused permission to telephone his parents and the Security Policemen then took him into another room.

"I asked if I could listen to what they said, but they refused. They took him to their car without giving

had been detained once before — *in March this* year.

Early yesterday morning, Mrs Phumla Sangotsha was arrested by Security Police from King and taken to their offices to make a statement, a BPC spokesman said last night.

She is in an advanced stage of pregnancy and last month had to be released from detention in King because of her condition.

Mrs Sangotsha was detained by a Sgt Bower and a Sgt Fouche at 10 am yesterday the spokesman said.

The Security Police finally released her at 4 pm yesterday.

She could not be contacted late last night for comment nor could the King William's Town Security Police. — DDR

20 have died in 18 months

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

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

Three men died in August: Mr Bayempin Mzizi, who died in Durban on August 13; Mr Hoosen Haffejee, 25, who died in Durban on August 3; and Mr Elijah Loza, 59, 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, of 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, police gave the cause of death of other detainees as: Mr Joseph Mdluli, 50, application of force to the neck; Mr Elmon Malele, 52, and Mr Loza, strokes; Mr Samuel Malginga, 45, and Mr Dumisani Mbatha, 16, natural causes.

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

Mr T. M. Mosala, detained in Transkei under Proclamation R400, died on November 29 last year. The cause of death was not reported.

On August 4 the Institute of Race Relations reported that 579 people were being held in detention under security legislation. Each person was held incommunicado without charges being brought against them and without access to lawyers, friends or family. — DDC.

BPC statement today

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Although the Black People's Convention will issue an official statement this morning regarding Mr Biko's death, the organisation's president, Mr Ken Rachidi, yesterday called on the entire black community to mourn his death.

He said the BPC greatly mourned Mr Biko's death, "which has come at a time when the black consciousness philosophy is taking practical shape in the black community."

He said Mr Biko was one of the greatest exponents of black consciousness and was a founder member of the BPC, which had nurtured and propagated black consciousness. — DDR.

Commemorative service

GRAHAMSTOWN — There will be a special commemorative service at the Anglican cathedral here at 1.15 pm today following Mr Biko's death.

denominational and will be held because of detentions without trial in South Africa and to pray for the families and relatives of those who

RDM 18/9/77

Inside Mail

325 detentions

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 Tyita, 24.1.64. Found hanging in cell by scarf. No details of inquest.

Suliman Saloojee, 9.9.64. Fell seven floors from The Grays, then Security Polic headquarters in Johannesburg. Death from multiple injuires, "no irregularities."

Ngeni Gaga, 9.5.65. Death from natural causes. No details of inquest.

Pongolosha Hoye, 9.5.65. "Death from natural causes." No further details.

James Hamakwayo, in 1966. "Suicide by hanging." No details given.

Hangula Shonyeka, 9.10.66. "Suicide," Death mentioned by the Minister of Justice in 1967 without mentioning identity; Shonyeka's name given by Minister of Police in 1970 as one who committed suicide on 9.10.66.

L Y Leong Pin, died 19.11.66, in Leeuwkop prison. "Suicide by hanging." No further details available.

Ah Yan, 5.1.67. Died Silverton police cells. "Suicide by hanging." No details of inquest given.

Alpheus Madiba, 9.9.67. "Suicide by hanging." No further details.

J B Tubakwa, 11.9.68. "Hanging (suicide)" No details.

On 28.1.69, a case was mentioned in Parliament involving a detainee whose date of death and identity were not given.

Cause of death "unknown".

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

Solomon Modipane, 28.2.69. "Slipped on soap," sustaining injuries. District surgeon unable to determine cause of death. Documents placed before magistrate, who endorsed them "natural death — no inquest necessary". Died H F Verwoerd Hospital, Pretoria.

James Lenkoe, 10.3.69. Traces of copper, signs of electric shock in toe; bruises below ear, marks on neck, shoulders; haemorrhage at base of skull. Magistrate found "suicide by hanging" and death not due to offence on part of anyone. Died Pretoria local prison.

Claeb Mayekiso, 1.6.69. "Natural cause." No further details available.

Michael Shivute, night of 16-17 June, 1969. Death "suicide". No details given.

Jacob Monnakgotla, 10.9.69, in Pretoria. District surgeon found he died from "thrombosis".

Imam Abdullah Haron, 27.9.69. Died Maitland, Cape, police cells. "Fell downstairs"; 26 bruises of different ages; broken rib; haetoma on back. Inquest magistrate unable to determine how balance of injuries sustained; but detainee died of heart trouble partly brought on by the injuries.

Mthayeni Cuthsela, 21.1.71. 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 3.8.71.

Ahmed Timol, 27.10.71. Fell from 10th floor window, John Vorster Square, during interrogation. No details of inquest.

Joseph Mdluli, 19.3.76. No further details given. Mrs Mdluli is suing Minister and Commissioner of Police for R25 000.

Mapetla Mohapi, 5.8.76. No details given.

Luke Mazwembe, 2.9.76. Inquest 11.11.76. No details given.

Dumisani Mbatha (Isak), 25.9.76. Aged 16. Arrested with students in demonstration in Johannesburg centre.

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 Mzolo, 40, 9.10.76. Detained at The Fort 1.10.76. Allegedly died in detention.

William Namodi Tshwane, 14.10.76. Arrested with other students at Modder B jail. No further details.

Ernest Mamasila, 18.11.76. No further details.

Thalo Mosala, 26.11.76. Butterworth. No details on death.

Wellington Mlungisi Tshazibane, 11.12.76. Stated held in connection explosion Carlton Centre.

George Botha, 14.12.76. No details available.

Dr Nanaoath Ntshuntsha, 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.

Elmon Malel, 20.1.77. Detained after explosion in house at Pimville, Soweto. Wife also detained. No details on death.

Mathews Marwale Mabelane, 15.2.77. Parents informed early in February that he was in detention. Aged 22.

Twasifene Joyi, 15.2.77. No details given.

Samuel Malinga, 22.2.77, in Maritzburg. Death due to "natural causes".

R Khoza, 26.3.77, in Pietermaritzburg. Aged 45. "Suicide by hanging."

Phakamile Mabija, 7.7.77, in Kimberley. Aged 27. Fell from 6th floor of Kimberley police station.

Elisa Loza, 1.8.77, in Cape Town. Inquest still to be held.

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

Bayempin 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 what 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 Ngoye University, Zululand. Found in his cell at The Fort on 5.10.76 "having committed suicide". Stated he would face charges of theft. Family postponed funeral from 17th October to enable private post-mortem.

Fenual Mogatusi, 22, said to have died on 28.9.76 from "natural causes" as a result of suffocation from epileptic fit. Had been in detention since July. Stated he would face robbery charge.

Address, Chamber of Mines Rhodesia, 9 April 1975.
following statement is found: 'the availability
ur, both now and in the future, has become much more
ce the government permitted Wenela to recruit
e South African mines. This decision, which could
ercussions for our mining industry, was made without
ntations with the Chamber. This was a grave departure
ment's normal proceedures but I am assured that it
ated .... the more unfortunate consequences which
d were averted by the co-operative attitude adopted

ald, 23 January 1975: Business and Financial Review,

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possibility of change has brought about immediate fall-off in recruitment intake levels.

72/ .....

Finest person I knew — Stubbs

DD 15/9/77

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MASERU — Fr Aelred 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.

"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 civilization, 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.

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59/ See Presidential Address, Chamber of Mines Rhodesia, 9 April 1975. ere the following statement is found: 'the availability ed labour, both now and in the future, has become much more al since the government permitted Wenela to recruit for the South African mines. This decision, which could s repercussions for our mining industry, was made without consultations with the Chamber. This was a grave departure overnment's normal proceedures but I am assured that it repeated .... the more unfortunate consequences which ensued were averted by the co-operative attitude adopted tself'.

Dean asks for inquiry

A.D. 1975.

EAST LONDON — The Dean of the Anglican Church of Grahamstown, the Rt Rev Kenneth Oram, 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 Mabija, 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. — DDR.

s Herald, 23 January 1975: Business and Financial Review, 975.

d Financial Review, 24 April 1975.

tance the reported fall off in production noted in Grain oard, Annual Report 1975, Salisbury.

s section are extracted from the Agreement contained on 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).

64/ Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd., Reports and Financial Statements For The Year Ended 31 December 1974, Johannesburg.

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 Il 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/ .....

Journalists reject Kruger statement

EAST LONDON — It would be a tragedy if anyone, other than the Minister of Justice, Mr J. Kruger and his security police, accepted Mr Kruger's explanation of Mr Steve Biko's death, the acting president of the Union of Black Journalists, Mr Charles Nqakula said yesterday.

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 it 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 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, either way, he died because he was in detention," he said.

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

"This shows Mr Kruger and his system for what they are — 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 whose only crime is to oppose the inhuman system of apartheid," Mr Nqakula said.

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

"Many of us who have known Steve personally know he was opposed to bloodshed. Nay, the very organisation he helped establish, the Black Peoples Convention, has no military ambitions."

He said South Africa had to mourn Mr Biko's death and condemn the system responsible for it until both the system and those connected with Mr Biko's detention without trial had been prosecuted or until "we have all been detained and subsequently die in detention."

And on behalf of the Border Region of the South African Society of Journalists, vice-president, Mr Percy Owen, said yesterday: "The untimely death of Mr Steve Biko, who died while in police detention, has done nothing but emphasise the plight of many journalists in detention.

"I appeal to the Minister Mr Kruger to review all cases through an open judicial inquiry of all people who have died while in detention in a lenient and human manner to lessen the burden for those held, being held and their families," he said. — DDR

Coloured concern

CAPE TOWN — The Coloured Representative Council yesterday unanimously expressed its "deep concern over the untimely death" of Mr Steve Biko, and called for a full judicial investigation into the causes of and circumstances surrounding the death of detainees.

The unopposed motion was proposed by East London's Mr J. H. Nash of the Labour Party. It read: "This council expresses its deep concern ovr the untimely death of one of South Africa's prominent young leaders, Mr Stephen Biko while in detention, and further expresses its condolence to his family and all the families who have suffered a similar experience.

"The council further calls for a full, impartial judicial investigation into the causes of and circumstances surrounding the death of detainees." — SAPA.

Front-page news

LONDON — The death in detention of Mr Steve Biko was reported prominently in British newspapers here yesterday.

It was front-page news in The Times, Guardian, Financial Times, Morning Star and the Cardiff Western Mail.

The communist Morning Star called for a full-scale boycott of South Africa by the world. The British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen should take the lead in organising such a campaign until the downfall of this "horrendous system," the paper said in an editorial.

The Daily Telegraph in an inside page story said the South African Government was faced with a critical test on its credibility following Mr Biko's death.

From Canberra, Australia, the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation telegrammed the Daily Dispatch to say Mr Biko's death had outraged Australian public opinion and would "lead to official Government protests and hostile receptions for the South African Ambassador." — SAPA-DDR.

Catholics shocked

EAST LONDON — The Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Rt 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.

"We feel deeply over the tragic news of Mr Steve Biko's untimely death, and especially the circumstances in which it occured.

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

JFK comparison slated

PRETORIA — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, criticised American UN Ambassador Andrew Young for his 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 Nusas conference 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 Transvaal National Party congress yesterday.

If 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." — SAPA.

Black Sash ask: Why?

JOHANNESBURG — Lone members of the Black Sash started vigils opposite the University of the Witwatersrand here yesterday with the placard — Steve Biko is dead. Why?.

The women are taking turns in one-hour shifts. They are taking solo vigils not to contravene the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Mrs Joyce Harris, an executive member of the Black Sash started the vigil at lunch-time. — SAPA.



MR VANCE

Delay in autopsy findings

PRETORIA — The findings of the pathologist who conducted the post-mortem on Mr Biko will not be known until microscopic work has been completed.

The physical examination conducted by Prof J. D. Loubser, the chief State pathologist, ended at 4.30 pm yesterday.

Prof Loubser confirmed yesterday it had started at 10 am, but had been halted at 11.30 am after objections from lawyers acting for Mr Biko's family.

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

Prof Loubser said the autopsy had resumed at 2 pm with Dr John Gluckman, a Johannesburg pathologist, and a technical assistant observing on the Biko family's behalf.

Prof I. W. Simson, head of the pathology department at Pretoria University, had then been invited by Prof Loubser to attend the examination.

Prof Loubser said that between 10 am and 11.30 am "no important dissection work was done by me."

The important aspects of the autopsy had been performed after 2 pm while Dr Gluckman, his technical assistant and Prof Simson had been in attendance. — SAPA.

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15/9/77

DAILY DISPATCH, THURSDAY, SE

US expresses its shock over death

EAST LONDON — The United States Government is shocked and saddened at the death of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, the American Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, said yesterday.

In a statement telephoned to the Daily Dispatch by US embassy official in Pretoria, Mr Richard Baltimore, Mr Vance said: "We are shocked and saddened by the untimely death while in detention in South Africa of Mr Steve Biko, a well-known and respected black leader

"We have expressed deep concern to the South African Government over Mr Biko's death and the circumstances in which this occured without his family or attorney being notified of any deterioration of the state of his health," Mr Vance said.

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

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

During one of the State cases against Mr Biko which was heard earlier this year, and of which Mr Biko was found not guilty and discharged, Mr Baltimore travelled to East London for the hearing and during the week-long hearing met with the black consciousness leader. — DDR.



CHIEF MABANDLA

Bishop: a leader lost

EAST LONDON — The president of the German Justice and Peace Commission, Bishop H. Tenhumberg, said yesterday the death of Mr Steve Biko was the writing on the wall for the South African Government to end apartheid, even at this late hour.

In a statement from Bonn, Bishop Tenhumberg said news of Mr Biko's death had filled him with mourning and deep concern.

He said the black people of South Africa had lost one of their most convincing leaders who in his Christian spirit and responsibility fought for necessary changes in South Africa by peaceful means. — DDR.

Mabandla: he died too young

EAST LONDON — The leader of the Ciskei Opposition, Chief Justice Mabandla, expressed his deep regret yesterday at the death of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, in detention.

"Personally, I didn't know him and never had the fortune to speak to him or see him, but I respected him as a brother in the struggle, although our approaches differed tremendously," Chief Mabandla said.

"Steve died too young, but he had done more as a leader than some leaders double his age, among whom I include myself.

"In him, South African blacks, and those whites who are free from the cancer of discrimination and hatred, and who love and respect man for what he is irrespective of colour and creed, have lost a leader of rare qualities," he said.

Chief Mabandla said he awaited anxiously the results of the post-mortem, and called for an immediate inquiry into the whole system of detention.

"If this is not done, and done quickly, I'm afraid South Africa will find itself in a bloodbath, and all will be lost," Chief Mabandla said. - DDR.

EDITORIAL OPINION

DD. 15/9/77

This isn't good enough

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, issued a lengthy statement on Tuesday on the death of Mr Steve Biko — and his attempt to clear up the mystery of his death indicts the entire system of detention without trial. It also raises the most serious questions about the competence of Port Elizabeth doctors who are said to have examined Mr Biko.

Mr Kruger says Mr Biko was arrested "in connection with activities related to the riots in Port Elizabeth." He was detained on August 19 yet a full 25 days later had not even been brought before a court. How much time does the Special Branch need to prepare a case? Particularly when Mr Kruger's statement indicates there was a prime facie case against him.

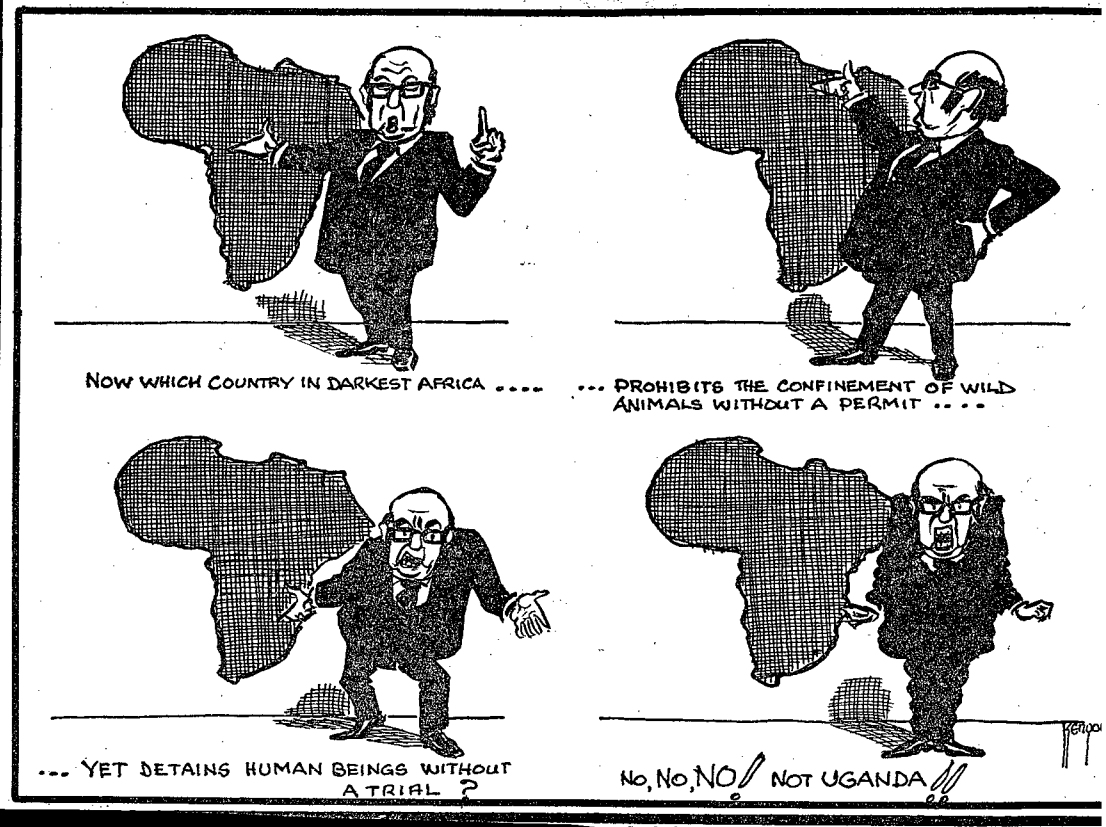
The Minister also says Mr Biko was visited by a magistrate on September 2 "according to the law." He died 10 days later. What happened in those 10 days? The fact that Mr Biko was seen only once in 25 days by a magistrate is yet further proof of the evils of detention without trial.

Mr Kruger makes great play of medical examinations. He says Mr Biko began a hunger strike on September 5 when he also began to refuse water. The district surgeon was called on September 7 after Mr Biko appeared to be unwell. But the district surgeon could not find anything wrong with him.

On September 8 — three days after Mr Biko is said to have begun his strike — he was examined again, this time by two doctors who could find no physical problem but recommended he be sent to the prison hospital for further examination. A specialist examined him the same day. The following day, September 9 — the fourth day of his alleged fast — he was examined again by a doctor who kept him for observation. Two days later, on September 11 — by which time Mr Biko is said to have been without food and water for six days — the district surgeon recommended he be removed back to the Walmer Police Station.

Is it not amazing that a team of doctors could find nothing wrong with a man said to have been without food and water for that length of time? And for the district surgeon to recommend that a man in this state be returned to jail conditions is inexplicable.

And then Mr Biko died a day later. What happened to him during those last 24 hours? What happened to him throughout his detention?



The Natal Mercury

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1977

AN UGLY STAIN

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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, to 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.

him/her or the result of the audition. (This normally takes 2-3 weeks).

6. If the applicant is successful, normal registration procedure should be followed.

2/.....

Call to fast in protest over Biko

CAPE TIMES 15/9/77

325 - Detention

WIDESPREAD reaction from the United States, England and a call to fast has greeted the death in detention of Mr Stephen Biko on Monday night.

Mr Biko, 30, died after an eight-day hunger strike, the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said yesterday.

Two members of the Black Sash yesterday placed a wreath at the building where the National Party congress was held in Pretoria in protest against Mr Biko's death.

And in London the offices of the South African Foundation were occupied for almost two hours by 40 members of the Southern Africa Solidarity Campaign.

In Grahamstown a schoolteacher has invited clergymen, academics and others to join her in a fast to prove that Mr Biko could not have died in an eight-day hunger strike.

The teacher, Mrs Shirley Moulder, wife of a senior lecturer in philosophy at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, said it would also be "an act of penitence for what is happening in South Africa".

The fast is due to start on Sunday, September 18 at 7am and continue through to Sunday, September 25 at 7pm.

● The Ministers' Fraternal of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu, to which ministers of all the churches in the townships belong, has arranged a memorial service to be held in St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, on Sunday.

Because of restrictions on physical demonstrations under the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Black Sash intends distributing more than 50

Mr Biko

wreaths with Mr Biko's name on them around the City today.

In Pretoria two members of the Black Sash placed a wreath in the building where the National Party congress was being held. After standing silently for a few seconds, they walked down the aisle from the front of the Pretoria City Hall to cries of "sies".

About 800 people yesterday attended an interdenominational memorial service in the Grahamstown Cathedral for Mr Biko. – Staff reporters; Sapa

Another new aspect ... omic History is its findings. Ne
Economic historians ... ave not looked for new fields of
study but have ... ve a second look at some
of the classic ... ure. ... st for economic historians —
the profitability ... e economic effects of the
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Such revision ... nteresting new conclusions,
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2. Quelles nuances di ... tonalité des deux poèmes?
3. Montrez comment l' ... dans l'un, de vers de six syllabes dans l'autre perme ... es.
4. Analysez le symbol ... deux ... ecue ... te ... de V ... e le ... z pl ... Ecc ... na ... wa ... Ec ... e ... th
5. Quelle valeur poét ... ecue ... te ... de V ... e le ... z pl ... Ecc ... na ... wa ... Ec ... e ... th
6. Le poème de Verla ... et d'une série de ... ans paroles
7. Quels sont les so ... ...
8. Montrez avec quel ... pour obtenir des ... 16, 18 et 19.

Il ... Dans ... Quo ... Ce ... C'e ... De ... San ... Mon ...

(8) Fishlow & Fogel, ... onomic History, Journal of Economic History ... 1971.



Mr Ray Swart

Kruger 'unfit to hold office' —Swart

ARGUS 15/9/77

325 Detention

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The handling of the death in detention of founder Saso president, Mr Steve Biko, by the Minister of Police, Mr J. T. Kruger, showed he was unfit to be a Minister and should be called upon to resign, Mr Ray Swart, acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said today.

In a statement Mr Swart said Mr Kruger, by his demeanour at the National Party Transvaal congress yesterday, had shown that he was an embarrassment not only to his party but also to the people of South Africa and was totally unsuited, because of his lack of sensitivity and compassion, to hold the office he does.

UNFIT

'Mr Kruger's performance on the Biko tragedy shows that he is unfit to be a Minister and he should be called upon to resign forthwith.'

Mr Swart said the PFP, Inkatha, the National Cultural Liberation Movement and other organisations were planning a combined meeting to be held in Durban to protest against deaths in detention, particuarly the death of Mr Biko.

CALLOUS

Dr Alan Paton today described Mr Kruger's reported remark that the death of Mr Stephen Biko 'left him cold' as highly improper, callous and tasteless.

Dr Paton said: 'Even if Mr Biko's death did leave him cold, one just should not say such things at a time when things in South Africa are as difficult as they are.

OUTSIDE WORLD

'The Government and officials just do not seem to understand the effect their actions and remarks like this will have on the outside world.

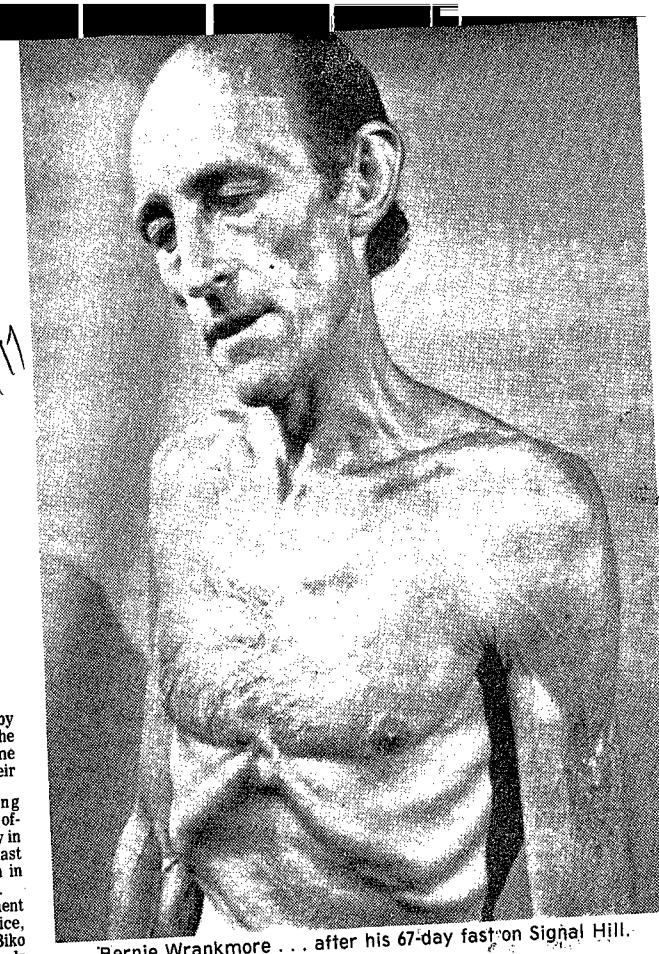
'I refer not only to the remarks made at the National Party congress yesterday about Mr Biko but also to the bulldozing down of people's homes in Cape Town.

'I think Mr Biko's death is a terrible tragedy, not just for the Biko family but for the country, too,' Dr Paton said.

● Tributes were paid to Mr Biko last night at a vigil attended by more than 200 people in Soweto.

(See Pages 3 and 7)

Death by hunger strike



Bernie Wrankmore . . . after his 67-day fast on Signal Hill.

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 acknowledged practice in many Western countries today.

If the prisoner refuses liquids as well, a simple drip in the veins 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 reputation of the prisoner was irrelevent. He could have been a proven terrorist with blood on his hands.

The standing order was: When a prisoner goes on hunger strike, call in a medical expert to administer 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 in the Press as well as a medical expert in cases of hunger strikes by Stern Gang guerillas.

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 in the past some prisoners succeeded in their bid.

Former high-ranking British Colonial Police officers I spoke to yesterday in Johannesburg were aghast at the news of the death in dentention of Steve Biko.

According to a statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, Mr Biko died after refusing meals and water since September 5.

He said Mr Biko became "unwell" after his detention in King William's Town since August 18. He was transferred to Pretoria on Sunday and died on Monday.

Looking at the situation from the viewpoint of the authorities, the former Colonial officers could not understand why force-feeding measures were apparently not taken — and the fact that Mr Biko's condition had not been released to the Press from the first day.

"It for no other reason", a one-time senior police officer in Palestine and Aden explains, "but to protect the authorities from public backlash if the prisoner died."

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

But if in that period he takes no liquids, dehydration could at least cause halbucination.

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 not exercising you might survive that long."

The weight of a person when he starts a fast is highly relevant to how long he will survive.

Steve Biko was a fairly heavily-built young man.

But without liquids, particularly orange juice which contains potassium, the kidney system of even a fit man can fail within two weeks.

Other lifesavers for hunger strikers are soda water, which helps keep up the carbon dioxide level in the body, and glucose or sugar.

The longest recorded period that a man survived without food was 382 days.

He was Angus Barbieri of Tayport, near Fife in Scotland, who lived in hospital on tea, coffee, water and soda water from June 1965 to July 1966.

South Africa has seen some remarkable hunger strikers. In recent history the Rev Bernie Wrankmore, of Cape Town, was the most prominent.

For several days and nights I kept vigil with him on Signal Hill during his 67-day fast in September, October 1971 in protest against political detentions without trial.

It was the unexplained death while in police custody of a Muslim priest, the Imam Hadji Abdullah Haron, that sparked off Wrankmore's hunger strike.

That courageous ex-boxer, ex-soldier turned pacifist nearly died on the windswept saddle between Lion's Head and Signal Hill, outside the shrine of Goolam Muhamed Soofi.

The skeletal appearance f this previously well-built and athletic man after his ordeal reduced many complete strangers to tears.

Today he is in reasonably 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 fugitive wartime internees.

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 1960 Mrs Sushila 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.

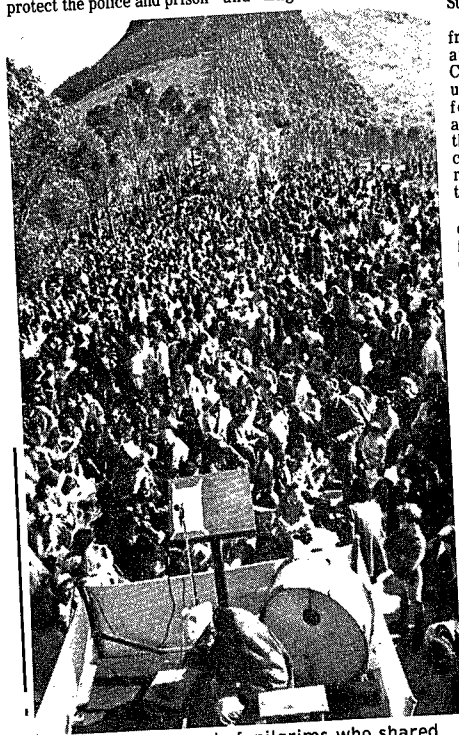
The longest recorded hunger strike in a prison was of 94 days. Of the ten Irish rebels who took part — in Cork Prison, Eire — nine survived.

The tenth, Joseph Murphy, died on the 76th day. That was in 1920. In the same year a Sinn Fein man, Terence Joseph MacSwiney, playwright, Mayor of Cork and an MP, died after a 71 day fast as a political protest.

At the inquest on the cause of death the jury found he had died from "heart 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 Stagg died in Wakefield Prison — but after a 61-day hunger-strike.



Part of the crowd of pilgrims who shared prayer services with Bernie Wrankmore.

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Man held by police.

DURBAN. – Two people, Mr George Sithole, banned secretary of the Umlazi residents' association, and a Berea 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

Biko 'leaves me cold'

Continued from page 1

comments of Mr Andrew Young, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, on the death of Mr Biko. Mr Young reportedly compared his 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 choosing 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 Port Elizabeth, 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 warder 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.

CAPE TIMES 15/9/77 (325-Delta)

Kruger: Biko leaves me cold

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Mr Steve Biko was a violent revolutionary whose death left him 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. I can say nothing to you about any person who dies. . . I shall also be sorry if I die." (Laughter).

Earlier, Mr Kruger quoted from an address delivered to 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 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 went on to take issue with the reported

Continued on page 2

CAPE TIMES 15/9/77 (325 - detention)

Biko — the greatest man I have ever known

By DONALD WOODS

MY MOST valued friend, Steve Biko, has died in detention.

He needs no tributes from me. He never did. He was a special and extraordinary man who at the age of 30 had already acquired a towering status in the hearts and minds of countless thousands of young blacks throughout the length and breadth of South Africa.

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

To the core

Wisdom, humour, compassion, understanding, brilliancy of intellect, unselfishness, modesty, courage — he had all these attributes. You could take the most complex problems to him and he would in one or two sentences strike unerringly to the core of the matter and provide the obvious solution.

How I wish I could publish for all South Africans his thoughts on all their fears, prejudices and political timidities, and what he saw as the clear and peaceful answers to these — but the government through its banning orders silenced all public statements of his and even in death he may not be quoted. His thoughts could be repeated somehow, it is true, and will, but part of their force was that they came directly from him in his uniquely influential position as a black spokesman of major standing.



Steve Biko.

I once went to Mr J T Kruger and begged him to lift the restrictions on Steve and to speak to him. The result of that visit was an increase in Steve's restrictions and a state prosecution against me.

Steve's reaction was to burst out laughing — nothing ever daunted his spirit.

He was detained more than once. He experienced solitary confinement more than once. He always came out of such ordeals as tough as ever and as resiliently humorous about the interrogation sessions. He had a far closer understanding of his interrogators' fears and motivations than they will ever know, and with almost total recall he recounted to me the full range of their questions. Many were simply incredible. I'll say no more than that — at this stage.

Although he was under banning orders for four years, restricting him to King William's Town, he went pretty much where he liked — to Durban, to Cape Town, to Johannesburg, to Pretoria, to Bloemfontein and other places. He visited my home in East London on a number of occasions. He regarded all of South Africa as his home and he had helpful friends everywhere.

Any contest of wits between him and his many watchers in the security police was an absurdly one-sided mismatch.

Basic facts

Whether all the circumstances surrounding his death will ever come to light cannot be known at this stage, but there are enough basic facts known to apportion blame.

The basic facts are that barely three weeks ago, when he was detained, he was completely fit and healthy (I know because I was with him a day or two before his detention) and that this healthy and strong young man was imprisoned without trial by political police, and that he died three weeks later still in such captivity.

Therefore whatever the cause of his death — I repeat, whatever the cause — I hold responsible all those who were associated with his detention, because his death occurred while under their control and control exercised through morally wrong powers such as detention without trial is control that is morally unjustifiable, making those who exercise it morally accountable for all that occurs in terms of it.

And because Mr Kruger heads the department which exercises such powers, I hold him particularly accountable in this tragedy.

As to those more directly concerned with the interrogations to which he was subjected, all things humanly possible will be done to bring their role to light. This can confidently be promised, because without any doubt a great many South Africans have sworn this oath today, and I am only one of these many.

Man of peace

The government quite clearly never understood the extent to which Steve was a man of peace. He was militant in standing up for his principles, yes, but his abiding goal was a peaceful reconciliation of all South Africans, and in this I happen to know he was a moderating influence.

Therefore to the racists who might gloat over my grief today, even twisting scriptural texts to coat their venom, I reply in the same vein:

"Weep not for me, but for yourselves and for your children."

native. (20) With the establishment of schools of anthropology and African [illegible] a new approach became used in the survey of the [illegible] values within natives

Without fluids, death comes soon

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Leading medical men here said yesterday that any young, fit and healthy man would die within four to seven days without fluids.

The length of any "thirst strike" depended greatly on the temperature of the atmosphere in which the man was kept, how much activity he was involved in and how quickly his body lost water, the doctors said.

They were commenting on the death of Mr Steve Biko, who, according to a statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, threatened a hunger strike and refused to take water and meals for seven days before his death on Monday.

One leading physiologist said if a man did not take any fluids he would show "obvious signs of dehydration" by the fourth day. He would become delirious and gaunt, his blood circulation and kidneys would be radically affected and by the fifth or sixth day he would be in a terminal state, lapsing into coma.

In extreme heat, the process would be speeded up. If the man remained covered, his body would lose water less quickly, but if he was active he would sweat more.

The doctors agreed that with all favourable factors, the longest a man could survive without any fluids in South African conditions would be seven days. One said the longest recorded period a human had survived without food or water was 12 days.

The longest period for which anyone has lived without solid food is 382 days by Angus Barbieri of Fife, Scotland, who lived on tea, coffee, water and vitamins in Mayrfield Hospital, Dundee, from June 1965 to July, 1966.

CAPE TIMES 15/9/77 (325 Detention)

Vance, Waldheim join protest at Biko death

THE DEATH in detention on Monday night of Mr Stephen Biko was front-page news in Washington and London yesterday and elicited widespread calls for inquiry, including statements from the US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, the British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir David Scott, and the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim.

Mr Biko, 30, honorary president of the Black Peoples' Convention, died in police custody eight days after he began a hunger strike, the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said on Tuesday. He was the twentieth person to die while being held under security legislation in the past 18 months.

In Washington yesterday the US Government expressed deep concern at Mr Biko's death and called for a full investigation.

The US Secretary of State, Mr 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 or his attorney being notified of any deterioration in the state of his health.

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

Representative Charles Diggs, a prominent member of the congressional black caucus, joined in deploring Mr Biko's death in a statement issued yesterday.

"In light of past deaths of political prisoners," Mr Diggs said, "the South African

And in London, meanwhile, Mr Biko's death was front-page news in The Times, Guardian, Financial Times, Morning Star and the Cardiff Western Mail.

In New York the UN Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim, expressed his regret at the "untimely death" of Mr Biko.

The findings of the pathologists who conducted the post-mortem on Mr Biko will not be known till microscopic work has been completed. The physical examination conducted by Professor J D Loubser, the chief state pathologist, ended at 4.35pm on Tuesday.

Professor Loubser confirmed yesterday that it started at 10am, but was halted at 11.30am after objections from lawyers acting for Mr Biko's family. They asked that a pathologist be allowed to observe the post-mortem on behalf of the family.

Professor Loubser said the autopsy resumed at 2pm with Dr John Gluckman, a Johannesburg pathologist, and a technical assistant observing on behalf of the Biko family.

Groups the same, says Kruger

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The black consciousness and black power movements had identical aims and were synonymous, the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said yesterday.

"There is no difference between the objectives of black consciousness and the objectives of black power," Mr Kruger told the Transvaal congress of the National Party.

"They are synonymous with each other. They aim at the rejection of the whole social structure in South Africa."

Expressing the hope that his "English-speaking friends" would take note, Mr Kruger went on to quote from black consciousness documents, including a "secret document" from which he had not quoted before.

Among the aims of the movement, as set out in the document, were:

- The countering and silencing of "fascist" propaganda;
- The destruction of international and national capitalism and of "bourgeois institutions" in South Africa;
- The raising of a people's army to fight for and protect the revolution.

An extract from the document read: "The black consciousness movement is resolutely committed to the liberation struggle of the oppressed masses of

(21) Ibid, p. 70.

(22) Ibid, p. 71.

(23) Legassick, p. 7.

(24) Hertzog was considered by many to have been the architect of the Native Land Act, Tatz, p. 14.

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Government's credibility in 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 Diggs 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 Peoples' 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 dispirit 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 Riotous Assemblies Act.

● The executive committee of the WP Council of Churches sent a telegram to the Secretary for Justice, Mr J P J Coetzer 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 Matolengwe.

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 Nusas president, Mr Charles Nupen.

Mass meetings are planned at Wits 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 8.15pm. The speakers will be Mrs Helen Suzman, Professor Nic Olivier and Dr Alex Boraine. — Sapa-Reuter and Staff Reporters

people's army."

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

Mr Kruger then quoted from another document on Bantu education, which Mr Kruger described as the product of white intellect and organization and 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 cheers from 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."

325-Detention

you must not lie. I know he is dead'

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.

Mrs Biko said the first time she heard of her husband's death was when she was notified by her sister.

"No policemen informed me, nobody told me, and it was only through my sister-in-law 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."

Mrs Biko said for her six-year-old son the death of his father had been very hard to accept.

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

"But for Nkosinanthi 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.

"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'."

Mrs Biko said the most saddening moment was to see her two-year-old son running to pick up the telephone and call out "Steve, Steve".

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

Biko died in jail cell

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Mr Steve Biko died in a prison cell and was not taken to hospital in Pretoria, Major-General Jannie Roux, deputy commissioner of prisons, said yesterday.

The original statement released by Mr Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Police and Prisons, 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.

'Mama,

EAST LONDON. — "Steve Biko was good man, he was a good father, bu above all he was a leader."

This was said, by mission hospit sister and wife of Mr Steven Biko, M Mtziki Biko, 31, who spoke yesterday f the first time about her husband a father of their two children.

"His death in detention did not co unexpected to me. I knew that because was a man of such convictions and bel

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Chest operation on Sobukwe

Staff Reporter

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 me 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.

VANCE CALLS FOR BIKO DEATH PROBE

GUY BERNARD N. Mercury 15/9/77

(325 detention)

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

Secretary of State Cyprus 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 causes . . . 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 in 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 now 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.

"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 indictment 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.

"The price that will have to be paid by this country for his death under these 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 feel 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.

RDM 15/9/77

US slam (325 detentions) on 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 its "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 the circumstances surrounding 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, this event is going to undo all the good we have been achieving," said Mr Peter Sorour, director-general of the foundation.

Meanwhile in London the British Government expressed profound shock at Mr Biko's death.

In a joint statement, the British Foreign Office and Sir David Scott, the British Ambassador to South Africa, said Mr Biko's death could only dispirit those who believed in a nonviolent solution to South Africa's problems.

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

Senator Dick Clark, chairman of the US Senate foreign affairs subcommittee, said all who stood for justice should appeal to South Africa to establish an impartial board of inquiry into Mr Biko's death and to make a full public declaration of its findings.

Mr Clark, who met Mr Biko in South Africa last year, said he had been struck by the black leader's moderation and intelligence.

"Biko is the latest on the list of at least 20 people 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.

"No observer of the South African scene can accept these flimsy explanations of what is more accurately a pattern of outright racial retribution which permits unconscionable attacks on the black community," Mr Clark said on the Senate floor.

"Biko will now become a martyr in the struggle for racial equality in South Africa, a symbol of black resistance to white oppression," he said.

The Australian anti-apartheid group yesterday

● TO PAGE 2

World shocked at Biko death

•FROM PAGE ONE

asked the Australian Government to protest to South Africa and to refuse to accept the credentials of the new South African Ambassador due to be appointed soon. The Ambassador would be assured of a hostile reception, the group said.

Bishop Heinrich Tenhumber, president of the German Justice and Peace Commission, said last night blacks in South Africa had lost one of the most convincing leaders who fought for necessary changes by peaceful means.

"The death of Steve Biko is the writing on the wall for the white Government in South Africa at the 11th hour to make an end of apartheid," Bishop Tenhumberg said from Bonn.

In Maseru, Radio Lesotho said Mr Biko was a "gallant son of South Africa".

The Lesotho Government had asked South Africa to explain the "mysterious deaths" of detainees, the broadcast said.

Father Aelred Stubbs, former principal of the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice, now in Lesotho since the withdrawal of his visa two months ago, said he had remained silent because of representations being made on his behalf, but Mr Biko's death had ended this.

"Steve Biko was the finest human being I have known. 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."

In South Africa, strong reaction to Mr Biko's death continued. The South African Council of Churches said Mr Kruger's reaction to the death had only "deepened the miasma of suspicion and bitterness surrounding the whole subject."

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

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

"Mr Biko's death, can only help to feed and fan the flame 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 Representative Council yesterday unanimously expressed its deep concern over the death of Mr Biko and called for a full, impartial judicial investigation into the causes and circumstances surrounding it.

Mr Charles Nqakula, 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 Minister of Justice's explanation of Mr Biko's death.

Natal Mercury 15/9/77 (335 - detention

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 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 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 . . . a person 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 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.

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.

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 whether to answer questions put to him by Security Police.

He said 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.

Peephole

Mr. Kruger described how a prison warder in Pretoria looked through a peephole into the cell to see that Mr. Biko was lying very still.

"He did not touch him . . . Touch him and they say your finger prints are there," Mr. Kruger said.

Mr. Kruger said the Black Consciousness and Black Power movements had identical aims and were synonymous.

Both aimed at the rejection of the whole social structure in South Africa.

Anger at Biko wreath

PRETORIA — Two members of the Black Sash yesterday placed a wreath at the National Party congress 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 "vuilgoed."

When they reached the entrance to the hall a burly man told them to "voetsak."

As the two women, Mrs. Jill Wentzel, Transvaal chairwomen of the Black Sash, and Mrs. Ester Levitain, national secretary, got into their car several delegates 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."

72)

Minister on Biko

FROM PAGE 1

Expressing the hope that his "English-speaking friends" would take note, Mr. Kruger went on to quote from Black Consciousness documents, including a "secret document" which he had not quoted before.

Among the aims of the Black Consciousness movement, as set out in the "secret document," were:

The countering and silencing of facist propaganda;

The tearing down of "all semblance of facist order;"

The violent destruction of international and national capitalism and of "bourgeois institutions" in South Africa; and the raising 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 Azania by building up a people's army."

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

He quoted from other documents from one on Bantu Education, the purpose was described as "stultification by education for domestication and subjucation."

It was documents like that which lay behind 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 outstretched 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 taken 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.

Sapa reports that the findings of the pathologists who conducted the post-mortem on Mr. Biko will not be known until microscopic work has been completed.

The physical examination was conducted by Prof. J. D. Loubser, the chief State pathologist and ended at 4.35 p.m. on Tuesday.

Professor P. W. Simson, head of the pathology department at Pretoria University, attended the examination.

Arrangements are being made for the funeral to take place in King William's Town on September 25.

Chamber of Mines Rhodesia, 9 April 1975.
ng statement is found: 'the availability
now and in the future, has become much more
overnment permitted Wenela to recruit
African mines. This decision, which could
s for our mining industry, was made without
ith the Chamber. This was a grave departure
nal proceedures but I am assured that it
the more unfortunate consequences which
erted by the co-operative attitude adopted

nuary 1975: Business and Financial Review,

iew, 24 April 1975.

ted fall off in production noted in Grain
port 1975, Salisbury.

n this section are extracted from the Agreement contained on
verse of the contract form signed by each contractee. Additional
ctives came from Wenela propaganda handed to contractees (docu-
in the vernacular translated by Wilbert Garaba).

abour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd., Reports and Financial Statements
e Year Ended 31 December 1974, Johannesburg.

representatives in Salisbury explained these reasons as:
of 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
hodesian workers as reported by the 1970 Census in South Africa.
undoubtedly low. Dept. of Bantu Affairs figures are much

For ... to the Transvaal National Party Congress yesterday, Mr. Kruger was approached for clarification.

He said: "Here's the general. Ask him."

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

odesia Herald, 3 April 1976.

a who conducted the interviews in the

cting Manager of Wenela (Mr. N.D. Nicolle)
of unemployment in and around Salisbury.
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ke of 20 000 contractees 'would not
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1976; and Financial Mail, 9 May 1975.

or pointing this out to me.

recorded that, according to the
anager of Wenela in Rhodesia, the publication of political
cating heightening of the local political crisis and/or
ty of change has brought about immediate fall-off in recruit-
ke levels.

ARGUS 15/9/77 (325-Detention)

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 an 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 Jimmy Kruger, said yesterday Mr Biko died eight days after he began a hunger strike on September 5 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 in to stomach and a liquid diet poured through the tube.

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

REGURGITATING

'To prevent the subject of force-feeding from regurgitating the food he could be kept strapped down for a further hour which would allow for sufficient time for the body to absorb the food it required.'

Alternatively, Professor Reid said, the subject could be fed with an intravenous dextrose saline drip.

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 taken, 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 courts for permission to force-feed a detainee, 'but whether they would be successful is 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 was no regulation providing for the force-feeding of prisoners on hunger strikes.

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

Call for judicial inquiry

The Argus Political Staff

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

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

'Let the facts become known, the sooner the better. And it is obvious that everything must be set into motion to bring out 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 vigilant about the well-being and welfare of detainees and to ensure there were no violations that could place the police and the prisons under suspicion. If deaths occurred it should be possible to prove with increasing emphasis that such occurrences 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.

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 terrior trial last year.

This contrasts with the view given of him by the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, when he quoted Mr Biko as saying:

'There can be no change through evolution. The only change that can come is through revolution.'

Mr Kruger described Mr Biko as an advocate of violent change.

But in the trial last year Mr Biko (giving evidence in defence of nine former colleagues in 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 decided to actually form an above board movement implies we accepted certain limitations on our operations.'

 325 - Detention

The Argus

SEPTEMBER 15 1977

Sharing the shame

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.

325- Detention

The service was organised by Canon John Collins's International Defence and Aid Fund.

The Anti-apartheid Movement is planning to demonstrate outside the South African Embassy today.

OCCUPIED

Yesterday the offices of the South African Foundation were occupied for almost two hours by 40 members of the Southern African Solidarity Campaign protesting against the death of Mr Biko, Sapa reports.

Members of the campaign, who are mainly from the Socialist Workers' Party, unsuccessfully tried to get the foundation's director here, Mr Roy Macnab, to sign a statement condemning the 'murder' of Mr Biko.



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 Leviton 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 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, torments 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

mocks reality. For this underlines a fundamental fact of South African political life: the refusal by those in charge even to talk with leaders of the black majority.'

The only talks of consequence, he says, have been between the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, and leaders of the homelands — 'the small, impoverished areas to which the official myth says all blacks belong' — and even those were largely 'a dialogue of the deaf'.

Otherwise, says Lewis, the response of the Government to the rise of any black leader has been to cut him down.

INSENSITIVE

He says Steve Biko's death indicates something else about South Africa's white rulers.

'They are not only unwilling to communicate with the majority of the people whose conditions of life they determine.

'They are insensitive to the barest humanity of those people.'

Lewis writes: 'South Africa's white leaders understandably resent the world's attention.

'They are entitled to sympathy when they argue that they are trying to preserve a place for their tribe, too.

'But when they argue that they will provide dignity for blacks within their system, they are mocked by the death of Steve Biko.'

London service for Biko

The Argus Bureau

LONDON. — A memorial service for Mr Steve Biko, the founder of the South African Students' Organisation, will be held in the crypt of St Paul's Cathed-

325 - Detention

ARGUS 15/9/77

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. Krige, 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 Jannie 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. M. du Preez, 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 and 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 Millard Arnold, 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 caused by ton

700 held at Biko protest

STAR 15/9/77.

700 held at 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 Arnold, a director of the Washington-based Southern Africa Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under The Law.

Mr Arnold reportedly claimed that Mr Chetty had attended the autopsy on Biko" and "hinted in a guarded 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 inferred as meaning what Mr 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 soon after it was signed by the chief magistrate of Wynberg, Mr E Rorich.

Mr Rorich said the order was requested 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 Shun Chetty, the attorney acting for the Biko family said yesterday

with Mr Kruger's explanation of the cause of death in the light of the initial autopsy findings.

In each case he had refused to give an answer to such questions, saying the matter was sub judice.

where in Pretoria Mr Biko had died.

In his first statement about the death, Mr Kruger said he died in a hospital in Pretoria. But according to a morning newspaper report the Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, Major-General Jannie Roux, said Mr Biko died in a prison cell, and was not taken to hospital

Another new aspect of New Economic
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II

Historians have viewed New Economic History with some
interest, positive and negative. A few historians have
adopted the new methods with enthusiasm, demonstrating
their adaptability to certain areas of historical research.

(8) Fishlow & Fogel, Quantitative Economic History, Journal of Economic History, XXXI, 1971.

Biko: U.S. calls for full inquiry

Argus 325-Defence 15/9/77

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — The United States Government has called on the South African Government to institute a 'full investigation' into the circumstances of Mr Steve Biko's death in detention.

The American Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, said in a statement that was issued in Washington last night and made available by the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria today that the U.S. had expressed 'its deep concern to the South African Government over Mr Biko's death.'

A VICTIM

Saying the 30-year-old black leader was 'another victim of the apartheid system and the South African security legislation which supports the system,' Mr Vance added: 'We believe a full investigation into the circumstances surrounding Mr Biko's death is called for.'

Mr Biko was a victim, whatever the immediate causes of his death.'

The Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger has said Mr Biko died on Monday night — seven days after going on a hunger strike.

The Honorary Black People's Convention president was detained on August 18.

Mr Vance expressed his concern at the way Mr Biko's death had occured without his family or his attorney being notified of any deterioration in the state of his health.'

The U.S. Government was 'shocked and saddened' by the death of Mr Biko, who was a well-known and respected black leader.'

The U.S. Ambassador to South Africa, Mr William Bowdler, tried to telephone Mr Biko's mother on Tuesday after hearing of her son's death.

He was not able to speak to her, but spoke to a close member of her family and expressed through her 'the deepest condolences of the entire U.S. mission in South Africa.'

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Biko protest at UCT: police ban withdrawn

ARGUS 15/9/77

325 Detention

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 Riotous Assemblies Act, would have prohibited student gatherings anywhere in the Wynberg district whether 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 Nupen, 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 50 students took part each holding paraffin lanterns.

This morning students took turns parading down Grahamstown's main street carrying a wreath.

A spokesman for the Students' Representative Council said the police were keeping a watch on the students, but so far had not interfered.

He emphasised that they had been careful to keep all their protest actions within the law.

SPIRIT

University of Zululand students said in a statement today that they 'fully identify themselves with the things Steve Biko stood for.'

'Our determination to continue where he left off is a reflection of the spirit that lives within the nation.'

The Argus Johannesburg correspondent reports that memorial services are being planned to mourn Mr Biko.

A prayer meeting in remembrance of Mr Biko was held in Soweto last night, attended by about 100 people. Members of the South African Students' Association (SASO) which Mr Biko had helped to found, were present.

Historians ... New Economic History with some
interest, pos ... gative. A few historians have
adopted the new methods with enthusiasm, demonstrating
their adaptability to certain areas of historical research.

(8) Fishlow & Fogel, Quantitative Economic History, Journal of Economic History, XXXI, 1971.

ARGUS 15/9/77 (325-detention)

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 the Rector, 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'

'I agree without hesitation to the holding of a memorial service, but I regret that I am not convinced of the necessity of conducting such a service during academic hours.

'In any case, only the senate can authorise the cancellation of lectures.'

He went on to warn the students that open-air meetings were illegal and quoted the whole of the relevant Government notice.

From where reporters stood it was impossible to hear what was being said, but at 10.45 a convoy of about 20 police vehicles, with dogs and riot squads, arrived on the scene.

They spilled out on to the field and surrounded the students, who carried on with their service in an orderly way.

Restraint was exercised by both police and students and there were no incidents.

But soon afterwards the students were made to climb on to and occupy the grandstand, all the while surrounded by police and dogs.

At 11 am four large vehicles arrived on the scene and by 11.30 the students were being organised by the police and loaded without any resistance into the vehicles.

he

yr

in detention "despicable" and the official explanations of the deaths as "flimsy."

"It is a pattern of outright racial repression conducted by an authoritarian state which permits unconscienable attacks on the black community.

"The social and political consequences of Biko's death should not be underestimated. It is an outrage that must be condemned in the strongest possible terms."

Sen Clark recalled meeting "this remarkable man" in South Africa last year and he released a paper submitted by Mr Biko to him at the time.

"With his high esteem internationally, he will now become a martyr on the struggle for racial equality and a symbol of black resistance to white repression," Sen Clark said.

"I came away from discussions with him convinced of his intelligence, his moderation and his importance as a key spokesman for the African population."

Sen Clark noted that "from all reports Steve Biko was in excellent health at the time of his arrest three weeks ago."

Mr G. Houser, executive director of the American Committee on Africa, termed it "absolutely ridiculous" to attribute Mr Biko's death to a seven-day hunger strike.

"There must have been other complications, either torture or physical mistreatment, at the very least," he said and urged international inspection of South African detention conditions by bodies such as the Red Cross.

"I just don't know what to say, I'm so angry and so sad," said Mr T. Smith, director of an inter-denominational church group concerned with US investment in South Africa. DDC.

Death not in vain — BPC

D.D. 15/9/77

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 hearth 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 deaths — they leave with the masses their inconquerable ideas which they succesfully 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 inhuman 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.—DDR

Church body: it is horrifying

D.D 15/9/77

EAST LONDON — The death of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, is 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, Ds Sam Buti, and vice-presidents Rev Peter Storey and Mrs Sally Motlana, in a statement released to the Daily Dispatch yesterday.

They said the SACC refrained from immediate comment on Tuesday "in the hopes that a more satisfactory explanation would be given about the circumstances of his death".

"We also hoped that the shock impact of the death of one of the most prominent leaders in South Africa would at last spur the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, into appointing a

In their statement, they said: "At the same time we must acknowledge that such actions are made 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 professed 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 God's people in this country, then we call on it to do away with part of the security apparatus which has led to the death of so many people in detention.



Preview for next winter and autumn, or Scotland's answer to 78 chill — sweater, leg warmers and hat in fairisle pattern, and lean line look.

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 a mere negative hatred for whites.

— PATRICK LAURENCE

A ban that goes to the

1/9/77 By GAVIN ROBSON DD

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 Zimele 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 Ntsikie and family at their 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 Nobandile.

Mr Biko was educated at Forbes Grant Secondary School near King, studied for a period of time at Lovedale College in Alice, and obtained his matriculation certificate at Marion Hill, the 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 up office 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 enrolling 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 1975 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.

After starting the Zimele Trust Fund foundation in 1975, 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 101 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 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 1975 to write an examination.

The charge against him was ~~(1)~~ contravention of banning order; alternatively attending a social gathering illegally.

The case had not been concluded at the time 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.

guilty 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 change their evidence; to say they were forced to make false statements to the police and to say they knew nothing about a meeting at the school in Ginsberg 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 swoop in which five other BPC members were also arrested and detained.

Mr Biko was arrested at 7.10 pm by the head of the King Security Police, Maj R. 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 arrests being ordered and carried out again by Maj Hansen and two other security police.

On July 6 he appeared briefly at a hearing in the King magistrates court on a charge under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The case was formally remanded to August 5 this year and he was allowed free on R200 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 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Mr Biko, following a charge for alleged violation of his banning order 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 — for 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 6 of the Terrorism Act.

The circumstances of Mr Biko's arrest in Grahamstown were not known and

15/9/77
DD

Sen Clark: died a mar

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 of 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

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 miasma 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 which supports him, 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 internally 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 — DDR

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.

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

The political views, religous views, thoughts, aspirations, hopes and wants, and feelings of Mr Steve Biko could never be made known publicly because he was a banned

Biko: demos occupy Foundation offices

D.D. 15/9/77

325 detention

LONDON — The offices of the South Africa Foundation were occupied for almost two hours here yesterday 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 get 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. 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 squatters at Modderdam.

The claim was made by their spokesman, Mr John Rogers, 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 to South Africa 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 this evnt 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 — if they were 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 stature in black politics — his name is known in the whole Western world — authorities should have foreseen the reaction if he should die.

"He should have been handed over to civil 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 with "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 dispirit 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 qulities 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 and other 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 emphasises 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 African 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-RNS.

My husband Steve by Mrs Ntsiki Biko

15/9/77 D.D 325 detention

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

This was 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 convictions 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.

Mrs Biko said the first time she had heard of her husband's death was when she was notified by her sister, Nyamie, 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 2 pm 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.

D.D. 15/9/77 (325) d

Mounting I

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.

From PATRICK LAURENCE

Meanwhile, the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, claimed 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." (laughter).

Mr Kruger had earlier quoted from an address delivered to a 1970 Nusas 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 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 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.

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 a prison warder looked through a peephole into the cell to see that Mr Biko was lying very still. "He did not touch him . . . touch 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 to be 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 instituted. 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.

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

Revolution is aim — Kruger

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, Nkosinanthi, 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 Nkosinanthi 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 just 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".

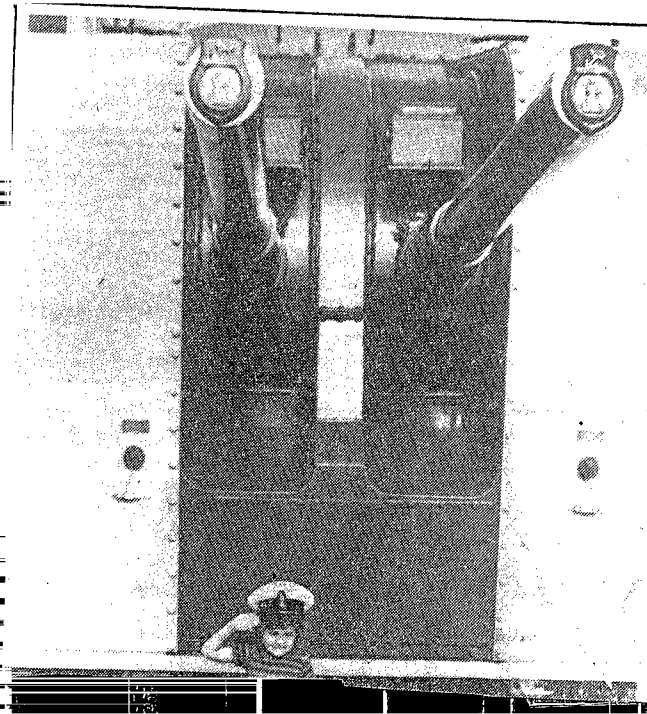
"But at this stage I am not prepared to discuss such a matter, nor am I prepared to say what action we will take about the death of my husband.

"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.

Tertion

15/9/77 (325)

rotest over



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 "voetsak."

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 should have been deprived of Steve Biko." — PC.

A cell was his last home

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.

Funeral in

JOHANNESBURG — ing made for the fune place in King Willia September 25. — SAP

15/9/77
DD
325

King?

rrangements are be-
al of Mr Biko to take
's Town on Sunday,
A.



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).

...demned the black consciousness movement as a revolutionary organisation and said it was synonymous for the black power movement.

He told the Transvaal National Party congress: "There is no difference between the objectives of black consciousness and the objectives of black power. They aim at the overthrow of the whole social structure in South Africa."

Expressing the hope that his "English-speaking friends" would take note, Mr Kruger quoted from black consciousness documents, including a "secret document" which he had not quoted before.

Among the aims of the black consciousness movement, as set out in the "secret document", were:

Countering and silencing fascist propaganda;

Tearing down "all semblance of fascist order;"

The violent destruction of international and national capitalism and of "bourgeois institutions" in South Africa;

Raising a people's army

...doctrine...

...black consciousness movement is resolutely committed to the liberation struggle of the oppressed masses of Azania by building up a people's army."

The document said the black consciousness movement had mounted a military training programme and nation-wide study cells would become military cells.

Political training was to be based on classical Marxist revolutionary theories, and education aimed at "mental decolonisation."

Mr Kruger quoted from another document calling for "poems that kill." It was put out by a black consciousness drama group and 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 uptight."

To cheers from the delegates, Mr Kruger 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.

"The people of South Africa must not be bluffed by all kinds of pious talk.

"They say they are prepared to talk to us, but then there are always conditions, such as the dismantling of Bantu education."

Mr Kruger said he had a condition of his own to put on behalf of South Africa — that what the white man had done to build and develop the country be recognised.

"We will talk to well-disposed black people, but on an equal footing. I accept the contribution the black man has made, but we will definitely not leave." — DDC-SAPA.

QUICK QUIP



"If they amend the constitution, will Nat Party congresses still devise our laws . . . ?"

King family in race row with neighbours

15/9/77 KD

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A Coloured family have landed in a racial row because they moved into the property they own at 36 Henry Street here.

Five white families have petitioned the Borough Council to remove the O'Reilly family because they claim the Coloureds have "reduced the value of their properties by half."

But the Borough Council has refused to evict Mrs J. B. O'Reilly, 78, her four daughters and son-in-law.

The petition was signed by L. R. Burgess of 34 Henry Street, R. Howorgh of 35 Henry Street, J. Ashington of 37 Henry Street and L. van Blerk and E. Paul of 9 and 7 Wodehouse Street respectively.

The petition said: "We the undermentioned, immediate neighbours of 36 Henry Street, object in the strongest terms to Coloured persons residing at the above address or being issued with permits to be there.

"We demand that they be removed as soon as possible and if we are compelled to have them here, we demand concessions on the rates and taxes we pay in this area."

The council found there was no evidence to support the petitioners' claim that the value of their properties had decreased.

It said the houses were situated in a light industrial area "and its value is greatly determined by its potential usage."

The council said the O'Reilly family were issued with a Group Areas permit by the Department of Community Development to move into the area and it had supported the permit "on humanitarian grounds."

The permit was valid for a year, "and any forced removal at this stage would lead to hardship for the family."

There were no houses available at Schornville and Breidbach for the family.

Mrs O'Reilly said they bought the property more than 20 years ago before the promulgation of the Group Areas Act.

Mrs O'Reilly said they had moved from Cambridge Road after being given notice by the owner in June.

"We decided to move into our own property, which we used to let out to whites for the last 20 years, because we had nowhere to go and the house, in any event, had been unoccupied for a year.

"It was no longer an asset to the family and we decided to move into it instead of allowing it to stand vacant and rot away," Mrs O'Reilly explained.

She thanked the council for recommending the issue of the Group Areas permit to the family "at a time when we were destitute." — DDR.

Vorster for US denied

WASHINGTON — The State Department yesterday denied a report that a meeting between Pres Carter and the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, was being planned.

A television report said yesterday Mr Vorster wanted to visit America to talk to Pres Carter about Rhodesia. The report said the Carter Administration feared such a visit would touch off protests, and so were exploring the possibility of a meeting in a neutral country, possibly in Africa.

In Pretoria last night, a spokesman for the Prime Minister said he knew nothing about the report. — SAPA-RNS.

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Biko memorial service in Grahamstown

D.D. 15/9/77

(325) detention

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 inter-denominational, 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 Suggit 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

Intended Career (if known): .....

.....

Referees (Give the names of at least two people who will be prepared to give an objective assessment of your potential):

.....

.....

Personal Description:

Height: ..... Weight: .....

Hair Colour: ..... Colour of Eyes: .....

Complexion: .....

Command of Languages (Spoken - fluent, good, fair, poor, etc.):

English: .....

Afrikaans: .....

Other (Specify): .....

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FIN MAIL 16/9/77

325 - Detention

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.

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 upheavals which were sparked off by the events of June 16 1976.

Biko is a great deal more than just a statistic — 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 unconscionable 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 decline 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 black-listed by trade unions and is unable to discharge its cargo.



Biko . . . hope and inspiration to millions

In London, the news was also received with horror, and there can be little doubt that it will be discussed at the highest level by governments in the EEC.

Unhappily, it is also probable that Western governments will interpret the news as a further indication that the South African government is unable or unwilling to reach a peaceful accommodation with an increasingly restive black population.

It will give further impetus to lobbies and pressure groups in those countries which are calling for the black boycott of capital inflows to SA. And hard-nosed foreign bankers will be even more reluctant to commit funds to a country which they see as a potential trouble spot.

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 initiator, driving force and intellectual inspiration of the black consciousness movement, he gave blacks — Africans, Indians and coloureds — a new sense of dignity and pride.

Senator Clark makes the point that Biko's death is "a loss not only to South African blacks but to all people in that country who believe there still a chance for a peaceful racial accommodation".

There can be little doubt that it will strengthen the arguments of those who have despaired of the chances 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.

Biko: professors call for inquiry

EAST LONDON — Three leading professors of law at universities in South Africa have come out in support for judicial inquiries into deaths in detention.

They are Prof J. Dugard, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand; Prof A. Mathews, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Natal; and the Professor of Public Law at the University of Cape Town, Prof W. Dean.

The three professors were reacting yesterday to the death of Mr Steve Biko while in detention.

Prof Dugard said: "Politically, it only seems common sense, particularly with a man of the stature of Mr Biko, that the authorities would have advised and kept the public notified if they were concerned about him going on an alleged hunger strike, or if they were concerned with the possibility that he may have died while in detention because of an alleged hunger strike.

"The other problem is that with such a law as the Terrorism Act, the Act places an iron curtain between the detainee and the public and information about the detainee is totally unforthcoming," he said.

"This again points to the evilness of the Terrorism Act," Prof Dugard said.

He said when one studied the Prisons Act it seemed clear the authorities were obliged to ensure reasonable steps were taken to ensure the welfare of a prisoner or a detainee.

"But the question is whether this is always the case, and in the case of Mr Biko, it appears not to have been the case," Prof Dugard said.

Prof Dugard outlined the differences between a judicial inquiry and an inquest.

"The first problem with an inquest when dealing with the death of a detainee is that an inquest is not held before a judge.

"It is held before a magistrate, who is a civil servant and whose promotion lies in the hands of the Department of Justice," he said.

Prof Dugard said an inquest only determined the immediate cause of death of a person and did not investigate the whole system of interrogation of a detainee and of his treatment while in detention.

Prof Mathews said: "I know of nothing in law which obliges the authorities to tell the family or next-of-kin about the condition of a person who is in detention under the Terrorism Act.

"In the case of Mr Biko, I think it was, politically, insensitive and unwise on the part of the authorities not to notify the family if this was the case," he said.

"It seems obvious that the moment has now come that the public should be satisfied about deaths in detention and this should be done by way of a full-scale judicial inquiry.

"An inquest hearing doesn't investigate the whole system and the laws under which a detainee is held, nor whether detainees are conducive to maltreatment while in detention," he said.

Prof Mathews said inquest hearings did not investigate the possibility of a system of interrogation having been evolved while a person is being detained, or a system of interrogation which could include illegal means of treatment of detainees.

Prof Dean said he agreed with the statements made by Prof Dugard and Prof Mathews.

"I certainly have to agree. And where a man is on a hunger strike, and there is the risk he may die while in detention, it would seem only right from a humanitarian view, or based on humanitarian grounds that his family would be informed.

"Certainly there is the obligation on the part of the authorities to inform families, if only to try and preserve the life of a detainee by way of the family and relatives having access to him and possibly being able to persuade such a person to take food," Prof Dean said. — DDR



PROF DUGARD

3 governments condemn death

16/9/77 DD

EAST LONDON — Three more foreign governments have condemned the death in detention of Steve Biko.

In The Hague, the Dutch Government said the death underlined the abuse of human rights and the evil of racial discrimination in South Africa.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said Mr Biko played a major role in the social and political consciousness of the black population of South Africa. He believed in a non-violent solution to his country's problems.

The spokesman said the Government had learned of the death of Mr Biko with "sadness and great disquiet.

"The fact that he died under imprisonment underlines, in a tragic way, the abuse of human rights and the evil of racial discrimination which prevail in South Africa," he said.

In Bonn, the West German Government said it was "taken aback" by the death.

A spokesman at the Foreign Ministry said the death of Mr Biko was a "great loss to the cause of urgently necessary dialogue between whites and blacks in the Republic."

He called Mr Biko an engaged and brave supporter of dialogue between races.

In Maseru, the Lesotho Government issued a statement expressing "shock and indignation" about the death and has asked the South African Government for an explanation of detainee deaths.

The statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was broadcast by Radio Lesotho.

It said Mr Biko was "one of the gallant sons of South Africa who have fallen victim of the ever-widening selective elimination that the South African Government serves on its opponents."

The statement said the Government of Lesotho had "in its pursuit of justice and adherence to the basic principles of human rights" asked the South African Government for an explanation of "these mysterious deaths of detainees.

"In the light of the continuing deaths of detainees, the Government of Lesotho is becoming increasingly worried about the detention of a Lesotho citizen, Miss Limpho Sekamane."

Miss Sekamane is reported to have been in detention in South Africa for several weeks.

The statement called for Miss Sekamane to be released or charged. — SAPA-AP-RNS

Nat reaction called callous

EAST LONDON — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, has been strongly criticised by a professor of law at the University of South Africa for the way in which he issued comments concerning the death of Mr Steve Biko.

Prof W. A. Loubser, speaking from his office in Pretoria yesterday, said: "It is disturbing to find the Minister of Justice issuing comments in the press and at a National Party congress about the death of Mr Biko.

"Here we have Mr Kruger saying all sorts of things about a man who was in the care of one of his departments while in detention".

Prof Loubser said he found it impossible to accept that the Minister could discuss such a death and situation before the full results of the autopsy were made available.

"Even more disturbing is the callous reaction of his audience at the National Party congress who just laughed when he said that Mr Biko's death left him cold.

"We will possibly never ever know whether Mr Biko was guilty of any crime as the Minister has suggested, through his remarks because the man was never charged or tried," Prof Loubser said.

The professor said that as Mr Biko was in the care of the prison authorities it was their duty to look after him and ensure his safety as a prisoner.

"When, as it is alleged, he refused to take food and water and was in danger of dying, he should have been taken to hospital and given intravenous feeding, or been force-fed, according to the ordinary legal rule of necessity," he said.—DDR.

Kruger No to Black Sash

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, has refused to grant an interview to representatives of the Black Sash over the death of Mr Steve Biko.

Mrs Sheena Duncan, national president of the organisation, said yesterday the Black Sash had wanted to express to the Minister "our horror at the death of Steve Biko and the deaths of so many others in detention."

They had appealed to see the Minister at his convenience, but he had refused.

The Black Sash had intended to tell the Minister

Tribute to Biko's courage

GRAHAMSTOWN — Mr Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader who died in detention on Monday night, was not an emotional martyr, the wife of the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mrs Wendy Woods, told a public meeting at Rhodes University last night.

"It was simply not his style. He was a fighter and was prepared to take risks. But they were always calculated risks," she said.

Mrs Woods said Mr Biko was young and physically very powerful. When he went into detention, he was in perfect health.

"He had great courage. He knew what the fight was, and what he wanted to do about it. He knew the consequences and was prepared for them."

Mrs Woods said that when a man like Mr Biko died, all concepts of group loyalties and political policies receded, and in their place was the awesome presence of the elemental forces of good and evil.

She said that when Mr Mapetla Mohapi died in detention, Mr Biko and his colleagues had worked to uncover the truth.

"Steve would appreciate us getting together to remember him, but he would want us to fight and work with the same single-mindedness to find out what really caused his death," she said.

Mrs Woods said Mr Biko would also have wanted those present at the meeting to contribute in whatever way they could to the "struggle he so bravely gave his life for."

Other speakers at the meeting were Mr R. de Villiers, Progressive Reform Party MP, and Prof D. Welsh, professor of comparative African government and law at the University of Cape Town, and at present on a fellowship [illegible] — DDR

Editor poses questions to authorities

CAPE TOWN — Steve Biko and Daily Dispatch Editor Donald Woods had an arrangem[illegible] authorities:

Why within the space of three days did the two ver- emotional atmosphere by producing another secret document.



Swapo message of condole[illegible]

Steve died on the battlefield says his sister

"I am sad, ever so sad at the loss of my brother, but I am also happy," Steve Biko's sister, Mrs Nobandile Mvovo, said yesterday.

"Steve died on the battlefield. He was regarded by me as a leader among men and for me now his death means he died for what he believed in and for the cause he believed in.

"Steve died in the battlefield as a leader of an army of black consciousness people fighting for the liberation of the black people," Mrs Mvovo said.

Recalling her childhood days with her brother, Mrs Mvovo said: "He often used to bully me and we fought frequently, but we were always very close.

"Steve, however, would always solve my problems, share my problems, just as he and I liked to share our love for music together".

"Steve and I were very close as a brother and sister and when I first heard the news of his tragic death I was filled with sadness.

"But right from when I was a small child Steve was both brother and father to me. You see, my father died when I was only a year old, and the love, teaching, guidance and help I got in my life I got from my brother."

"Bandi" is how 27-year-old Mrs Mvovo is affectionately known among the people at Zanempilo Community Health Centre near King William's Town and among the many members of the Black People's Convention throughout South Africa.

"Bandi" is how she was always affectionately called by her brother.

"Bandi" is now at home with her mother, sister-in-law, family and friends at the home of Mrs Biko, comforting each other and sharing the grief of Mr Biko's death while in detention.

Speaking from her mother's home in Ginsberg, near King, — the home the Biko family have occupied since 1965 and where Steve Biko lived all his life except while studying at Natal University and when in jail under detention laws — "Bandi" spoke for the first time of her love for her brother, what his death means to her and how the family will overcome their tremendous loss.

"For me it is a moment of great sadness to know that my brother will no longer be with me, my family and friends".

Mrs Mvovo said the moments she now held most dear to her were the evenings she and her brother spent together singing on the verandah of their mother's home.

"We spent many of our primary and part of secondary school years together. I recall Steve telling me proudly, 'I am going from Std 3 to Std 5 you know' — that was when he jumped a year because of his mental agility and capacity to grasp things easily."

Mrs Mvovo recounted a visit paid to her by her brother just before he was served with a five-year banning order.

"He visited my house in Port Elizabeth with a group of friends. I remember the way he demanded food and attention from me. He loved his food and would always make a show of it when he visited me.

"That was the last time I saw my brother as a free man. The next day he was served with a five-year banning order at Waverly Hill in Port Elizabeth," she said.

Respect for her brother was an important part of her special relationship with Mr Biko.

"I respected Steve for his political convictions, right from my days as a teenager. But I had profound respect for him. He would always say things which made me and the family happy. We laughed with Steve, except when he was discussing anything he felt needed serious discussion on.

"But Steve was a person who would stand up for whatever he believed in. He had a brilliant, clear-thinking mind.

"Even as a child, Steve was unafraid of the dark. He used to play games with me, you know the games children play when they try to scare each other. But Steve was always undaunted," Mrs Mvovo said.

The black consciousness leader's sister talked of his phenomenally good health.

"I don't remember Steve ever being seriously ill.

He was sick only once: got flu and had to sp some time in bed. Tha the only time I know o his life that he wasn't same old cheerful se she added.

Mrs Mvovo would comment on stateme made by Minister Police, Mr Kruger, t her brother died as result of a hunger stri while in detention.

"Isn't it enough to s Steve was fit throughc his life? I don't want make my feelings knov to anyone now.

"But for me and n family, Steve, my brothe is a loss to South Africa so many people could hav learnt from him. He ju wasn't given or allowe the chance. I loved m brother dearly and now h has given all he could fo what he believed in an wanted for South Africa i the best way he could un der the unfortunate cir cumstances in which h was forced to live," Band Mvovo said.

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 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 that 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 for the [illegible] of Mr Biko's death. They differ already.

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, 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 "5 or 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 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."

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 racialism 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

10/9/77

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 at this stage no certainty as to 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.

16/9/77
DD

EAST LONDON — Swapo has sent a message of condolence to the bereaved family of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

In a statement issued by the deputy chairman of Swapo, Mr D. Tjongarero, yesterday, Swapo said: "Swapo of Namibia wishes to express condolence, 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 condolence 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 banned and gagged by the South African legal machinery".

"However, his brilliant and outstanding reflections on black consciousness are immortally and permanently inscribed in the minds and hearts of many men and women 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's death is an irreplaceable 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." —DDR.

Placards torn down

PIETERMARITZBURG — Security branch policemen 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 F. 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 deaths in detention, Mr Ray Swart, chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, said yesterday. — DDC.

that the organisation held him responsible for:

"The deaths of all the people who have died while in the custody of the Security Police;

"The fact that Section 6 of the Terrorism Act remains in the statutes of the Republic and for the widespread use made of its provisions to silence dissent and opposition in the black community;

"The fact that South Africa is now governed by fear and terror of the Security Police and not by the consent of the vast majority of the governed."

— 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 South African Indian Council and 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.

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 Ncambedlana at 3 pm and Rev P. V. Ntintili will deliver the sermon.

D.D. 16/9/77

8-day hunger strike

APE TOWN — A Grahamstown schoolteacher has invited prominent clergymen in Cape Town and Johannesburg, Black Sash members and Grahamstown academics to join in a fast to prove that Mr Steve Biko could not have died in an eight-day hunger strike.

The fast, over eight days, is one of many demonstrations currently developing against the death of the black leader who died in police detention.

The schoolteacher, Mrs Shirley Moulder, wife of a senior lecturer in philosophy at Rhodes University, said it would also be "an act of penitence for what is happening in South Africa."

At least 10 other people in Grahamstown, including Mrs Moulder's husband, Mr James Moulder, and Prof Jeff Opland, director of the Institute for Social and Economic Research in Grahamstown, had said they would join the fast, Mrs Moulder said.

She said they would be taking fluids during the fast and would continue with their everyday activities.

In Johannesburg, the national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, said she would be joining the fast in a personal capacity.

"I hope other people — particularly leaders of the Christian church — express their own horror and distress by joining the fast," Mrs Duncan said.

The MP for Pinetown, Mr Graham McIntosh, and his wife, Santie, will also join the fast.

"As a healthy young South African politician of the same age as the late Steve Biko, I and my wife will join those concerned South Africans who will abstain from food for eight days," he said yesterday.

It would prove that young men do not die after eight days without food, Mr McIntosh added.

The fast is due to start on Sunday at 7.00 am and continue through to 7 pm the following Sunday.

Meanwhile, the Rev Barnard Wrankmore, the Anglican priest who in 1971 fasted in Cape Town on Signal Hill for 67 days as a protest against the death in detention of the Cape Town Moslem leader Imaam Haron, yesterday warned against the "rash voice" calling for protest fasting.

"There are many voices expressing sentiments and opinions on Steve Biko's death in detention and I am loath to add mine to the general clamour, which eventually subsides when the 'captains and the kings depart,'" Mr Wrankmore said.

"However, there is a rash voice calling for clergymen, academics and others to emulate his alleged fast, not as a protest, but as an experiment to prove he couldn't die after eight days without food and water.

"This will only prove their ignorance by their deaths and perhaps establish the manner of his death, but not the cause," he said.

"The true cause of his death lies in the terrible fear which grips both detainee and public alike that the allegations posed in a booklet, Torture in South Africa?, could be true.

"However, to read such a booklet takes courage for it is an offence even to possess it," Mr Wrankmore said.

In Johannesburg leading medical men said any young, fit and healthy man would die within four to seven days without drinking water.

The length of any "thirst strike" depended greatly on the temperature of the atmosphere in which the man was kept, how much activity he was involved in and how quickly his body lost water, the doctors said.

One leading physiologist said if a man did not take any fluids he would show "obvious signs of dehydration" by the fourth day, he would become delirious and gaunt, his blood circulation and kidneys would be radically affected and by the fifth or sixth day he would be in a terminal stage, lapsing into periods of coma.

The doctors agreed that with all favourable factors, the longest a man could survive without any fluids in South African conditions would be seven days. — DDC.

D.D. 16/9/77

1 200 students arrested

ALICE — The police yesterday arrested 1 200 students at the University of Fort Hare while they were holding a mass memorial service on campus for black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

The Deputy-Commissioner of Police in charge of riot control, Maj-Gen D. Kriel, said in Pretoria last night the students were arrested for contravening the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Yesterday representatives of the Student Representative Council at Fort Hare approached the Rector of the university, Prof J. de Wet, and requested they be allowed to hold a memorial service for Mr Biko.

They also requested the university suspend all lectures yesterday as part of the mass memorial service.

The request was turned down by Prof De Wet, who shortly afterwards issued a statement to the students which read: "I have learnt with deep regret of the death of this black leader and sympathise with the feelings of the students on the matter.

"A deputation from the SRC has called on me and requested that lectures be suspended to allow a memorial service to be held.

tervention and subsequent mass arrest was the total lack of violence by the police or students and the students lack of resistance to arrest.

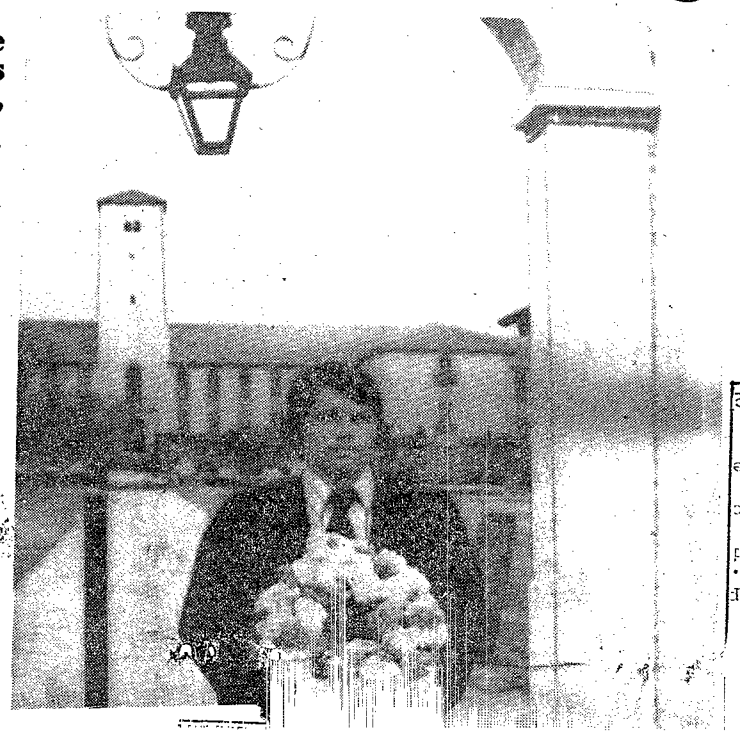
"Many climbed almost willingly into police vehicles and some gave black power salutes," the witness said.

At 10.45am a large convoy of police vehicles arrived at the campus. The police, together with dogs and riot shields then surrounded the students who continued with the service.

The students were then shuffled onto the sportsfield grandstand by the police and finally cornered.

The witness said at that stage students and police acted with great restraint and there were no incidents of violence.

The students, however, continued with their singing, the eyewitness said, 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. Students walked until 7 pm.

Kruger: Biko was on a drip

PRETORIA — Mr Steve Biko had been fed intravenously during his treatment here before he died this week, the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, said here last night.

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 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 would probably come out at the inquest, when doctors would probably give evidence. He had no indication yet when the inquest would be held.

He also disclosed at the National Party congress here that there had been a second death at Pretoria Central Prison.

Maj C. J. Jordaan, liaison officer for the Department of Prisons, confirmed yesterday that Capt P. J. Lootz died on Tuesday.

Maj Jordaan said Capt Lootz "presumably committed suicide by shooting himself." — SAPA-DDC.

I agree without hesitation to the holding of a memorial service, but regret that I am not convinced of the necessity of conducting such a service during academic hours. And in any case only Senate can authorise the cancellation of lectures".

However by 10am many of the students had started boycotting lectures and began gathering on the main sports field at the university.

Many of the students were dressed in black and they sang the Xhosa national anthem N'Kosi Sikilele i'Afrika while gathering for the service.

An eye-witness said afterwards the significant feature of the police in-

More reaction, tributes page 5

Late last night it was reported that 510 men students and 460 women students had been charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The men students are to appear in the Alice magistrates court on September 26 before Mr B. Bester. They have all been remanded in custody and will be kept in prisons throughout the area.

The women students have been released from detention on their own recognisances and have been instructed by Mr Bester to appear in court on October 17 for the hearing.

None of the students made application for bail it was reported. — DDR-DDC-SAPA.

Kruger spoke out of fear says BPC head

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, had attacked and distorted the aims of the black consciousness movement because he was afraid of it, the president of the Black People's Convention, Mr H. K. Rachidi, said yesterday.

Speaking at a news conference held at the BPC offices here, Mr Rachidi said Mr Kruger had deliberately distorted black consciousness. The Security Police had confiscated so many documents of the movement that Mr Kruger must have a clear understanding of what black consciousness was.

"He is frightened by the fact that the message of black consciousness will convert even the hard core Nationalist by its message of equality and its stress on the value of human dignity regardless of colour, race or creed," Mr Rachidi said.

Mr Rachidi denied the allegation by Mr Kruger that black consciousness and black power shared the objective of overthrowing the political, social and economic structure of South Africa in favour of a Marxist social structure.

"Black consciousness abhors and detests both capitalist and communism with equal contempt," he said.

Commenting on the death of Mr Steve Biko, Mr Rachidi said it did not shock the BPC, but was seen as a culmination of attacks aimed at the BPC.

The BPC had become immune to such happenings. Dealing with the allegation that Mr Biko spoke on revolution and not evolution, Mr Rachidi said it should be accepted that in South Africa words had a polarised meaning between whites and blacks.

Mr Rachidi said he wanted to remind Mr Kruger and the white electorate of Mr Kruger's limitless powers under all kinds of security laws against those he imagined to be a threat. — DDC.

9/9/77

And Bishops call for an inquiry

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, Archibishop 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 the allegations made against him," continued the statement.

"The late 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."



Clark: Contact, dialogue.

Biko: US is shocked, revolted

Eugene Hugo

WASHINGTON — The United States has reacted with shock and revulsion to the death in detention of 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 Dick Clark indicate that the US accepted Mr Biko as one of the most important black leaders in South Africa and that he had been totally underestimated by the SA Government.

DIALOGUE

When Mr Biko told the US, it was not doing enough to bring about majority rule in southern Africa, the American Administration went to great pains to "re-establish contact and dialogue with him," said Senator Clark.

A leading senator and Mr Young were dispatched 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 told The Star: "He will now become a martyr in the struggle for racial equality in South Africa ...

To Page 3, Col 2

outcry

64/

65/

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.

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, but was stopped after an hour and a half when Mr Biko's family attorney, Mr Shun Chetty, asked for a pathologist representing the family to attend.

The post-mortem resumed about 2.10 pm and finished about 4.35 pm yesterday. It has been made clear by the family's representatives that they do not consider the State acted improperly in beginning the post-mortem without their representatives being present.



MR STEVE

Sub judice

Mr Chetty was asked by The Star whether the pathologists' findings were consistent with the exulanation of death given by Mr Kruger. Mr Chetty would only say: "Obviously I cannot answer that at this stage."

Any comment on the findings would be sub judice pending an inquest.

To Press and Opposition calls for a judicial inquiry, Mr Kruger said in Pretoria today that an inquest was a judicial inquiry. "This was proved in the Timol case, where counsel's cross-examination went on for weeks.

"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."

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 astonishing 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 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

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Kruger rejects world

US shocked over Biko death

▶▶From page 1

Mr Biko's death was related as an "outrage" on the Senate floor, as "a major loss for the future of South Africa" at the United Nations.

No South African has been more quickly escalated to martyrdom at a time when South Africa is relying on Western vetoes to save it from punitive action at the United Nations.

Mr Young compared the death to the loss to America of President Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King.

"These losses," he said "cost nearly a decade of progress. Certainly a future 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 derided 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 to have the mass support of the young radical urban blacks.

More on page 11

Kruger on death

▶▶From page 1

found in Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. At the bottom of all the detainee deaths was this legislative provision.

"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."

What was needed was an inquiry into the overall picture of detainee deaths and their causes by a completely independent body.

● The 125 000-member Inkatha movement has called for an internationally supervised inquiry into all circumstances surrounding Mr Biko's death.

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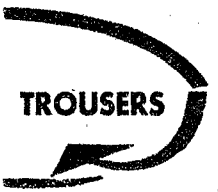

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Biko went on hunger fast says Kruger

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 57-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, inter alia, for drafting and distributing pamphlets which incited arson and violence.

"He was detained at Walmer police station in Port Elizabeth.

"Since September 5 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's 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's 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, 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 appointed by Mr Biko's

s Rhodesia, 9 April 1975.
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'Marks were found on dead detainee'

RDM 16/9/77

2. 325 - detention

By JOHAN BUYS

WHY WOULD A Terrorism Act detainee hang himself in a police cell if he was in a genial mood the night before he was found dead?

This question was asked at an inquest held in the Evander Magistrate's Court yesterday into the death of Mr Naboath Ntshuntha, 42, a Soweto naturopath, arrested on December 14.

He was found dead in the Leandra police cells where he was in solitary confinement after being questioned for three days by Springs Security Police.

A Johannesburg advocate, Mr E M Wentzel, was briefed to appear at the inquiry on behalf of the dead man's family.

A Johannesburg pathologist, Professor J J F van Jaarsveld, told the magistrate, Mr J C Maritz, he had examined Mr Ntshuntha's four-day-old corpse on January 12.

The cause of death was hanging, he said.

"The head had already been opened and there was an incision behind the ear. There was a 28 cm incision, roughly stitched up, about seven cm below the navel.

"There was also a small abrasion between one and one and a half mm long near the left temple," the pathologist said.

Prof Van Jaarsveld said he also found three small, round, three mm abrasions inside the left ear and a small abrasion of a different kind on the right ear.

In addition there was a two cm mark on the front of the dead man's neck, stretching upwards on both sides behind the ears.

The marks on the ears could have been caused by electrical contact, burns or what the professor termed "impression contact".

Prof Van Jaarsveld said he was not sure how these marks could have been caused — but he was inclined to think "impression contact" could have been the cause.

"These marks were, however, not relevant to the man's death," the professor told the magistrate.

"We are not entirely sure as to what caused these marks — I did not see enough evidence in these wounds to be able to say that they were caused electrically."

Constable A S P van Vuuren told the court he found Mr Ntshuntha hanging behind his cell door on the morning of January 9.

The night before Mr Ntshuntha had said he had no complaints.

"He was in a genial mood," the constable said.

Questioned by Mr Wentzel, Const Van Vuuren could not say why Mr Ntshuntha would have hanged himself if he was in a genial mood the previous night.

The hearing was postponed sine die for the court to hear evidence from a Lieutenant P Kruger who questioned Mr Ntshuntha while he was in detention.

micro-climate, as well as various landuse patterns which had to be taken into account.

Test area

The Cloccolan test area was considered first. In the laboratory the photos comprising the test area were separated into two subtypes, the upland type based on the farm Prynsburg (Map 1), which included plant communities on a basalt sill, Cave Sandstone mesa, talus slopes of the Molteno Red Beds, and a portion of the pediment, which also included several waterways. The second [illegible] west of Cloccolan on the farms Avoca, Inhoek and [illegible]were situated on the Mopedisprui[illegible]. This division [illegible]e plant communities of the lower pediments, the slopes [illegible]ttropping of Molteno Sandstone and the effects of a [illegible]terns.

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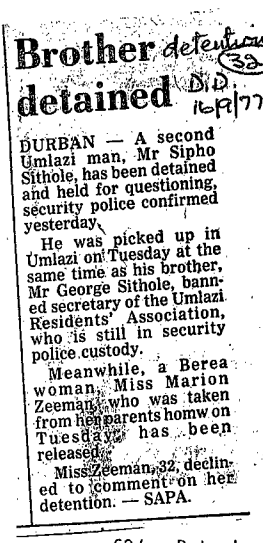

Brother detained detention (325) D.D. 16/9/77

DURBAN — A second Umlazi man, Mr Sipho Sithole, has been detained and held for questioning, security police confirmed yesterday.

He was picked up in Umlazi on Tuesday at the same time as his brother, Mr George Sithole, banned secretary of the Umlazi Residents' Association, who is still in security police custody.

Meanwhile, a Berea woman, Miss Marion Zeeman, who was taken from her parents homw on Tuesday, has been released.

Miss Zeeman, 32, declined to comment on her detention. — SAPA.

tial Address, Chamber of Mines Rhodesia, 9 April 1975.
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Herald, 23 January 1975: Business and Financial Review,

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63/ 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 Wenela propaganda handed to contractees (documents in the vernacular translated by Wilbert Garaba).

64/ Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Ltd., Reports and Financial Statements For The Year Ended 31 December 1974, Johannesburg.

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.

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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/ .....

C.T. 16/9/77 (325-Defence)

Two brothers detained

DURBAN. – A second Umlazi man, Mr Sipho Sithole, has been detained and held for questioning, security police confirmed yesterday.

He was arrested in Umlazi on Tuesday at the same time as was his brother, Mr George Sithole, banned secretary of the Umlazi Residents' Association, who is still in security police custody. – Sapa

(325 - detention)

Drips can keep men alive — doctors

A MEDICAL practitioner told the Cape Times last night that a man on a hunger strike can be kept alive on an intravenous drip.

He was asked to react to a statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, last night that Mr Steve Biko had been fed intravenously during his hunger strike before he died in detention this week.

Liquid solids

"Patients have been kept alive for weeks on intravenous drips, taking in fluids, and I mean fluids in its widest sense, such as liquid solids, not just water," said the doctor.

Another city doctor said intravenous feeding was "very much a second choice when it came to feeding an unconscious patient".

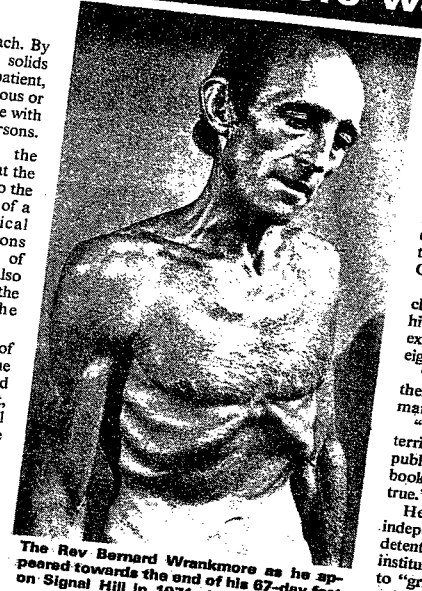
The preferable method was intranasal, whereby a fine plastic tube was fed through the nose into the stomach. By this means liquified solids could be fed to the patient, even if he were unconscious or unwilling, as was the case with delirious or disturbed persons.

"The problem with the intravenous method is that the insertion of the needle into the vein requires the services of a skilled nurse or medical practitioner. Complications could arise in the form of thrombosis or clots, and also if the vein reacted to the damage caused by the needle," the doctor said.

He added that in the case of an unco-operative patient the needle could not be replaced in the same vein if pulled out, whereas with intra-nasal feeding the tube could be replaced with little or no damage.

Nasal feeding would not be used in the case of injury to the nose, face or throat, he said. In that case, the doctor would be forced to use intravenous feeding as a second choice.

Wrankmore warns on fasting



The Rev Bernard Wrankmore as he appeared towards the end of his 67-day fast on Signal Hill in 1971. He lost 29 kg of body weight.

THE Rev Bernard Wrankmore, the Anglican priest who in 1971 fasted on Signal Hill for 67 days as a protest against the death in detention of the Cape Town Moslem leader Imam Haron, yesterday warned against the "rash voice" calling for protest fasting for Steve Biko.

"There are many voices expressing sentiments and opinions on Steve Biko's death in detention and I am loath to add mine to the general clamour, which eventually subsides when the 'captains and the kings depart'," Mr Wrankmore told the Cape Times in a written statement.

"However, there is a rash voice calling for clergymen, academics and others to emulate his alleged fast, not as a protest, but as an experiment to prove he couldn't die after eight days without food and water.

"This will only prove their ignorance by their deaths and perhaps establish the manner of his death, but not the cause.

"The true cause of his death lies in the terrible fear which grips both detainee and public alike that the allegations posed in a booklet, 'Torture in South Africa?', could be true."

He added that till there was an independent judicial inquiry into all deaths in detention and adequate safeguards were instituted, this "foul system" would continue to "grind inexorably on like a cancer, not only resulting in deaths in isolated cells, but ultimately in the death of the body which gave it life".

Huge Biko service planned

STAR. 16/9/77.

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 black consciousness leader Mr 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 has announced that at 3 p.m. on Sunday a service will be held at the Johannesburg Central Methodist Mission.

A protest meeting 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 in detention of Steve Biko.

POLICE CELL?

The Minister must immediately clear up whether Mr Biko died in a police cell, a prison hospital or 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, intravenously 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.

When Mr Biko's death was announced by the Commissioner of Police, General Prinsloo, it was stated that he had died in a Pretoria Hospital.

Later, the Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, General Jannie Roux, said Mr Biko had in fact died in a cell.

Mr Kruger, approached today with several questions, said he was not saying anything.

Questions also arose today on why the police failed to inform Mr Biko's family at the time on his hunger strike so that they could have had the opportunity of persuading him not to persist.

The Nationalist newspaper the Transvaler said today it viewed the death of Mr Biko in a very serious light.

It denounced the reaction of delegates at the National Party congress for laughing while Mr Kruger described events leading to Mr Biko's death.

A protest meeting will

To Page 3, Col 7

be held at the Students Union, Natal University, on Tuesday.

Mr Ray Swart, chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, announced this last night.

Security police served a court order on students at the University of Natal yesterday prohibiting any meetings on the campus in connection with Mr Biko's death from 11 am yesterday until midnight tonight.

The British Ambassador, Sir David Scott, said today that if he could not attend Mr Biko's funeral, he certainly hoped to be represented, according to a British consular spokesman in Johannesburg



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

EAGER STUDENT STUMPED THE LAND PREACHING THE GOSPEL OF RESPECT FOR BLACK CULTURAL VALUES

The melancholy tale of Biko's harassment

Howard Barrell

On December 18 1946, Steven Bantu Biko was born the third child of Mr and Mrs Mzimgayi Biko of Ginsburg Township, King William's Town in the Eastern Cape.

On March 30 1950, Mr Biko, sen, died, leaving his wife, Steve, another son and two daughters.

The young Biko attended Charles Margon Primary School and then Forbes Grant Secondary School in the township. He matriculated at Mariannhill, the Roman Catholic centre at Pinetown, Natal.

In 1966, Steve Biko enrolled at the medical school of the University of Natal.

At first Biko involved himself in Nusas activities on the black campus of Natal Universiity and became a member of the SRC. Increasing disenchantment with Nusas brought him into contact with other students, including Dr Aubrey Mokoape, a Saso terror trial accused now serving a six-year sentence on Robben Island. Dr Mokoape advocated a break from white liberals.

In 1967, Biko attended the University Christian Movement conference in Grahamstown. He and others led a walkout of black students who rejected the multiracial organisation with its white liberal domination.

In 1968, the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) was formed with Biko as its first president.

Biko and other office-bearers travelled the country extensively, arguing their philosophy of black consciousness.

Black consciousness, as explained by its adherents, argued that the "physical liberation" of blacks would be meaningless without their "psychological liberation". Blacks should assert their culture and values.

Only when this had been done could any useful dialogue take place between black and white.

Increasingly, Biko and Saso won the battle against Nusas for the black student vote. By 1972 their victory was almost complete. "Black" had come to include Indian and coloured people.

In December 1970, Biko married his Umtata-born wife, Ntsiki.

In 1972 he was expelled from the University of Natal for "poor academic performance."

The same year, Biko was instrumental in forming the Black Peoples' Convention. BPC was formed as an umbrella political movement for other groups adhering to the black consciousness idea.

In 1973 Biko and several colleagues were banned for five years. Biko was restricted to King William's Town.

He enrolled at Unisa to do a law degree.

In 1974, Biko was charged for the first time with breaking his banning order. He was acquitted.

He faced his second trial for allegedly breaking his banning order the following year. His alleged crime was to write a Unisa examination in a crowded hall in King William's Town. This case was still pending at the time of his death.

In 1975 Mr Donald Woods, Editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, to relax or lift Mr Biko's banning order. Mr Kruger added a further restriction.

In April last year the security police summonsed him for allegedly going through a stop street without stopping. He appeared in his own defence and was acquitted.

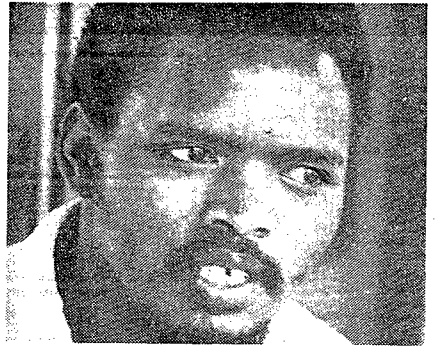
In the nationwide security police swoops that followed the outbreak of black township unrest Biko, like some 350 others, was detained. He spent 101 days in solitary confinement and was extensively interrogated.

On March 29 this year, after his release, he appeared in court in King William's Town on charges of attempting to defeat the ends of justice and subornation to perjury. The magistrate refused him bail.

A Cape Town advocate, Dr W Cooper SC, succeeded with an application and Biko was released on R500 bail.

On July 13, Biko was acquitted of the charges, which alleged he had persuaded State witnesses — in a trial stemming from the unrest — to testify that their own pathologi be allowed to attend as observer.

It resumed at 2 pm ar finished at 4.35 pm, wi a private pathologist o serving for the family.



MR STEVE BIKO

BPC case for black consciousness

Tom Duff

Government claims that black conciousness is allied to communism have been strongly denied by Mr Hlaku Rachidi, president of the Black People's Convention (BPC).

"Black conciousness abhors and detests both capitalism and communism with equal contempt," Mr Rachidi said at a Press conference yesterday.

"They are both foreign, thus imperialistic and bent on alienating the black man in his country of origin."

He accused the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, of deliberately giving a distorted picture of black conciousness.

"He is frightened by the fact that the message of black conciousness will convert even the hard-core nationalist by its message of equality and its stress on the value of human dignity regardless of colour, race or creed," Mr Rachidi said.

Black conciousness stood for communalism.

Mr Rachidi asked: "Capitalism, communism and socialism all have education to suit them. Why not an education to suit black communalism "

Replying to questions, he said the black conciousness movement stood for non-violent change.

He said it was ironic that the BPC should be labelled a racist organisation by "the perpertrators of racism who are monopolising a racist parliament to act ruthlessly against a body like the BPC that is working towards an egalitarian society."

He said the essence of black consciousness included:

- **The realisation by blacks of the need to rally round the cause of their liberation and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bound them to perpetual servitude.**
- **The determination to expose the myth that black was an aberration from the "normal" which was white.**
- **The reconstruction by blacks of their own value system and the attempt by blacks to see themselves as defined by themselves and not by others.**
- **The attempt by blacks to rid themselves of negative notions which resulted in an inferiority complex and to infuse within their efforts, their value system, their culture, their religion and their outlook towards life.**

Mr Rochini rejected the equation of black consciousness with black power.

he was granted R200 ba This case was also pe ing.

The familiar experier of detention was ag Steve Biko's from Aug 18.

His mother was sitti on her veranda on Tu day morning this we when a group of secur policemen approach Her son was ill and h been taken to Pretor they said. She knew fore they said it and sta ed screaming — Ste Biko had died in dete tion.

COLLAPSED

She later collapsed a was treated by a doct The news of her so death was the first offic confirmation she had his detention.

The post-mortem on t 44th South African to d in detention since 19 was started by the chi State pathologist, Dr J Loubser, at 10 am Tuesday, but halted 11.30 am after reques from Steve Biko's fami

Hungry to bed

Natal Mercury 16/9/77 (246)

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 stomachs. 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 this available surely it is not unreasonable to expect a Cabinet Minister to desist from expressing opinions that are not backed by fact.

9 April 1975.
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reasons as:
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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/ .....

Biko was put on drip feed says Kruger

325 - detention

N. Mercury 16/9/77

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 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 Coloured and Indian councils yesterday called on the Government to appoint a judicial commission to inquire into the death.

Appoint

Leading members of the Coloured and Indial councils yesterday called on the Government to appoint a judicial commission to inquire into the death.

A Mercury reporter writes that Pinetown MP, Mr. Graham McIntosh and his wife Santie are to join the nation-wide fast of protest.

"As a healthy young South African politician of the same age as the late Steve Biko, I and my wife will join those concerned South Africans who will abstain from food for eight days," he said yesterday.

Protest

It was a means of protest against the evil laws allowing for extended detention without trial which led to Steve Biko's death, 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 Damaraland, entering the embassy.

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.

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72/ .....

1 200 held as Kruger told to quit

RDM 16/9/77

325 detention

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 Jusitce, 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 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," he added.

Mr Kruger said full details of the treatment given 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 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'," Mr Kruger told delegates.

Mr Kruger added that Mr Biko decided to go on a hunger strike after deliberating for 15 minutes on September 5 on whether to answer questions by the Security Police.

After his transfer to Pretoria prison, Mr Biko had been examined by the local district surgeon. A prison warder in Pretoria had seen Mr Biko lying very still when he looked through a peephole in the cell, Mr Kruger said.

But he added: "He did not touch him. Touch him and they say your finger prints are there. He lay dead still, and it was found that the person was dead."

● Questions for Kruger — Page 2

About 700 students, charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act, were remanded in custody until their court appearance on September 26 and 27.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP, said Mr Kruger had clearly demonstrated how unfit he was to hold office by his "utter lack of compassion and sensitivity" in telling 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, this seems to be the grossest form of neglect in dealing with a man that chose to starve to death This all points to the terrible penalties of being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act," Mrs Suzman 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 apparently 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 force-feed Mr Biko on the grounds that had they touched him they would have faced accusations of a different sort.

Mr Ray Swart, acting leader of the PFP, said Mr Kruger was "an embarrassment not only to the Nat Party, but to the whole of South Africa."

"I believe his disgusting performance at this time will have disastrous repercussions among blacks and be calamitous for the image of South Africa."

At Alice last night 1 200 Fort Hare 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 recognisances. About 750 male students were taken to prisons in East London and Fort Beaufort where they will be held until a court hearing in Alice starting on September 26.

None of the students was asked to plead and no evidence was led last night.

The mass arrest was

● TO PAGE 2

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16/9/77 RDM B23



Crisis deepens as students leave

RDM 16/9/77

ELEN ZILLE

sis in black ed- deepened yester- n 1 200 Fort Hare y students were and 1 500 stu- the University of nh (Turfloop) ff the campus.

Soweto educa- orities are mak- t-minute attempt township's ondary school k into the class- ore the end of — although the date expired day.

University of near Alice, al- e students were or holding an eeting in con- of the Prohibi- Gerings Act. The as a memorial Mr Steve Biko. oop 1 500 of the dents left the protest against sion of 10 stu- used of being "agitators" by the university authorities. Seven of the expelled students, detained earlier in the week, were released yesterday without being charged.

Several Turfloop students said yesterday the vast majority of students were determined not to return to the campus which they described as "one of the strongest pillars of Lantu Education and the apartheid system."

Fewer than 300 students were on the campus yesterday.

The deputy commissioner of police in charge of riot control, Major General 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 350 teachers had signed forms stating they were resigning. A final statement on their resignations would be made today, he added.

16/9/77

Kruger asked to answer questions

CAPE TOWN. — The editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, yesterday asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, to answer seven questions concerning the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

He was addressing a rally of students on the campus of the University of Cape Town to mark Mr Biko's death in Pretoria on Monday.

Sapa reports that 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 inquest findings prove them to be in error," said Mr Woods.

"This is the big one, the one they can't get away with.

"This is the death they will not explain away."

Mr Woods said Mr Kruger appeared to have reacted facetiously to the tragedy, judging by his remarks at the Transvaal congress of the National Party.

Then Mr Woods asked seven questions which, he said, should be answered:

- Why, within three days, had two differing versions of the circumstances of death been put out?
- Why had Mr Kruger tried to create the impression that the State had arranged for a post mortem in the presence of a pathologist appointed by the family, when it was found later that the post mortem had started without the family representative?
- Why had Mr Kruger suggested that Mr Biko and his wife were estranged?
- Why had Mr Kruger waited until after the death to accuse Mr Biko of inciting violence, yet had not prosecuted him when he was alive?
- Why had doctors who could find nothing wrong with Mr Biko, kept referring him to other doctors?
- Why was it taking so long for the post mortem findings to be released?

Mr Woods said: "Any suggestion that Steve was a man of violence and hatred is a lie.

"He was quite the most warm person I have met."

From East London, Rand Daily Mail correspondent Gavin Robson reports that Mr Biko's widow Mtziki told him: "Steve was a good man. He was a good father. But above all he was a leader."

Mrs Biko, a mission hospital sister and mother of two children, said: "His death in detention did not come to me as unexpected.

"I knew that because he was a man of such firm convictions 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.

"No policemen informed me of his death. It was only through my sister-in-law and my sister that the news reached me on Tuesday.

"For me it was a very sad moment. I was numb with shock.

"I kept telling myself and will continue to tell myself that my husband died, during a struggle for the liberation of the black man in South Africa."

Biko's death: Kruger told to resign

16/9/77

marked by a lack of violence on the part of both students and police. Many students climbed willingly into police vehicles, giving Black Power salutes.

Prof J M de Wet, rector of Fort Hare, appealed to students not to hold an illegal open air meeting, but most boycotted lectures yesterday.

FROM PAGE ONE

The Transvaal executive of the New Republic Party yesterday called on the Government to abolish detention without trial. Until results of Mr Biko's post mortem were available, it



Order banning student meetings withdrawn

CAPE TOWN. — An order banning all non-academic gatherings of students at the University of Cape Town between 10 am yesterday and 10 am tomorrow.

16/9/77



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.

was cancelled yesterday soon after it was signed by the Wynberg Chief Magistrate Mr E Rorich.

The order, issued in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, would have prohibited all student gatherings in the Wynberg magisterial district.

Mr Rorich said the order had been requested by the Security Police who later withdrew the request.

It would have outlawed a mass meeting at UCT on the death of the black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko.

The meeting was addressed by Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch in East London, and Mr Charles Nupen, former president of Nusas.

—Sapa.

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 Fink Haysom, the Nusas 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 PFP MP 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, Security Police tore down placards at the University of Natal after a memorial service

Kruger or other people to say he died as a result of a hunger strike or any other cause, the NRP 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



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.

Biko death: Editor tells of secret code

CAPE TIMES 16/9/77 (325 Detention)

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, Ntsikie, 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 inciting violence – not had not
- 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, 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 several minutes.

Former Nusas 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 power base that would be able to negotiate freedom. It is

Inquest or prosecution: Decision later

PRETORIA.—The Attorney General of the Transvaal, Mr J. E. Nothling, SC, said today 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, reports Sapa.

'Once investigations into Mr Biko's death have been completed the docket will be forwarded to my office,' Mr Nothling said.

'I will then decide upon the contents of the docket whether an inquest is to be held.'

The decision on 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.'

The Argus London Bureau reports that the Anti-Apartheid Movement has called on the South African Government to permit an independent international inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the death of Mr Biko.

The call was contained in a letter and petition handed in to the South African Ambassador during a lunch-time demonstration outside South Africa House in Trafalgar Square yesterday.

About 100 protesters, including veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Mr Peter Hain, displayed placards and handed out pamphlets.

Law experts call for check on State actions

ARGUS 16/9/77

325 - Detention

PROFESSORS at the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch today condemned the attitude of the Minister of Justice to the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

They called for the restoration of judicial supervision over the actions of executive government

16/9/77 Arg
325

Nat paper condemns congress remarks

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In an editorial today, the Nationalist newspaper, the Transvaler, 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, had 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 1 pm.

The main speakers will be Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, Dr Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute, and former judge, Mr Kowie Marais.

A reaction to the death of black-consciousness leader Mr Biko came from Professor W. H. B. Dean, dean of the law faculty at UCT, Professor Jan H. van Rooyen, head of the university's Institute of Criminology, and Professor Johan Degenaar, head of the political philosophy department at Stellenbosch.

A joint statement from Professor Dean and Professor van Rooyen said:

'We assume that Mr 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.'

Unacceptable

'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.'

They grieved the demolition of the rule of law — part of the Western heritage — by the Government's security laws and urged that judicial supervision over the actions of the executive 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,' the statement said.

'Deplorable'

Professor Degenaar said he associated himself with the statement. He added: 'It's deplorable that people can be held without trial in this way.'

'People at Stellenbosch are deeply concerned.

(Continued on Page 3, col 3)

CAPE TIMES 16/9/77 (325 - Detention)



"Steve Biko's death may leave Mr Kruger cold, but it leaves me frozen stiff."

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letters

Post-mortem crucial

From Mr JAMES HARKESS (Orion, Southern Cross Drive, Constantia):

OF THE various reactions you have published to the death of Mr Biko held by police for alleged participation in serious criminal offences, only one would appear to be both responsible and constructive, that of Mr Myburgh Streicher that only a post-mortem could indicate the cause of death. Thereafter an inquest is the proper course.

Sadly, the others by their extravagant or intemperate remarks, fail to be convincing.

Thoughts can't be banned

I HAVE often written about Steve Biko in this column, in an attempt to acquaint as many South Africans as possible with the special qualities of this remarkable man whose close friendship I was privileged to experience for three years.

In a normal society in which he could have spoken and written freely, his unique greatness would have been acknowledged openly by the vast majority of our people. But the ministerial edict banning him meant he could not speak publicly or be quoted, and consequently that a fairly large proportion of the population, the whites, knew little or nothing about him.

Main losers

This was foolish of our political rulers in that they are ultimately the main losers thereby, because suppression of a moderate leader intensifies resistance to themselves in the deepest ways.

The Russians experienced this with Solzhenitsyn. They suppressed his words but his ideas increasingly circulated among the people.

The Nationalists here have a similar misconception of the nature of what they are up against. Like the Kremlin, 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.



By DONALD WOODS

That is why the creed of our present rulers cannot survive in South Africa. The thoughts of too many are against them, and ultimately they themselves are far too few.

Steve has died in detention, and bitter though the grief is in this tragedy, its fruits will be the most bitter for those who might have believed his death would be to their benefit.

Mr Vorster thunders out in ringing oratory at his party congresses that South Africa will soon be tested as never before.

Wrong, Mr Vorster. Not South Africa, but the tiny minority – the 10 percent or so who support the National Party. Theirs will be the ultimate test, and they will fail it dismally.

One particular myth has led both Vorster supporters in this country and Smith supporters in Rhodesia to a falsely optimistic evaluation of their chances.

Each speaks as if he is a Churchill rallying the nation to its finest hour, promising not comfort but "blood, sweat, toil and tears". They seem to see the looming challenge as analogous to the image of Britain in 1940, girding to repel the invader.

But there is one massive difference. Churchill was rallying a united people behind him – all 50-million Britons, not a small proportion of them in the midst of a large anti-Churchill majority.

The insoluble problem of Mr Vorster and Mr Smith is that each represents ideas rejected by a large majority of his own countrymen.

And on top of this there are no international allies. On the contrary, there is mounting international anger and hostility.

Mr Vorster's situation is looking increasingly like a Paul Kruger situation, except that this time it is not a question of a small nation against the British Empire, but a small section of a small nation against the whole world – and most of its own citizens.

Because of thoughts

Again, it is all because of thoughts. Thoughts that led to apartheid laws, to racial attitudes, to bulldozers masquerading as front-end loaders, to laws which permit detention without trial and thence to circumstances in which 45 citizens die in such detention – 20 of them in the past 18 months.

And these thoughts in turn are opposed with thoughts of indictment, of resentment, of bitterness and hate.

And a champion of reconciliation, moderation and peace lies dead in detention.

While his death seriously diminishes hopes for the peace he sought for the rest of us, we really headed for the horrors of war?

These questions are no longer the problems of Steve Biko. He has died having done all he could to help his fellow men.

That is the best epitaph anyone could aspire to.

Biko: F
detenti

From Mrs MARGARET MALHERBE, 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 injustice of detention, in solitary confinement, without charge or trial.

Our bishops have said that "people starved of freedom, deprived of their just rights and humiliated in their personal dignity will not rest 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 soiled the name of South Africa.

Steve Biko the man is dead but his spirit and what he stood for will live on.

CAPE TIMES 16/9/77 (325 Detention)

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 likeliest leaders for the government to deal with if it wished to channel rising black rage away from despair and violence.

"Few 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 no 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 back off from meaningful dialogue with the black community, are sowing the wind.

"Without the Steve Bikos, they will surely reap the whirlwind."

The New York Times said in an editorial:

"Steven 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 of its indictments thrown out by judges who patently were not in its control. Yet that has not deterred it from making more arrests on flimsy charges.

"About 200 separate trials are now underway for 'treason', 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. Steven 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?" – Sapa-Reuter-AP

(325 - Detention)

1 210 Fort Hare students in court

CAPE TIMES 16/9/77

PORT ELIZABETH. — 1 210 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 grandstand 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 8.30pm.

Biko was drip-fed by vein — Kruger



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Woods tells of 'death code' with Biko

— page 3

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 feed. 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 Jannie Roux, deputy commissioner of prisons, 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.

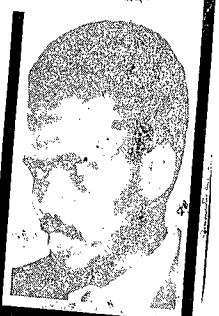
General Roux confirmed that Mr Biko was not sent to hospital in Pretoria, but emphasized that he had been examined and treated by a district surgeon on his arrival in Pretoria.

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.



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, 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 prevented him.

The Dutch Gove... said the death of M... defined the ab... rights and th... discrimin... Africa.

Reaction to death of Mr Steve Biko

Continued from page 1

ulation of South Africa. He believed in a non-violent solution to his country's problems.

The government had learnt of the death with "sadness and great disquiet," he said.

The West German Government said it was "taken aback" by Mr Biko's death.

The Foreign Ministry said his death was a "great loss to the cause of urgently necessary dialogue between whites and blacks in the Cape Republic."

In Johannesburg, Sir De Villiers Graaff, interim leader of the New Republic Party, joined the call for a judicial inquiry.

Addressing students at the Rand Afrikaans University, he said inquests into detainee deaths had proved unsatisfactory, and in the light of the 20 detainee deaths a judicial inquiry was now more than ever necessary.

Leading members of the coloured and Indian councils yesterday called on the government to appoint a judicial commission to inquire into Mr Biko's death.

The Coloured Council Executive, through one of its members, Mr Norman Middleton, said the death of Mr Biko had wide publicity abroad, and a judicial inquiry could remove any suspicion that it might have been due to neglect.

A member of the SA Indian Council Executive, Mr Joe Carrim, said the suspicion that "all was not what it seemed" was inevitable when a man died while being held in political detention.

Dr Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute, said: "I find it extremely disturbing that the Minister of Justice is changing his story as to what did happen to Mr Biko during his time of detention.

"For the sake of truth and the regaining of trust of the whole world, it is of utmost importance that the minister comes into the clear with a detailed statement of what actually happened.

The whole truth

"This has to be followed by a judicial inquiry under the chairmanship of a judge to enable us to know the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth," he said.

Dozens of University of Cape Town students yesterday placed death notices in the Cape Times mourning Mr Biko.

The decision to place the notices was taken at a lunchtime mass meeting held on the campus.

Mrs Daphne Wilson, of the Mowbray Inter-race Group, said a 24-hour vigil would be held in St George's Cathedral beginning immediately after the 3pm memorial service arranged by the Ministers' Fraternal of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga for Sunday.

The MP for Pinetown, Mr Graham McIntosh, and his wife Santie are to join a hunger strike in protest against Mr Biko's death.

"It is a means of protest against the evil laws allowing for extended detention without trial which led to Mr Biko's death," Mr McIntosh said. The McIntoshes will drink water during the fast.

On Mr Kruger's statement last night that Mr Biko had been on an intravenous drip before he died, Mrs Sheena Duncan, national president of the Black Sash, said: "It is not surprising no one in or outside of South Africa believed any statement made by the Minister of Justice. He has now issued several conflicting reports on the last days of Steve Biko and he continues to refuse appointing a judicial court of inquiry into this and other deaths," she said.

Mr A "Lofty" Adams of the Labour Party said in the Coloured Representative Council yesterday, while speaking on a motion calling for the repeal of the Illegal Squatting Act, that "men are allowed to starve to death in jails in South Africa. It is the function of the law to keep prisoners alive."

Students at the University of the Witwatersrand have postponed today's mass meeting to pay tribute to Mr Biko, and arranged a week-long programme of seminars to discuss his beliefs.

Nearly 300 students at the University of Natal in Durban attended a lunchtime protest meeting yesterday when speakers were supported in their criticism of circumstances surrounding the death of Mr Biko.

Mr Thami Dumisa, of Diakonia, told the students that blacks held all whites responsible for the deaths in detention as well as at Sharpeville and Soweto.

Dr R E van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape, said: "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 effective?"

Businesses in Port Elizabeth's African townships remained closed till 12.30pm yesterday and many pupils stayed away from schools as a mark of respect for Mr Biko.

[redacted]

10 325 - Defence

The Argus

SEPTEMBER 16 1977

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 irregularities. 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 homogenous societies out of the present heterogenous one, he added.

'IN 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 next to each other.'

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 where South Africa is to build on the foundations we will leave you.

'We in the National Party have concentrated more on separation, but you will work on the development of our policy.' — Sapa and The Argus Correspondent.



MR J. T. KRUGER — 'I'm not a medical man . . .'

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 South Africa House in Trafalgar Square during the lunch hour.

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 B. J. Vorster, and sang 'freedom' 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 Damaraland, 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.

'He was a man admired in South Africa and abroad for the contribution he has made for the cause of justice and freedom in South Africa.

'We know of the suffering he has experienced — of his banning 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 its itself indefensible.

'The news of his death has shocked and outraged us. We would urge your Government to permit an independent international inquiry into thecircumstances 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 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 by picketers.

Others included the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, Zapu, the Communist Party, the National Union of Students, the Southern African Solidarity Campaign, Hart, Sart (by Mr Peter Hain), Christian Concern for South Africa and Eltsa. — Sapa

Call for judicial inquiry

The Argus Political Staff

A MEETING of the Western 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, Sir de Villiers Graaff, adopted a resolution seeking clarity on various aspects of Mr Biko's death.

The resolution noted with concern 'yet another death of a detainee'.

It stated that in the interest of South Africa it was essential that a full public disclosure be made on:

- The reasons for Mr Biko's detention and the validity
- The nature of his detention.
- The cause of his death.
- The extent to which his family was kept informed as to his state of health while in detention.

The resolution continued: 'The council believes that these facts cannot be established by normal inquest proceedings and therefore demands a thorough inquiry and report by a judge of the Supreme Court.'

MORE CONFUSION

Mr Murray said today there was now further confusion about whether Mr Biko died in prison or in hospital. There was also confusion as to the nature of the intravenous injection to which he was subjected, namely, whether it was forced-feeding or whether it was for medical curative purposes.

'The Minister of Justice (Mr J. T. Kruger) surely cannot avoid a full judicial inquiry,' Mr Murray said.

Services in major centres

The Argus Correspondent

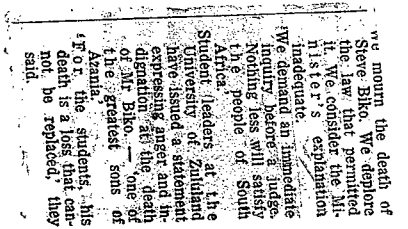
JOHANNESBURG. — Thousands of mourners are expected at Soweto's huge Regina Mundi Catholic Church on Sunday to attend one of several memorial services planned nationwide for black leader, Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention at Pretoria on Monday.

The services, which are being organised by the Black People's Convention, are planned for Soweto, Pretoria, Durban, Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal.

A spokesman in Johannesburg said today no decision had been taken yet 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:



...we mourn the death of Steve Biko. We deplore the law that permitted it. We consider the Minister's explanation inadequate. We demand an immediate inquiry before a judge. Nothing less will satisfy the people of South Africa.'

Student leaders at the University of Zululand have issued a statement expressing anger and indignation at the death of Mr Biko — 'one of the greatest sons of Azania.'

'For the students, his death is a loss that cannot be replaced,' they said.

Intravenous drip

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 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.

Mr Biko died after going on a hunger strike following his arrest in Grahamstown.

'There was a doctor treating him. I'm 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.'

INQUEST

Mr Kruger said full details of the treatment of Mr Biko would probably come out at the inquest, when doctors would probably give evidence.

He had as yet no indication when the inquest would be held.

In a television interview last night Mr Kruger said of Mr Biko's death:

'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.'

NO NEGOTIATION

Addressing National Party student teachers in Pretoria last night Mr Kruger quoted several poems 'written by revolutionaries' and read extracts from the black-consciousness movement's manifesto.

'This is the language of people you cannot talk to. We cannot sit down and negotiate with people like this,' he said.

There was a difference between a black nationalist who wanted to have his own identity and the man who 'says he is against you because he is black and you are white.

The solution to South Africa's problems lay in

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12/9/77

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BIKO

17/9/77 W/E Arg (325)



Son of the East Cape

Weekend Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Steve Bantu Biko, the 30-year-old father of the black consciousness movement whose death in detention has sparked worldwide repercussions, was like most non-homeland black leaders in South Africa, a product of the Eastern Cape.

He was born and educated in King William's Town.

After school he studied medicine at the University of Natal.

He was a tall, well-built man who played lock for his university rugby side.

It was during his years at the University of Natal that he helped found the South African Students' Organisation in 1968.

He was the first president of the organisation.

He also co-founded the Black People's Convention, and was its honorary president at the time of his death.

His medical studies in Natal came to a premature end when he was banned from attending the university in 1972.

He stayed on in Durban, however, and became deeply involved in the Black Community Programme (BCP).

The following year he was served with a five-year banning order restricting him to the magisterial district of his home town.

Back home again, he took over 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 the 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 breaking the terms of his banning order.

He was found not guilty.

His banning order was then further tightened by the Minister of Justice and amended to forbid Mr Biko from working for BCP, was intensified. involved in social and medical work in the black community.

The Security Police then had Mr Biko summonsed for not stopping at a stop sign.

The summons was initiated by Warrant Officer Gerhardus Hattingh of the Security Police, who was following Mr Biko at the time.

Mr Biko appeared in court in his own defence.

He was acquitted.

On the day of his acquittal from the traffic charge, the Security Police again charged him with contravening his banning order, this time for writing an examination in a school.

The case was set for September last year, but in August he was arrested by Captain P. A. Schoeman of the East London Security Police and detained until November.

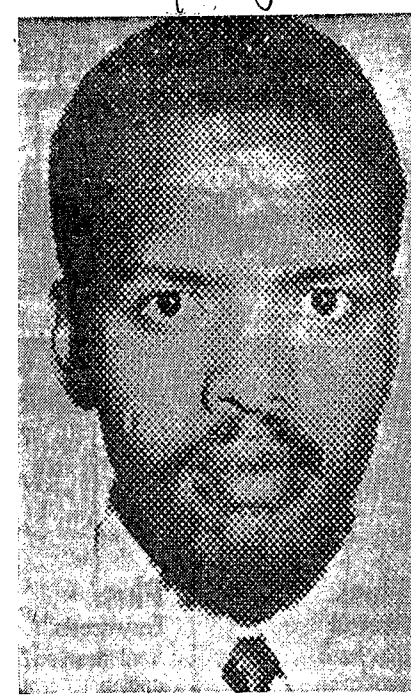
So the case was put off until March 28 this year.

But, in the meantime, he was again arrested by Captain Schoeman and charged with subornation to perjury.

After a long and expensive case in which the defence costs alone amounted to R25 000, a magistrate once again acquitted Mr Biko.

The case in which he was charged for writing an examination was set for September 26 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.



Steve Biko

Boraine, saying it could be the best thing for blacks and whites. 'But the Government feels threatened—when Andy Young sneezes, they feel threatened. . . .'

An Afrikaner with a background of Afrikaner consciousness, Professor N. J. Olivier, formerly NRP and now PFP MP, marvelled at the Government's attitude.

'I can't understand how Mr Kruger will not grasp the concept of black consciousness,' he said this week. 'This is the road the Afrikaner himself travelled. When consciousness evolves, you cannot eliminate it, you have to accommodate it.'

He pressed for consultation with consciousness leaders, not 'black stooges'. 'Steve Biko was a voice to be listened to,' he said.

'The homeland policy — the whole concept of urban blacks — is ridiculous. We can't go on like this. Black consciousness will be a threat if we do not come to terms with it.'

Rejects

The Secretary General of probably the strongest black consciousness organisation in the country, Mr T. Mazibuko, of the BPC, denied outright the existence of black power in South Africa.

'There is no black power movement in this country,' he said from Johannesburg. Black consciousness had entirely different aims. 'It rejects the whole system, and does not seek for power within it.'

He explained the difference between the two.

'I believe black power is applicable in already open societies, where blacks are a minority. But in "Azania" there is no open society. It can only be created by blacks once the government is rightfully elected by the majority.'

He said this meant he believed in democracy. His party aspired towards peaceful revolution, he said. They wanted an egalitarian society with justice for all, and the philosophy of black communism.

Black Sash lays 250 wreaths in Jo'burg

(325) detentions

RDM 17.9.77

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 coathangers, cypres and laurel leaves — were hooked on to wastebins along Louis Botha Avenue, Oxford Road and Jan Smuts Avenue from 6 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.

Force-feeding is thorny issue

(325) Detention

Star 17/9/77

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The death this week of Steve Biko has echoes in the controversy in Britain over the fate of IRA hunger strikers.

Dolours and Marian Price — convicted together with other IRA terrorists of committing the London car bombings in 1973 — were force-fed during a 205-day prison fast in 1974. But they were the last IRA prisoners to be force-fed before British policy was changed in July 1974.

Last year, convicted IRA terrorist Frank Stagg died in Wakefield prison hospital after a 61-day hunger strike — and he was not force-fed.

The thorny question of force-feeding has led to a welter of controversy — and the Price sisters' fast raised the matter again.

Hunger strikes and force-feeding are complicated problems, involving as they do, questions of medical ethics, of the responsibilities of the State towards the prisoner, and of differences between types of prisoners as well as between their motives for going on hunger strike.

Doctors are divided not only on the wisdom of resorting to feeding, but also on the ethical propriety of doing so.

In British prisons until July 1974, if a prisoner refused to take food, the medical officer was obliged to advise artificial feeding.

The change in British policy came during Mr Roy Jenkins's term as Home Secretary.

Mr Jenkins was known to view force-feeding as distasteful and his public statement of a new policy, in the Commons on July 17, 1974, followed a Home Office review of compulsory force-feeding — a review precipitated by the Price sisters.

The new guidelines said hunger strikers must be medically examined by the prison medical officer to ensure that their capacity for rational judgment was unimpaired.

Biko post-mortem given top priority

(328) P&L Trials Rdm 17/9/77

By SHEILA WING

THE POST-MORTEM on Mr Steve Biko was being treated as a priority case, Professor J Loubser, 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 Loubser 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 Loubser would not specify what these were.

Professor Loubser 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 Simson, head of the department of pathology at Pretoria University.

Asked whether an inquest would be held immediately after the post-mortem was completed, Professor Loubser said the decision rested with the judiciary. An inquest was not automatic and the Attorney-General had said this depended on how he decided to handle the case. The State could alternatively press charges or drop the matter entirely.

Professor Loubser said the date of an inquest, if one was held, depended on the priority of the case. It varied enormously but a case like Mr Biko's would be expedited.

The Rand Daily Mail's

• TO PAGE TWO

Priority given to post-mortem

•FROM PAGE ONE

East London correspondent reports that he King William's Town Security Police have handed over Mr Biko's body to the Biko family.

MELANIE YAP reports that the United Nations Committee against Apartheid last night said the world should expel South Africa from the international community for "the murder 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.

SA: Waiting for voice of sanity

Politics by Phoenix

WILL there in the perhaps not-too-distant future be a new generation of Afrikaners who will ask of their elders: 'But did you not realise what was happening? Weren't there enough Afrikaners with the courage to protest, to do something?'

It has been a climactic week and at the end of it one cannot escape the feeling that there is no way the Government can carry on ruling this country the way it does.

All the signs are that South Africa under the Nationalists has finally come up against it.

Over the years we have had their arrogance, their kragdadigheid, their attitude of 'we-have-all-the-answers, we-are-invincible.' Lately we have had an increase in the chest thumping, a defiance of the outside world.

And where has all this got South Africa?

We have been told the Government has made arrangements to stockpile certain strategic materials in anticipation of partial or complete isolation by the outside world.

We have been told by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Magnus Malan (and it is ominous this comes from the top military man) that our business world must gear itself to a survival economy.

We have been told — in the words of their elders and in the actions of the youths themselves — that the young coloured people and Africans of today are no longer prepared to accept an inferior status in their own country.

In the midst of all these warnings, in a climate of extreme pressures and tensions, internal and external, which are so obviously building up against South Africa, comes the death of Mr Steve Biko in detention.

Columns of tributes to the dead man, from black, coloured and white people, have been published in South Africa and overseas. There is widespread indignation at his death in detention.

'Killed by the system, a victim of the system,' is the cry that rings round the world as the demands come for an inquiry into that system which has claimed a shocking number of lives of detained political prisoners.

And what is the reaction of the Nationalist Minister of Police?

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

Here, in a few words, the Government has condemned itself, finally and utterly.

And not only the Government. Because when Mr Kruger added to that remark: 'I can say nothing to you about any person who dies. I shall also be sorry if I die,' the delegates to the Transvaal congress of the National Party laughed.

The death of a respected black leader in detention, in the hands of the country's Security Police, leaves the Minister cold and becomes a laughing matter for some at a National congress.

What you sow, you shall reap.

Are the people who joined in that laughter so blind, so ignorant, that they don't know where they are taking South Africa with them?

Are there not Afrikaners, enough of them, who have the foresight and the courage to stand up — now — and say to Mr Kruger and his colleagues: So far and no further?

Because, what the Nationalist Government does, it does in the first place in the name of the Afrikaner. The Opposition parties and the English-language newspapers can hardly be more condemnatory in its views on the Government's policy and its actions.

At the point of no-return we seemed to have reached, it is from among the ranks of the Afrikaner that one waits for the voice of sanity.

If it is not forthcoming soon, a future generation of Afrikaners may well ask those questions of their elders: Did you not realise what was happening, weren't there enough Afrikaners who had the courage to say something about it, who were prepared to do something about it?

'Back to Paul Kruger'

The front page headline in Die Burger reads: 'Back to Paul Kruger, says Minister Mulder.'

The story was that Dr Connie Mulder, Minister of Information and of the Interior, said at a meeting in Pretoria that with the executive powers given to the State President in terms of the proposed new constitution, there was a movement back to the old South African Republic.

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 Clarens?

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.

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Weekend Argus

SEPTEMBER 17 1977

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 bad 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.

DE ARGUS 17/9/77

Kruger 'totally unfit' for post —Swart, Murray

325 detention

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — It has been 'a disasterous week,' for Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, says Mr Ray Swart, national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party.

His handling of the whole Steve Biko episode had brought South Africa into further disrepute and caused greater dissension within the country, Mr Swart said.

'Mr Kruger shows that he lacks compassion, sensitivity and wisdom, apart from any other deficiencies.

'His performance at the Transvaal National Party congress will be regretted by every South African embassy 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 emphasised 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 unconcern 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.'

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Expel Rep



Close friends of black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko and prominent members of the Black People's Convention, Mr Ray Currie (left front) and Mr Vuyisile Mdleleni (front right) help carry the body of Mr Biko to an awaiting hearse shortly before the body was moved to a private mortuary in King William's Town yesterday. Others helping to carry the body include mortuary officials.

Body back in King

KING WILLIAM'S 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 phoned the family a little after 8 am and informed them Mr 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 repre-

Editor challenges Kruger on Biko's death

JOHANNESBURG — 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 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 statements which implied

"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 he 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

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him that by 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.

"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 the 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 of 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 arrested in connection with the riots in Port Elizabeth 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 outside his restricted area, but the gravamen of the charge 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 throwing mud at Mr Biko."

Referring to claims that quotations showing Mr Biko was being treated as a prisoner, Mr Kruger said: "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.

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 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 connection 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." — DDC-SAPA.

Post m

Daily D

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 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

Addressing the United Nations Committee against Apartheid, the chairman, Mr Leslie Harriman of Nigeria, said: "The death of Steve Biko is a crime against the United Nations and the international community.

"We must call on all nations of the world to stay the hands of the racists in South Africa, to expel the apartheid regime from the international community, and to join the efforts of the national liberation movement to destroy that regime before further excesses occur in the country," Mr Harriman said.

Meanwhile, memorial services throughout the country have been planned for tomorrow afternoon by the Black Peoples' Convention, of which Mr Biko was honorary president.

The Western Province regional council of the New Republic Party has demanded "a thorough inquiry and report by a judge of the Supreme Court" into Mr Biko's death in detention.

Certain factors could not be established by normal inquest proceedings 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, interim chairman Mr Lionel Murray said yesterday.

Prof W. H. Dean, 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 understand that he was not under arrest on a criminal charge when detained, nor was he convicted of any offence," they said.

Two Afrikaans newspapers, Die Transvaler and Oggenblad, 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.

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 university student movements — including the movement founded by Mr Biko, the South African 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 conference of the National Union of South African Students by Mr Biko.

The sentences read: "There can be no change through evolution. 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, describing him as "a person who does not want 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, members of the ruling Social Democratic Party said Mr Biko "has become a victim of the inhuman apartheid system and of machinery of suppression."

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ublic urges UN

JOHANNESBURG — 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, 6 (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.

17/9/77 (325) SO

Die Transvaler's editorial expressed disapproval of "certain unfortunate remarks" made at the Transvaal National Party congress.

Oggenblad hit out at Mr Kruger over his "insensitivity."

In a two column editorial, the newspaper called on Mr Kruger to

telegrams of condolence from all parts of the world have been sent to Mr Biko's family since his death in detention on Monday.

Arrangements are being made for Mr Biko's funeral in King William's Town on September 25. — DDC.

Attorney's denial, Kruger slated, page 9

ortem gets top priority

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ready earlier at the rate we are going — but I can't make any promises," he said.

Prof Loubser 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 Loubser would not specify what these were. "It is confidential," he said.

Prof Loubser 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 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, Prof Loubser 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 Loubser's department."

Meanwhile, the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr J. E. Nothling, 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.

 Daily Disp. 17/9/77

EDITORIAL OPINION

Callous and inept

(225 detentions)

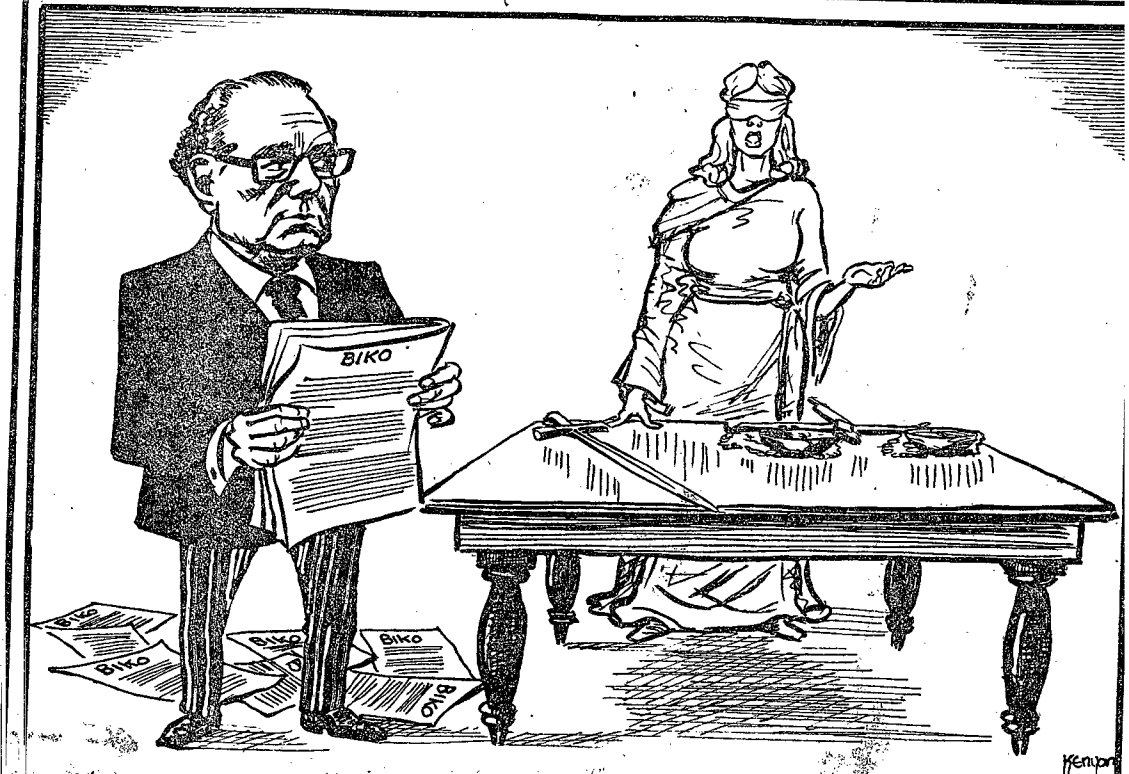
The handling of the Steve Biko death case by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, has been little short of incredible. By his demeanour, words and actions he has shown himself unfit to hold both elected and executive office.

He has been both callous and inept. The callousness we have come to expect from a minister who perpetuates detention without trial and who has refused to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the 45 known deaths of South Africans in detention without trial. But even Mr Kruger has plummeted to a new low in the eyes of millions of South Africans with his gratuitously insensitive comments that Mr Biko's death left him cold and his macabre chortle that "I shall also be sorry if I die."

Mr Kruger's ineptitude is more serious, although both his callousness and ineptitude are painful for Mr Biko's family, friends and admirers. The Minister has blundered and blundered again in his public statements about Mr Biko's death. It has reached the stage where, as the national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, has said: "...No-one in or outside of South Africa believes any statement made by the Minister of Justice."

Seven questions about the handling of the case have already been put to the authorities. They relate specifically to differing versions of Mr Biko's death, the handling of the post-mortem, Mr Kruger's crude attempt to suggest that Mr Biko was estranged from his wife, Mr Kruger's smearing of the dead man while there had been no prosecutions of Mr Biko for inciting violence, the alleged examination by five or six doctors of Mr Biko and the delay in the release of the post-mortem findings. These are all serious questions that urgently need answers.

And there is an eighth question. Mr Biko died on Monday evening. Why did Mr Kruger wait until Thursday afternoon to announce that Mr Biko was being fed intravenously? Surely even the most cursory investigation into his death would have revealed the nature of the medical treatment Mr Biko is said to have received? Mr Kruger cannot hide behind the excuse that he is not a medical man and therefore does not know what the treatment was. Mr Kruger is the Minister of Justice: he is the man ultimately held responsible for deaths in detention. It is his business to know the circumstances surrounding Mr Biko's death. Apparently he is so callous and/or inept that he does not.



"Is the narration not based upon hearsay...?"

Daily Disp. 17/9/77

Attorney denies remarks about autopsy findings

(325-detention)

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 misrepresentative reporting.

"And The Citizen carried a front page story on Wednesday which carries the story of me being engaged in guarded conversations and having 'hinted' 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 dispicable act of journalism. The steps 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 rumours beginning to circulate and I am disgusted at such reporting which could only possibly be counter-productive to the interests of the Biko family who I represent," the attorney said.—DDR

PFP protest

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party has planned a public meeting on Rondebosch on Monday night to protest at the death in detention of Steve Biko. — DDC.

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.



MRS SHEENA DU

Embass phones Mrs Bi

EAST LONDON United States em fice in Pretoria f tire US mission Africa telepho home of Mrs A mother of bl sciousness lea Steve Biko, per convey their co to her and th following the de son.

Mr Richard I US embassy spo Pretoria, said "Mrs Biko was i come to the pho the message dolence, but th spoke to a clos of the family ar ed through deepest sympa condolences on the entire US South Africa."

Telegrams of meanwhile, fro of the world, received by the ly since Mr Biko detention on night. — DDR

Doctor: drip can last weeks

Daily Disp. 17/9/77 (325-detention)

CAPE TOWN — A medical practitioner has said that were unconscious, or unwilling as was the case

Kruger slated over conflicting reports

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DD
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JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, has been severely criticised for the conflicting statements he has issued on the last days of Mr Steve Biko.

On Thursday, Mr Kruger disclosed that Mr Biko was fed on an intravenous drip before he died.

Reacting to this statement yesterday, Mrs Sheena Duncan, national president of the Black Sash, said: "It is not surprising no one in or outside South Africa believes any statement made by the Minister of Justice.

"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 the Minister of Justice is changing his story as to what did happen to Mr Biko during his time of detention.

"One cannot blame the public and especially the black population if there is increasing incredubility 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 into 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 of the federal executive of the Progressive Federal Party, said Mr Kruger's latest statement only added confusion and emphasised the need for a speedy judicial inquiry into the death.

The MP for Houghton, Mrs Suzman, said the Minister's behaviour over "this tragic incident is utterly incomprehensible."

"The sooner the public is informed of the post mortem results the better," she added.

"He does not have the temperament needed for a Minister of Justice. I again back the call for him to resign," Mrs Suzman said. — DDC.

International inquiry urged

LONDON — Senior 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 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.

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, Zapu, the Communist Party, the National Union of Students, the Southern African Solidarity Campaign, Hart, Sart (by Mr Peter Hain), Christian Concern for Southern Africa and Eltsa. — SAPA.

circumstances of his death."

Zambia call for oil embargo

LUSAKA — Zambia's t... newspapers have co... demned South Africa f... the death in detention ... Mr Steve Biko.

The party-owned Ti... of Zambia said: "Th... Afrikaners need mor... than gentlemanly persua... sian to change their w... ways. Only the threat ... an oil embargo could for... them to change.

"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 indecent assaults on the human race 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 a 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.

[redacted] chairman and courageous opponent of apartheid.

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in detention and a dead man tells no tale."

He said the death of Mr Biko was a climax of all deaths in detention and nothing would erase it from the minds of sane blacks and whites in this country.

"On behalf of all true loving Christians," Mr Ntintili said, "we sympathise with the family and friends of Steve Biko in your plight. You are not the only ones who have suffered a great loss, but the whole of Azania and the world has lost a glittering gem which was shedding its beauty amongst a great deal of drabness."

Mr Xundu and Mr Ntintili will officiate at the memorial service to be held tomorrow at the Ncambedlana Methodist social centre at 3 pm. — DDR.

SA run by gun claim

WINDHOEK — The South West Africa National Union (Swanu) yesterday deplored the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

In a statement by Mr V. Rukoro, the secretary-general of Swanu, the political party said increasingly more blacks were dying in detention in South Africa.

South Africa was "a police state, run by the gun instead of by a constitution."

Mr Biko's death had shown South Africa's allies to what extent the Government could go in its "suppression of black resistance against white oppression."

Swanu rejected the explanation given by the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, of Mr Biko's death.

"Swanu echoes the call for an international judicial inquiry to establish the circumstances surrounding Mr Biko's death," Mr Rukoro said.

"We reaffirm our unconditional solidarity with the blacks of South Africa . . . we have the same common enemy and the independence of Namibia will not be complete while our brothers and sisters in South Africa are suffering.

"The spirit of Steve Biko will continue to live in the revolutionary hearts of the brave sons and daughters of black South Africa," he said. — SAPA.

"He was a man admired in South Africa and abroad for the contribution he has made for the cause of justice and freedom in South Africa.

"We know of the suffering he has experienced — of his banning 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 itself indefensible.

"The news of his death has shocked and outraged us. We 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 for school and assembled for the usual morning prayers.

But instead of going to their classes, the students held another 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 at the Alexandra School Board were not available for comment yesterday. — DDC.

Memorial services

JOHANNESBURG — The Black People's Convention is organising church services throughout the country in memory of the black 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 organised by the BPC include Pretoria, Durban, the Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal.

The South African Council of Churches has announced it will hold a Sunday afternoon service at the Central Methodist Mission in Johannesburg. — SAPA.

Calls for tough stand on Pretoria

NEW YORK — Calls for a toughened stand against South Africa and for the "destruction" of the Pretoria Government echoed around the United Nations in the wake of Steve Biko's death.

They included a proposal to compile a list of South African individuals and institutions responsible for "crimes against humanity" and a plan to monitor states — specifically including African states — who "collaborate with South Africa."

In a rare breach of silence on such issues, chairman Leslie Harriman told the Apartheid Committee: "We cannot condemn Israel without condemning the Ivory Coast." He was referring to Mr Vorster's recent trip, which included discussions with both Israeli and Ivory Coast leaders.

Mr Harriman said Mr Biko's death was a "crime against the United Nations and the international community."

The Nigerian Ambassador said some believed that South Africa should play a role in solving Southern Africa's problems. Yet day after day the regime carried out actions "symptomatic of madmen."

A representative of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Mr M. Xuza, said: "Before his latest detention, Steve Biko had taken initiatives that would have had important significance to the consolidation of the forces of national liberation in Azania (South Africa)." — SAPA-RNS.

Plea from Geneva

GENEVA — Two international university organisations called yesterday for an inquiry into the cause of the death of Mr Steve Biko.

The two groups are the World University Service and the International University Exchange Fund, both based in Geneva and claiming to have close links to Mr Biko and his movement.

"He was fit and strong when he was detained a fortnight ago, and a man does not die after a seven-day hunger strike such as the one undertaken by Mr Biko," the two groups said in a joint announcement.

"The explanations given so far by the South African Government of the cause of death are totally inadequate," the two organisations said demanding an independent judicial inquiry.

Such an inquiry and publication of the full medical evidence would be in the interest of South Africa as well as the victim's friends all over the world, "otherwise there will be a lot of unrest and maybe violence," the statement concluded. — SAPA-AP.

Resolution by NRP

CAPE TOWN — The Western Province regional council of the New Republic Party has adopted a resolution "demanding a thorough inquiry and report by a judge of the Supreme Court" into the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

The interim regional chairman, Mr Lionel Murray, said yesterday that the council believed, in terms of the resolution adopted on Thursday night, that certain facts could not be established by normal inquest proceedings.

The resolution called for full public disclosure about various aspects of Mr Biko's death.

These include:

The reasons for his detention, the validity of such reasons, the nature of his detention, the cause of his death and to what extent his family had been kept informed as to his state of health while in detention. — SAPA.

Wreaths get hostile reaction

JOHANNESBURG — Hostile white reaction and encouraging black reaction greeted members of the Black Sash yesterday when they laid 250 wreaths around Johannesburg to remind the public of the importance of the death of Steve Biko.

A group of blacks gave the thumbs-up sign to some of the wreath-laying women.

"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, deposited a wreath.

The wreaths — made by Sash members from wire coathangers, Cyprus and laurel leaves — were hooked onto waste bins along roads from 6 am yesterday.

A total of 20 were laid on the University of Witwatersrand campus and six on the Rand Afrikaans University campus.

Others were laid at points in the city centre. By noon yesterday, most of the wreaths had been removed. — DDC.

He was reacting to a statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, that Mr Steve Biko had been fed intravenously during his treatment before he died.

"Patients have been kept alive for weeks on intravenous drips taking in fluids, and I mean fluids in its widest sense, such as liquid, solids, not just water.

Another doctor said intravenous feeding was "very much a second choice when it comes to feeding an unconscious patient."

The preferable method was intra-nasal whereby a fine plastic tube was fed through the nose into the stomach. By this means liquified solids could be fed to the patient even if he

The probelm with the intravenous method is that the insertion of the needle into the vein requires the services of a skilled nurse or medical practitioner. Complications could arise in the form of thrombosis or clots, and also if the vein reacted to the damage caused by the needle," the doctor said.

He said in the case of an uncooperative patient, the needle could not be replaced in the same vein if pulled out. Whereas with intra-nasal feeding, the tube could be replaced with little or no damage.

Nasal feeding would not be used in the case of injury to the nose, face or throat, he said.

In that case the doctor would be forced to use intravenous feeding as a second choice. — DDC.

Biko was a gen[illegible] person says BC

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UMTATA — A senior officer of Black Community Programmes in Transkei, the Rev O. M. Xundu, said there was deep consternation and indignation about the detention of Mr Steve Biko.

"Steve was too gentle a man to be conceived to have perpetuated and propagated a revolution. He was aware, like most of us are, that the price of a challenge for change in the South African social, political and economic system was the total giving of one's life without seeking any reward except to know that you are doing God's will," Mr Xundu said.

He said the news of Mr Biko's death came as a shock to members of the Black Community Programmes' centre in Umtata.

Mr Xundu said Mr Biko's wife and family should know they were sharing sincerely the deprivation of the personal fellowship of a husband, father, brother and companion.

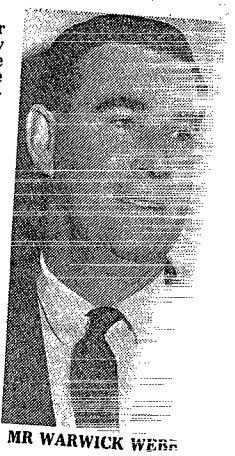
"To his comrades and friends, we say this is the price of our discipline, may God sustain them and also inspire them by standing firm in the pursuit for the freedom of black people in this country."

The Rev Prince Ntintili of Umtata said Mr Biko had made his contribution in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed black race and it was for others, himself included, to carry on where Mr Biko has left off.

He said there were things which were inexpressable and irrepressible. "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 abstenance from food for only a few days would not kill any healthy person. Mr Ntintili said there was a man at the Union College, Pietermaritzburg, Mr Mandla Mazibuko, who fasted twice for 40 days and nights and he was still alive.

Mr Ntintili said he personally fasted for a week and never died. "Whatever caused the death of Steve Biko, the fact remains that he died



MR WARWICK WEBB

Democrats expect more casualties

EAST LONDON — The Transkei Democratic Party has issued a statement on behalf of their detained party leader, Mr H. B. Ncokazi, and other party members presently in detention in Transkei, expressing their sympathy to the family of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, who died while in detention.

In a statement released by the regional secretary of the DP, Miss F. Mangcotywa, yesterday, the message of condolence read: "On behalf of detained leader Mr H. B. Ncokazi and his party members in detention, the DP wishes to associate itself with all the sympathisers and mourners of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

"We express our sympathy 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 very clear, especially if one looks at the statements made by Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger.

"We are happy that through his lips the world has seen how the black man in South Africa is tortured. We are expecting lots of casualties but the struggle will survive.

"Nothing will stop the struggle. You were our pride, and we blacks and moderate whites mourn your tragic death," the statement said. — DDR

Reporters told to leave meeting

CAPE TOWN — Reporters were asked to leave a mass meeting at the University of the Western Cape yesterday after the chaplain of the university, Dr Alan Boesak, had addressed about 300 students on the subject of black consciousness and Mr Steve Biko.

To cries of "those white pigs must leave — they are the same people who murdered Biko," and similar comments, reporters were urged to leave the meeting by the chairman of the Student's Representative Council.

Dr Boesak said: "The answer to Biko's death lies with the people who have formed the present establishment and also with those who support this establishment.

"The answer to his death lies with those whose voices have not been raised against this establishment.

"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 pigmentocracy as the rights handed to people depended on the colour of their skins.

"There was a time when the Coloured people were angry because they were not allowed to be closer to the whites. Black consciousness made people realise they as blacks had a dignity of their own and 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," he added. — SAPA.

NRP supports forced feeding

DURBAN — Legalising forced feeding of detainees under proper medical control should be seriously considered, Mr Warwick Webber, Natal leader of the New Republic Party said yesterday.

Mr Webber issued this statement after a joint meeting of the party's parliamentary and provincial caucuses.

He slammed the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, for saying Mr Biko's death 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 hea[illegible] statement," Mr We[illegible] said.

The Natal leader o[illegible] party said the co[illegible] caucus also believed the question of legal forced feeding u[illegible] proper medical contr[illegible] detainees shoul[illegible] seriously considered.

This proposition [illegible] way diminished the [illegible]ty's aborrence of [illegible]tion without trial, [illegible] in times of a procl[illegible] national emergency.

"This is the only t[illegible] can be justified," Webber said.

Calls for a judi[illegible] quiry into the cir[illegible]stances surroundi[illegible] death of Mr Biko we[illegible]ported by the NR[illegible] DDC.

Star 17/9/77.

BBC praises Press over Biko

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South African 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.

The tribute came in a religious discussion programme entitled "reflections," which was broadcast three times yesterday.

People could not accept the official version of Mr Biko's death uncritically, nor could they judge the truth of the matter, said the commentator.

"What we can judge is 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.

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 those 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 well 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 never have known and no newspaper in Russia would have published the facts."

Kruger: State planned charges

Star 17/9/77

Had Black Conscientious leader Mr Steve Biko lived he would have been charged with inciting people to arson, according to the Minister of Justice.

In an interview Mr Kruger also denied saying Mr Biko had starved himself to death, reports Sapa.

"I am aware of local and international reaction. I think it all very premature. I think everybody should take the attitude that I have taken, that I am awaiting the report from the doctors."

Asked to comment on a statement by the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, that Mr Biko 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.

"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 the post mortem finding. This was not yet available and he did not know when he would receive it, he added.

Asked why he had not before made mention of the fact that Mr Biko had been given an intravenous drip, Mr Kruger referred to a statement of 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."

"NO INCONSISTENCY"

When he had stated 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."

Asked about claims that Mr Biko was a man of peace and would not involve himself with violence, Mr Kruger repeated that Mr Biko had been arrested in connection with the riots in Port Elizabeth and with the drafting and distributing of pamphlets inciting arson and riots.

Mr Kruger said a case would have been brought against Mr Biko.

"They were going to charge him, there is no doubt about it.

"In any case he was caught outside his restricted area, but the gravamen of the charge was the pamphlets."

LEGAL ACTION

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 in prison, 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.

Star 11/9/77

Police watch Biko rallies

A close watch is to be kept by police this weekend at rallies arranged by the Black People's Convention in memory of Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention earlier this week.

Rallies have been organised in Durban, Pretoria, the Eastern Cape, the Northern Transvaal and in Soweto, where thousands of mourners are expected at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church tomorrow afternoon.

The South 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, Major-General Dawie 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.

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said in Pretoria today he expected to have the results of the laboratory tests sooner than was initially thought — within [illegible] weeks.

The laboratories had been working on the tests since the beginning of the autopsy at 10 am on Tuesday morning.

The post mortem was being treated as "a priority case" Professor Loubser added. Certain tests involved lengthy processes where body tissues were left in fixatives before further examination.

No organs had been sent for laboratory tests, but certain specimens had been.

Professor Loubser would not say what specimens had been sent or what sort of tests he was running on them.

He believed that, if the Transvaal Attorney General decided to hold an inquest into Mr Biko's death, it would be held as soon as possible.

The autopsy was halted at 11.30 am on Tuesday after requests from Mr Biko's family that an independent pathologist be allowed to observe.

It was then resumed by Professor Loubser at 2 pm

● Mr Biko's body was yesterday handed over to the Biko family in King William's Town by Major R Hansen, head of the local security police.

Major Hansen telephoned the family and informed them Mr Biko's body was available at the local police mortuary and the family could collect it.

The Black People's Convention is working with the family on funeral arrangements.

● Kruger: State planned charges — Page 3.

MP, wife to fast

DURBAN — Mr Graham McIntosh, MP for Pinetown, and his wife, Santie, are going on an eight-day fast to protest against the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

Mr McIntosh (30), said he had decided last night to fast. "As a man the same age as Steve Biko, I want to prove that I will not be dead after eight days without food." — Sapa.

Mr Vorster said the death was "very unfortunate" but added that Mr Biko's role had been exaggerated.

Defiant

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 its "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 repudiate 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 terrotory now reserved to total white control.

Death 'very unfortunate'

PM pledges Biko probe

STAR 17/9/77



MR VORSTER . . . blunt interview.

The Star Bureau

New York

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, has promised a full inquiry into the death in detention of Black Consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko.

Autopsy gets top priority

Pretoria Bureau

The chief State pathologist's entire Pretoria laboratory and two sections of two other laboratories have been mobilised for tests on samples taken in "priority" autopsy on Mr Steve Biko.

Professor J D [illegible] with Dr J Gluckman, for the family, Professor I W Simson, head of the Department of Pathology, at Pretoria University, and an independent observer, plus five technical assistants in attendance.

The post-mortem ended [illegible]

Mr Vorster said in an interview with the New York Times that demands for Mr Kruger's resignation were a prejudgment of the issue because an inquest into the death would be held, giving ample opportunity for the facts to be established.

There was no need for a judicial inquiry because the normal government process provided for a complete and fair investi-

Kruger: I deny deat statement

RDM 17/9/77

(325) detentions

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 wide-spread reacti on to Mr Biko's death on Monday, he advised people to await the post-mortem report on the cause o f the death.

"I am aware of local and international reaction. I think it all very premature. I think everybody should take the attitude that I have taken, that I am awaiting the report from the doctors," Mr Kruger said.

Asked to comment on a statement by the editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, that Mr Biko 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.

"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 the post-mortem finding. This was not yet available and he did not know when he would receive it.

Asked why he had not before made mention of the fact that Mr Biko had been given an intravenous drip, Mr Kruger referred to a statement of 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."

When he had stated Mr Biko had been given a drip [illegible] said categorically he did not know the nature of the drip. There is no inconsistency whatsoever."

Asked about claims that Mr Biko was a man of peace and would not involve himself with violence, Mr Kruger repeated that Mr Biko had been arrested in connection with the riots in Port Elizabeth and with the drafting and distributing of pamphlets inciting arson and riots.

"I intend exposing those pamphlets in the news-papers," he said.

Asked whether Mr Biko would eventually have been charged, Mr Kruger said a case would have been brought.

"They were going to charge him, there is 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."

Did this mean that Mr Kruger was satisfied that Mr Biko was not a man of peace?

"It is a matter of fact. A man has died and it is not for me to start throwing mud at Mr Biko.

"It would have gone before the courts. I am not prepared to find him guilty or not guilty, but it appears to me the police were entitled to arrest and charge him."

Referring to claims that quotations showing Mr Biko to have had peaceful objectives could be produced, Mr Kruger said that what had to be refuted was a quotation from Mr Biko saying he supported revolutionary and not evolutionary change.

Unless people could deny that Mr Biko had said this, they could not say he preferred peace, Mr Kruger said.

Mr Kruger also denied saying Mr Biko was estranged from his wife. What he had said was that Mr Biko was separated from his wife who did not live

Biko: Kruger denial

• FROM PAGE ONE

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."

Mr Kruger said he had stuck throughout only to the known facts of the case.

Asked about a claim that the post morten examination by State pathologists had begun before the pathologist appointed by Mr Biko's family had arrived, he said he could give no details.

"I do not know at all what happened. I said the postmortem examination would be performed by State pathologists and that a pathologist appointed by the family would be present. 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.

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 that Mr Biko had arrived at prison on September 12 and the time he had died the same day. — Sapa.

Biko — and the failure to understand

325 - Detention

Cape Times 17/9/77

political survey

By GERALD SHAW

THE DEATH of Steve Biko leaves Mr Jimmy Kruger cold, or so he told a cheering and guffawing audience of Transvaal Nationalists in Pretoria this week.

There were gales of laughter when one delegate applauded Mr Kruger for allowing Mr Biko the democratic right to starve himself to death.

Do Mr Kruger and his Transvaal colleagues not sense the horror which such remarks evoke in their fellow South Africans?

Have they no conception at all of the impression which their words and actions create among civilized people throughout the world?

The death of Steve Biko leaves Mr Kruger cold.

It has not left the governments of the Western nations cold.

Sense of outrage

As anyone who listens to the BBC, the Voice of America, or the West German, French or Dutch radio can tell you, the death of Steve Biko has caused a sense of outrage throughout the free world.

I cannot remember anything to compare with this in intensity, apart from the world reaction to Sharpeville and Soweto.

The death of Steve Biko leaves him cold, says Mr Kruger.

He can have no grasp at all of the impression which this kind of talk creates among the majority of his English-speaking compatriots.

He certainly can have no grasp at all of the effect of his words on his African fellow-citizens. Or any feeling at all for the sense of loss which has stricken Mr Biko's family.

In the Eastern Cape, a wife grieves and a six-year-old boy runs to the telephone whenever it rings. His father has been away from home so much lately.

The death of Steve Biko leaves him cold, says Mr Kruger.

The rest of us can only shudder.

But we should try to understand why Mr Kruger reacted as he did, shaken as he obviously was by the international outcry. Perhaps his security police convinced Mr Kruger that Mr Biko was a dangerous terrorist dedicated to bringing down the Nationalist Government by bloody violence.

Biko was nothing of the sort. He was dangerous to the Nationalist Government, of course, but in an entirely different way. More than any other young black leader, he represented the new confidence and assurance that black consciousness is creating in an entire generation of African youth.

But whatever Mr Biko's shortcomings in Mr Kruger's eyes, his callous reaction is hardly excusable.

Historians will say one day that one of the Nationalist Government's greatest mistakes in the 1970's was their failure to recognize the intensity of grievance and bitterness in the urban African population.

With this, there has been their failure to recognize that the black consciousness movement, in giving young blacks a new sense of dignity and self-respect as blacks, has unleashed a dynamic political force as irresistible as Afrikaner Nationalism itself.

Those future historians will wonder why the Nationalist Government did not recognize the quality of this generation of young African leaders but was content to see them die as martyrs in the eyes of their people — rather than treat with them, about education, about the government of Soweto and the other urban areas, while there was still time.

They will wonder why the Nationalist Government chose to drive the black consciousness movement underground, destroying hopes of a negotiated settlement of South Africa's future.

The black consciousness movement, with organizations such as Saso and the BPC, is an open political movement, operating in the open, if under severe harassment, with its cards on the table.

Mr Kruger equates Mr Biko and his followers with the underground organizations dedicated to urban and rural terrorism and the prosecution of guerilla warfare.

And he has allowed his security police to act on this assumption, with all the unrestrained power they command to harass and intimida

This has been a tragic mistake. And the effect will be to drive this movement, with its tremendous dynamism and appeal to the rising generation, into the arms of bomb-throwers, fusing the energies of black nationalism and revolutionary communism and condemning the country to the horrors of insurrection.

There could be a dramatic change of direction on the part of the Nationalist Government, of course — a sudden insight that negotiation is preferable to bloody confrontation.

Even now, even after Soweto, it is not too late, so great are the reserves of patience and goodwill among blacks, in spite of bullying oppression and brutality, pass law harassment and everything else.

Perhaps the reaction in the Western world to the death of Steve Biko will bring more South Africans to realize that this country is rapidly placing itself beyond the pale of civilized nations

We can only hope that such South Africans grow in numbers and influence, and indeed the peace-makers and conciliators.

If they do not, tho historians of the future w ponder why the Afrikan Nationalists, with their ov history of suffering ar oppression, remained so blir to the rise of blac nationalism.

So little insight

They will wonder why th Afrikaner Natioanlists, of a peoples, showed so littl insight into the consequence of their actions — so littl understanding that militan nationalism is an inevitable response to oppression.

Is there not a lesson for all of us in the memory of the effects of the inflexibility and callousness of an Alfred Milner?

Perhaps it is true after all that men learn nothing from history. We must hope that it is not true and that the peacemakers of 1977 can succeed where the peacemakers of 1899 — the President Steyns, Hofmeyrs, Merrimans and others — failed.

If we do not even try, our generation will stand justly condemned.

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easy to make.

The making of a black Jopie Fou

325 - detention



ALLISTER SPARKS

WHAT I found almost as shattering as Steve Biko's death was the reaction to it at the National Party congress in Pretoria.

Ripples of laughter. Jibes and sick jokes. Like the man who stood up to thank the Minister for being so democratic as to allow people to starve themselves to death if they wanted to.

And the Minister of Justice's own expression of indifference. "I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. He leaves me cold." Words that are going to hang around Mr Kruger's neck — and South Africa's — like an albatross.

This kind of thing I am at a loss to understand. I can understand that members of a political party, like any other group of people, are going to feel a need to stand together when under attack.

I can appreciate, too, that Nationalist Afrikaners are feeling that they have their backs to the wall these days. The world is against them, the urban blacks are giving them a hard time and the situation around the borders is looking grim.

For a **volksparty**, committed to fighting for the survival of a small and embattled people, it must obviously be a tense time, causing people to snap — and even to lash out at those they perceive as their persecutors.

But to laugh and jest about a political opponent who has just died in your hands. To be unaware of the effect such apparent callousness is going to have on his followers. That I cannot understand.

The only conclusion I can come to is that the delegates at that congress — and this must include Mr Kruger — didn't really know who Steve Biko was, and so didn't immediately appreciate the significance of what had happened.

Indeed I am told that some delegates indicated as much in conversations during the intervals. And the way the Afrikaans newspapers handled the news reinforces this impression. One reported it on page five, another not at all.

It seems it was only later that the full import of the death and its implications started becoming apparent to them.

To me this shows what an alarming lack of communication and comprehension there is between the Government and the black community.

Steve Biko has been a household name among blacks for a number of years. He was the founder and spiritual leader of a new philosophy and a new movement which has transformed the whole black political scene in that time.

He had millions of followers who revered him and regarded him as the new leader of a new generation that had itself taken over the political lead.

Opposition newspapers and leaders knew all about this. So did all the major foreign governments. But Nationalists, it seems, didn't.

They just don't know what is going on in the black community. Because they still believe that the chiefs are the only people who count there, and so they never talk to anyone else.

The perplexing thing is that the Afrikaner Nationalists, above all others in this country, should be able to understand the significance of Steve Biko and his philosophy. Because in many respects it parallels their own political and historical experience.

True, you will find a lot of revolutionary phrases and Marxist cliches in the writings of the black consciousness people. But let us not forget that once, at a similar stage of their development, Afrikaner Nationalists also teamed up with Marxists in this country against what they saw as the common imperialist oppressor. And there is much in Afrikaner history that has been revolutionary.

The overriding theme of the black consciousness movement, however, is to help blacks throw off their psychological inferiority — the product of centuries of slavery, oppression and undervelopment.

This is why they turn away from the white liberals to proclaim their pride in their

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And can they not pause for a moment to consider how they, as Afrikaners, would have felt had the United Party Government of the day laughed and made sick jokes about Jopie Fourie's death; had a UP delegate thanked the Minister for letting it happen; and had the Minister himself proclaimed how indifferent he felt about the whole business?

Let them ask themselves, as Afrikaners, how bitter that would have made them — and how it would have made them vow to redouble their revolutionary efforts to settle the score one day.

And then let them realise that that is exactly what they have done to the black community now.

DETENTIONS

2 RAND DAILY MAIL, Saturday, Sept. 17, 1977. (325)

Inquest or prosecution: Nothling to decide

THE Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr J E Nothling, 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 Nothling.

"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." — Sapa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to the Secretary of the Department of Agricultural Technical Services and to the Director of the Botanical Research Institute for permission to use data collected whilst in their employ.

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and he ... was trampled to death.(9)

His work is important, however, because he was able to adapt the notion of the historian's duty to explain '... not only what was done and said, but also how and why.(10) to his contemporary situation and to the advantage of his political philosophy. Thus he is able to utilise humanist images and redefine them in terms of his outlook on man's position in society.

His use of terms such as Fortuna and Virtu give the terms meanings outside general contemporary usage. In defining Fortuna as the 'ruler of half of our actions', Machiavelli confirmed the general definition, but in asserting that '... sudden action can bring about the assistance of Fortuna'(11) he denied the static nature of Fortuna that previous humanist writings had lent to the definition. Similarly Machiavelli deviated from generally held notions in arguing that virtu

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(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

Memorial services for Biko

(325)
DETENTIONS
RDM 17/9/77

Staff Reporter

AN all-race memorial service for Mr Steve Biko will be held at the Johannesburg Central Methodist Mission at 3 pm tomorrow. It is being organised by the South African Council of Churches.

Other services will be held in Soweto, Pretoria, Tembisa, Sibasa, and Durban.

Thousands of mourners are expected at the Regina Mundi Church, in Soweto, where the service begins at 2 pm.

The Pretoria service will be at the NGK Church in Section C. The Durban service will be at St Michael's Cathedral.

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.

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(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

"responsible" leadership and aimed at purging the color line while otherwise preserving their status.[1] This conservatism would further be reinforced by the missionary Christian background of these nationalists.[2] On the other hand, the desire to break the bonds of tribal society, the need to consolidate leadership, and the frustration induced by white resistance would encourage the use of methods and the adoption of ideas more radical than those used before. The recurring cycle of organizational leadership being disrupted and often supplanted by more radical leadership is a typical response to this

(This explanation, particularly as it applies to the Transvaal ANC, is schematic and, as will be seen, does not entirely account for the success or failure of the various African organizations. Still, it is important in accounting for the survival of the ANC.)

Yet, even as this elite was rising and growing in political consciousness, other Africans were asserting an alternate view, one opposed to communal interracial life and, rather, content with white overlordship. The emergence of the African separatist churches in the 1880s, 1890s, and again during the agitation after the Land Act of 1913 signalled the belief that African interests could best be served in exclusively African organizations. The Ethiopian churches themselves splintered amidst disputes over organization, theology and leadership, and the particularism of some with their white parent churches showed a striking tendency.

While the separatis
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Indeed, the South Africa
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The Pretoria office of the Native Affairs Department in Pretoria always gave

Black consciousness made people realise that 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.

At one time the coloured people were angry because they were not allowed to be closer to the whites.

Dr Boesak said South Africa was not a democracy but a pigmentocracy. The rights given to people depended on the colour of their skins.

Soon after 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."

Steve Biko had been trying to make black people understand this. — Sapa.

REPORTERS were asked to leave a meeting at the coloured University of the Western Cape yesterday after the chaplain, Dr Alan Boesak, had addressed about 300 students on black consciousness and Mr Steve Biko.

Press 'pigs' are told to leave

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Thanks also to Brenda J d Lynne Jooste for
typing tables 8 and 9, Stan J l compilation of this
work, Gerda Thomas and Dur diagrams, Mr. Behr
for advice on making the map script, and to my
Technical Assistant, Margare neel" (720km!),
kept records, helped define c typed rough drafts
and drew the original diagran

The hospitality of the p ree State was
boundless. In particular I th Kirklington;
Sam, Shirley and Marge Bair the Newberrys of
Prynnsburg; the Shepard fam gner, extension
officer in Ficksburg.

Kruger's Biko
quote
slammed
By PATRICK LAWRENCE
PROFESSOR David Welsh
professor of African go-
vernment at the University
of Cape Town yesterday
condemned the use of a
single quotation to "prove"
that Mr Steve Biko was a
"violent revolutionary.
"On Wednesday, the Mi-
nister of Justice, Mr Kru-
ger, quoted three senten-
ces from an address given
to the 1970 conference of
the National Union of
South African Students
(Nusas) by Mr Biko.
"The sentences read:
"There can be no change
through evolution. The
only change that can come
about is through revolu-
tion. The time and the
people have never been as
ready as now."
From that Mr Kruger
concluded that Mr Biko
was an advocate of viol-
ence and described him as
"a person who does not
want change through evo-
lution but through viol-
ence."
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 quali-
fied franchise and so on,"
Professor Welsh said.
"Nothing I have ever
read in Steve Biko's writ-
ten works suggests that he
believed in violent revolu-
tion.
"I take a poor view of
Mr Kruger's insensitivity
and the grotesque injustice
of damning a dead man
who is unable to defend
himself.
"How convenient it is for
Mr Kruger to be able to
give himself instant dis-
pensation from the law
and to quote a banned
person while that man's
friends are denied the
same right."
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25M 11/9/77

The Natal Mercury

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1977

A TRAGIC BLUNDER

325. detention

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 revolutionary?

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?

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Dear

Thank you for your application for admission to the Un
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pleased to accept you for this course of study and if
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which is not deductable from your first fee account.

'I didn't say that' insists Kruger

M. Mercury 17/9/77 335 detention

PRETORIA — 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 revealed that Mr. Biko would have been charged with drafting and distributing pamphlets inciting people to arson and rioting.

In Johannesburg yesterday, Mr. Donald Woods, editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, told a University of the Witwatersrand mass protest meeting that Mr. Biko had not starved himself to death.

And he challenged Mr. Kruger to "tell the truth now," and pledged to resign his position as editor if he were proved wrong.

Meanwhile, the post mortem on Mr. Biko was being treated as a priority case, according to Professor J. Loubser, the State Pathologist who conducted the autopsy.

Interviewed in Pretoria after wide-spread reaction to Mr. Biko's death on Monday, Mr. Kruger advised people to await the post mortem report on the cause of death, Sapa reported.

"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," he said.

To have stated the cause of death would have been to anticipate the post mortem finding. This was not yet available and he did not know when he would receive it.

Asked why he had not before made mention of the fact that Mr. Biko had been given an intravenous drip, Mr. Kruger referred to a statement of 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."

Asked about claims that Mr. Biko was a man of [illegible] involve

Force-feed 'yes' from the NRP

Political Reporter

should kindly contact [illegible]
(telephone: 707901/2/3/4) in order to ascertain what information and/or letters are required by him in order to issue you with a Study permit, while overseas students must contact their nearest South African Embassy in order to make application for a Study Permit.

...../page 2

N.M 17/9/77

325

peace and would not himself with violence, Mr. Kruger repeated that Mr. Biko had been arrested in connection with the riots in Port Elizabeth and with the drafting and distributing of pamphlets inciting arson and riots.

Pamphlets

"I intend exposing those pamphlets in the newspapers," he said.

Asked whether Mr. Biko would eventually have been charged, Mr. Kruger said a case would have been brought.

"They were going to charge him, there is 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 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 were 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. Loubser 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 forced feeding of detainees — under 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 enraged 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 legalisation 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 Peoples' Convention, of which Mr. Biko had been honorary life president, is working with the Biko family on the funeral arrangements.

(325-Defence)

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 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 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 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, the death of Steve Biko leaves him cold. I say to him that by 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 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 H 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 western 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 Sheena 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 Rondebosch Town Hall on Monday night to protest at Mr Biko's death.

Speaking on the subject of death in detention will by the party's MP for Pinelands, 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 the country it was essential that a full public disclosure be made of:

- The reasons for the detention of Mr Biko;
- The validity of such reasons;
- The nature of his detention;
- The cause of his death; and
- To what extent his family was kept informed of his state of health while in detention.

Judicial inquiry

"The council believes that these facts cannot be established by normal inquest proceedings and, therefore, demands a thorough inquiry and report by a judge of the Supreme Court," the statement added.

The Stellenbosch University student branch of the PFP yesterday called on the government to institute a full judicial commission of inquiry into the whole system of detention without trial and in particular deaths in detention.

Hostile white reaction and encouraging black reaction greeted members of the Black Sash yesterday when they laid 250 wreaths around Johannesburg to remind the public of the importance of the death of Mr Biko.

A group of black people gave the thumbs-up sign to some of the wreath-laying women.

"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, deposited a wreath.

wreath.

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after," the newspaper says.

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 Loubser, 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."

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 Loubser 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 Loubser said the decision rested with the judiciary.

An inquest was not automatic and the attorney-general has said this depended on how he decided to handle the case. The state could alternatively press charges or drop the matter entirely.

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.

The Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr J E Nothling, SC, said he would decide after receiving the docket 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 Hansen, head of the King William's Town security police.

Major Hansen telephoned the family yesterday morning and informed them Mr Biko's body was available at the police mortuary and the family could collect it.

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Kruger: I never said he starved

325-Detention

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 to be 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 to have 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



Mrs Anne Samboer

Mother fears for safety of son —held with Steve Biko

W/E ARGUS 17/9/77

325 Detentions

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, 53, of the Strand, 'was the day before he was detained in Grahamstown on August 18.'

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 spent 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

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 yet 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.'

Comment

Sunday 18/9/77

Mr Vorster should intervene

325 - detention

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 incalcuable 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 repulsion 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

(325 detention)

Tribune Reporters 18/9/77

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 Eugene Hugo reports that the death of the best-known black political leader outside the homelands and Robben Island would have far-reaching consequences for relationships between the US and South Africa.

There had been a hardening of attitudes against South Africa in Washington and fears have been expressed that it could be the last straw that pushes the Western powers into withholding their vetoes 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 phrase will be repeatedly used as an indication of a callous and inhuman society.

So too will the laughter of delegates at the National Party congress in Pretoria 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 state pathologist, Professor J. D. Loubser, said the post mortem was being treated as a priority case. He believed that if the Transvaal Attorney General 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 reasons for his death had nothing to do with hunger.

Mr Woods said he and Mr Biko had once discussed what to believe should Mr Biko die while in security police custody.

"We agreed that any official statement which said he had committed suicide either by hanging, suffocation or bleeding to death would be suspect," said Mr Woods. "The other explanation 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 sponsored by, among others, the Progressive Federal Party.

The meeting is at the St Thomas Church Hall, Musgrave Road.

Nat Press view

Referring to the Steve Biko affair, the Afrikaans 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 worsened the unrest rather than calmed it.

"We will probably be accused of saying the same as South Africa's enemies, but Minister Kruger should consider holding a general inquiry into deaths in detention. The list is getting upsettingly long.

"It is not the Security Police's reputation that is at stake, it is 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 laughter 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 this week."

...vives lost their husbands . . .



i Biko: "He was pre-
sacrifice his life"

WHEN the telephone rings in the Biko house in Ginsberg Location, King William's Town, little Samora Biko, 2, runs to it shouting: "Steve, Steve."

Samora 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.

"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," his wife Mrs Ntsiki Biko said this week.

Flowers

The Bik house is the same as hundreds of others lining the dusty streets.

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

13/9/77
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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.

"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 Transkei 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. Nkosinathi is six years old and he understands what has happened.

"When I came back after hearing Steve was dead, he asked where Steve was.

"You know, he's in detention in Port Elizabeth, I said. He replied: 'Don't lie Mommy. I know he's dead.

"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 R30 000 to defend Steve against actions brought by the police.

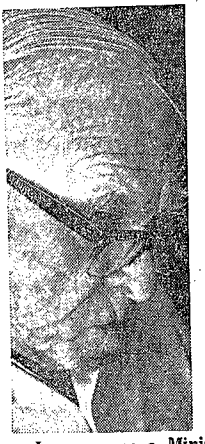
"Once they charged Steve with not stopping at a stop sign. The charge was brought by a security policeman. That was really funny.

"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. He

...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 assailed from 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 alongside 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

The week two w

WIFE No. 1

Ntsiki Biko expected her man to die in the hands of the SP



Steve Biko — a warder saw his body in his prison cell

Mrs Nts… pared t…

Alan Paton

THE CO…

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 inate 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.

18/9/77
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Mr Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Justice . . . left cold at Biko's death — but he should not say so publicly

detention. If they did, they would not behave in the irresponsible fashion adopted by the Minister of Justice.

Professor Marius Barnard also said: "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."

That is the simple truth. Mr Kruger is not just a Nationalist making jokes to the boys. He is my Minister of Justice and his behaviour fills me with shame.

* * *

The spring has come 74 times in my life. One of my greatest joys has always been to see the trees coming into new leaf, and the hills changing to green. Our garden is always full of the sound of birds. But in these last two springs the joy has had undertones of grief.

Is this what one has lived 74 years for, to end up with Soweto and the death of Steve Biko? Visitors say, "Ah, but your country is beautiful." I have no doubt about that, and I have no doubt in my mind that the Afrikaner Nationalists love it deeply. But they are loving it the wrong way.



Black and white mourn on Friday at Sergeant Nkosi's funeral

Steve Biko . . . a leader still

By DICK USHER

IT MUST BE coming to a lot of people at present, that feeling of having lost someone.

Not that utterly deprived feeling when someone very close and intimate to you has died, but that stabbing feeling of deprivation at the knowledge that someone you have known and argued with and drunk with is gone.

It happened to me this week. Steve Biko died.

Not that I ever knew Steve well, but I knew him at a time of great ferment in South Africa, a time when white liberals opposed to official policy — and a great deal of unofficial sentiment — were being forced to rethink their position by the emergence of black consciousness as a striking political force.

Black students had broken away from Nusas. They were still involved in the University Christian Movement in a fairly limited way, and under the stimulus of young men like Steve Biko were busy creating the South African Students Organisation.

It emerged because blacks were tired of being in mixed organisations that whites inevitably came to dominate; they were tired of whites continually formulating strategy for their liberation; and above all they were tired of a repressive system which allowed them participation only in their own continued subordination.

Steve, and many others like him, wanted an end to this. They wanted a new South Africa in which people could live in peace and harmony, without restrictions, without the continual fear of authority and the knock on the door at night . . . the knock which could mean anything from a routine pass check to detention under one of the security laws.

Many people have struggled to come to terms with black consciousness. They do not understand it; they condemn it as something foreign imported from the United States during the Sixties; they fear it and they probably hate it.

It is only on the basis of fear and hate that the Minister of Justice would have said what he did to the Transvaal Nationalist congress this week — he certainly gave no evidence of understanding why black people might need it.

For Steve it was, at its most basic level, the simple need to be human in a system which dehumanises black people, and a search for pride and dignity in a country which denies them to black people.

We were at a party one night when the police arrived. They claimed there had been complaints about noise and they had to take everyone's name.

Why? No reason — they just had to.

The warrant officer entrusted with this vital mission went from person to person, writing down names until he came to Steve. Notebook poised he looked up at Steve, who was leaning against a wall watching the whole affair quietly.

"What's your name?" he said.

The name was spelt out, slowly, with a pause just long enough to be pointed but not long enough to be ridiculous between each letter.

It was this refusal to bend before authority, which some people see as arrogance, which probably made Steve so unpopular with the police in King William's Town.

At the time of his death he had been taken to court four times in three years on charges ranging from breaking the terms of his banning order to failing to stop at a stop street. He was found not guilty in all these cases, and still had another two 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 this office at the 1976 congress of the organisation, a meeting he could not attend because of his banning order restrictions.

Although he was only 30 at the time of his death, the BPC was only one of a series of black organisations 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 founder president.

He was later banned from attending the university and in June 1972 took up an appointment with the Black Community Programmes in Durban; in 1973 he was banned with seven other leaders of Saso.

The banning order restricted him to the magisterial district of King William's 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 William's Town, effectively barring him from working for the organisation.

In 1975 he started the Zimele Trust Foundation and was appointed secretary-general of the organisation last year.

I remember him as quietly spoken, but when he was in meetings or dealing with groups of people there was never any doubt who dominated the proceedings. He could take control of a meeting even from the back of a room, as easily and naturally as some people blow their noses.

No fuss, no drama, but when he spoke people listened, mostly because what he had to say was always important, well thought out and lucidly and logically presented.

He was one of those people whom it was 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 bear the burden of other's praises without diminishing in stature 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 leader — even now he is dead.

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...of deaths in

KRUGEI

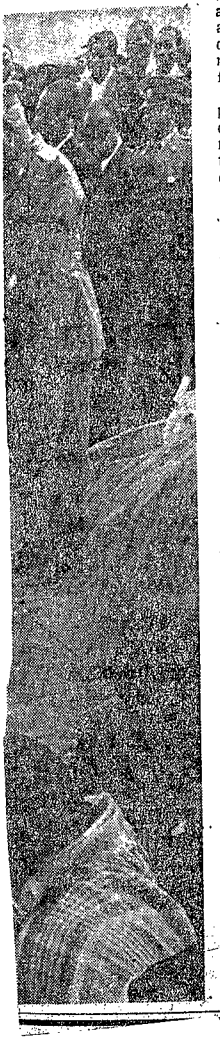
of this event. I like to think that there were some who did not join in the laughter when the Minister was joking about death, not only because of its tastelessness, but also because they realised that the significance of this death was totally uncomprehended by this arrogant assembly.

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 Verwoerds 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



and would like to move away. The police guard outside my window will not stay forever and my family will also leave.

"What will then happen to me? Politics doesn't mean a thing to me. Why did they kill the father of my children? All I want for my people is peace.

"We have been married for two years. He never discussed his work with me and never told me a thing. I understood that. A man does not talk about things like that.

"Everything is 'deurmekaar'. I have heard the newspapers said Nkosi used to be a terrorist. Is it true? I never knew that he was involved with anything like that.

"Now only do I hear about these things. I am confused and terribly scared of the future. It is the small things that worry me.

Manhunt

"The bus service close to my home is very bad. My husband used to pick me up.

"Now I will have to walk a long long way. Who will pick me up now? Who will pay the rent and who will go and buy groceries?

"Financially I think we will manage. Provision has been made. But the thing that I fear most is that they might come back and kill me."

Colonel Frans Steenkamp, head of the Security Police for Port Natal, said this week they would not rest until they have caught Sergeant Nkosi's killers.

...one in a police cell, the other in a hail of terrorist bullets

18/9/77 ST

WIFE No. 2

Doris Nkosi fears her husband's assassins will return to kill her



Mrs Doris Nkosi: "Could you tell me why?"

DORIS NKOSI fears her husband's assassins will return to kill her.

By CHRIS OLCKERS

Detective-Sergeant Nkosi of the Security Police died in a hail of bullets as they lay in bed at their home at Entuzuma, KwaMashu.

She was wounded in the attack. A bullet was removed from her stomach this week. Now she is back home . . . and frightened.

Mrs Nkosi, a 26-year-old sister at King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban, said: "I am scared. I fear for myself and I am concerned about my children."

Thula is three and Siyabonga one.

"Why did these terrorists shoot him? Could you tell me why?" she cried. "This is still a nightmare."

Police said this week Sergeant Nkosi played a vital role in the recent destruction of a terrorist plot to invade South Africa.

He gave evidence at several terrorist trials. He told the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg last year he had been a trained terrorist. He received instruction in Russia. After he was arrested in Rhodesia, he had a rethink about his political aspirations and joined the South African Security Police in 1970.

Sergeant Nkosi was regarded as an expert on terrorism and had been on the death list of the African Nationalist Congress for some time.

As she sat on a mattress in the room where her husband was murdered, Mrs Nkosi had three candles burning in his memory.

Puzzled

And she described how he became South Africa's first policeman to die at the hands of urban terrorists.

"I had been busy in the kitchen all night. It still puzzles me why they had not shot Nkosi while he was in the bedroom alone. Just before nine we went to bed and switched on the radio to listen to the boxing.

"All of a sudden it happened. I cannot describe the fear and shock when the shooting started. It was quick and so final.

Screamed

"The window above the headboard of the bed was shattered as bullets started flying. Nkosi screamed and jumped up. I think I also screamed but cannot remember.

"My husband ran to the room next door and died at the feet of my father, Solomon Siphiva. I knew I was wounded and went to my husband but I saw he was dead. I heard a car drive away and that is about all.

"He had been working so hard lately and had spent a lot of time away from his family. On Saturday night we were looking forward to an early night and just to be together. But instead of that death came in a vicious way.

"Politics is Greek to me. I'm just a mother and a housewife. But these people that killed my husband cannot be called freedom fighters or anything like that. They are murderers."

Mourners and friends came to pay their respects. Several gave money and each name was written down by Mrs Nkosi as she sat surrounded by female relatives.

A policeman guarded the township home — a two bedrooms, a lounge, kitchen, bathroom and lavatory. There is no electricity.

The confused and shattered Mrs Nkosi kept asking questions to which there were no answers.

Memories

"Will they come back and kill me too? This home will bring back sad and happy memories to me. We have lived here for only three months. But I am

was acquitted every time.

"In August 1976, they detained Steve for 101 days. Much of this time he was held in solitary confinement. But it still did not depress him.

"They came for Steve at 3.30am on August 18. I woke up with a torch shining in my face. Steve was not at home.

"The Security Police demanded to know where he was. I said I didn't know. They threatened to lock me up if I didn't tell them.

"Finally, they went away. There were five car loads of them. Before they did, they woke up everybody in the house and removed our telephone.

"They came back at 5am with Steve and searched the house. Then they took him away.

"It meant Steve missed Samora's first birthday party. We had planned the party for August 15, his birthday. But that day we buried Mapetla (Mapetla Mohapi who died in detention on August 5, 1976).

"We delayed the party but Steve was detained before we could have it.

"This year the party was again planned for August 15. Steve was detained four days later. I'm glad he managed one birthday with his son.

"I didn't know Steve had been detained again until I read it in a newspaper," Mrs Biko said.

She last saw her husband alive before she left to work in Transkei.

"He was certainly healthy and happy then. The first time he was in detention he lost about 10 kilograms. But that was because he relied on the food I sent him.

Fussy

"He was a fussy eater and didn't like prison food."

Mrs Alice Biko told how the Security Police visited her on Tuesday to tell her that her son was dead.

"I was sweeping outside. Captain Hansen and Sergeant Nel arrived.

"Captain Hansen had a piece of paper in his hand. He told me to listen carefully and read from the paper. He said Steve had become ill in detention so he had been taken to Pretoria where he died.

"It was a terrible shock. I burst our crying. They told a young girl to take me inside the house and drove off.

"They didn't even tell me when he had died or when he had become ill," Mrs Biko said.

She collapsed after hearing the news and was treated for shock by a doctor.

"There is a message in my son's death. The people are saying he was their leader and he wanted to live in peace in South Africa. He was not against whites.

"Now I am going to have to rely on my daughter-in-law for help, for Steve was the only breadwinner. His father died when he was two years old."

What of the future for Steve Biko's wife and two children?

"I want his work to go on. I can't say yet how this is going to happen or what we are going to do.

"Perhaps Samora will take the lead. He has his father's personality," Mrs Biko said.

G'N DWANG TEEN 'N EETSTAKING

RAPPORT 18/9/77

B25

DETENTION

DIE dood van mnr. Steve Biko en die storm wat daarna losgebars het, bring die kwessie van dwangvoeding van gevangenes sterk op die voorgrond. Mnr. Biko het beswyk nadat hy sewe dae lank kos en water geweier het.

Dis al geruime tyd die beleid van die gevangenisowerheid in Suid-Afrika om nie dwangvoeding toe te pas nie, sê prof. S. A. Strauss, hoof van die departement van geregtelike geneeskunde aan Unisa. Dwangvoeding kan tegnies aanranding wees, maar hy kan hom nie voorstel dat 'n hof iemand in sulke omstandighede aan aanranding skuldig sal bevind nie.

Die beleid word ook in Europese lande gevolg. Ingevolge die Stuttgart-konvensie mag dwangvoeding van 'n gevangene in geeneen van die Euromark-lande toegepas word nie. Dit word as 'n gevangene se reg beskou om sy eie lewe deur selfverhongering te neem indien hy so besluit.

Protes woed

In Brittanje was dit steeds die beleid om dwangvoeding toe te pas indien 'n gevangene se toestand so versleg dat sy lewe in gevaar is. Maar vandat Brittanje hom by die Euromark aangesluit het, geld die Stuttgart-konvensie ook daar. So is daar in enkele gevalle in die laaste paar jaar toegelaat dat Ierse gevangenes hul lewe neem.

Intussen woed die internasionale en plaaslike protes rondom die dood van mnr. Biko voort. Berigte in dié verband het nuus omtrent die Bert Lance-„skandaal" haas oordonder, berig Hennie Pretorius uit Washington.

Twee dae lank het die berigte ingestroom oor die dood van mnr. Biko — 'n man wat daar algemeen as gematig gestempel word. Toe kom die hoofartikels. Die New York Times lê klem daarop dat mnr. Biko die 21ste swartman was wat die afgelope agttien maande in aanhouding gesterf het.

In Amerikaanse kringe word gesê „Suid-Afrika pluk die tapyt onder die voete van die vyf Westerse grootmoondhede uit sodat hulle uiteindelik nie hul veto teen bv. 'n algehele olieboikot van Suid-Afrika sal kan gebruik nie".

* In 'n onderhoud met die New York Times het die Eerste Minister, mnr. John Vorster, die dood van mnr. Biko as „uiters ongelukkig" bestempel en 'n geregtelike ondersoek beloof.

* In Pretoria het die Prokureur-generaal van Transvaal, adv. J. E. Nöthling, SC, gesê hy sal ná ontvangs van die dossier oor die ondersoek na die dood van mnr. Biko besluit of daar 'n geregtelike ondersoek sal wees of 'n kriminele vervolging.

* In Gaborone het Botswana se minister van buitelandse sake, mnr. A. Mogwe, gesê: 'n Onafhanklike, onbevoorroordeelde ondersoek na die oorsaak van mnr. Biko se dood sal Suid-Afrika goed te staan kom.

* Mnr. Jimmy Kruger, Minister van Justisie, sê mnr. Biko is in hegtenis geneem in verband met die onluste in Port Elizabeth, en die opstel en verspreiding van pamflette waarin mense tot brandstigting en onluste aangehits word.

Die Biko-geval is erg oordryf, sê die Eerste Minister in 'n onderhoud met die New York Times. Hy stem nie saam met die sienswyse van mnr. Cyrus Vance, Amerikaanse minister van buitelandse sake, dat mnr Biko moontlik die belangrikste jong swart leier was nie.

„Ek glo nie meer as een uit honderd het voor sy dood geweet wie hy was nie . . . skielik is hy die grootste swart leier in Suid-Afrika".

Gevra na die PFP se eis om die bedanking van die Minister van Justisie, mnr. Jimmy Kruger, het mnr. Vorster gesê dis 'n voorbarige oordeel. Daar kom 'n geregtelike ondersoek. Almal met kennis van die saak sal getuig. (Sapa—Reuter—A.P.)

Sunday EXPRESS

WHY Mr KRUGER SHOULD GO

THE Government has repeatedly condemned what it regards to be two of the most unforgiveable 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 hadn't troubled 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 this man of revolutionary crimes.
- He refuses to institute an authoritative judicial inquiry in the face of widespread South African 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 detainee 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 prison.

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 blame the prisoners."

He said it was unthinkable 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 a 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 Hennie van der Walt, for one, looked as if he would dearly have preferred not 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 con-



September 11.

Then, in a TV interview on Friday, Mr Kruger repeated Monday as the date of death.

- Mr Kruger first said Mr Biko died in a prison hospital in Pretoria. Then he changed that, too: Mr Biko died in his cell, alone.
- Mr Kruger was emphatic that no attempt had been made to force-feed Mr Biko, who is claimed to have been on a hunger and thirst strike at the time of his death.

Had even a finger been laid on Mr Biko in an effort to force-feed him, the authorities might have been accused of assault, Mr Kruger told the National Party Congress in Pretoria.

But on Thursday Mr Kruger suddenly revealed that Mr Biko was fed intraveneously, through a drip on in his arm, the night he died — the seventh night of the hunger strike.

- Mr Biko, according to Mr Kruger, started his hunger strike on September 5. When he died seven days later, neither his family, nor the public, had been told that South Africa's Number One young political prisoner was refusing to eat and drink and was seriously ill.

Long story of

By KITT KATZIN

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

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-

BUT UNLIKE 44 BEFORE HIM, HIS PASSING ECHOED

and jokes

18/9/77

In countries overseas it is common practice to announce hunger strikes by prisoners immediately, so the police can be protected from subsequent allegations of malpractice or negligence.

● Mr Kruger joined in a jest about Mr Biko's death at the National Party Congress in Pretoria and said: "I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. He leaves me cold."

But in an interview for American television on Thursday he appeared deeply concerned about the death.

He revealed the last-ditch attempts to feed Mr Biko intraveneously. These failed, he said, and it was found that "Mr Biko had . . . passed away".

To Pressmen in Johannesburg 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 banned 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 1970. He did not indicate why Mr Biko was never prosecuted on what appears at the least a solid prima facie charge of incitement. Instead Mr Biko was charged and acquitted during that period on nuermous other charges, including one of failing to stop at a stop street. The charge was brought by a security policeman.



● Mr Kruger

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, has once again dismissed calls for a judicial commission of inquiry into deaths in detention, saying the normal inquest procedure is a judicial inquiry.

But several legal experts disagree. They point out that an inquest is conducted by a relatively low-status magistrate and is confined to establishing the clinical cause of death.

A judicial commission, on the other hand, is chaired by a judge and may have much wider terms of reference.

Professor John Dugard of the University of the Witwatersrand's Law Faculty said this week that what lawyers and jurists have been calling for is a judicial inquiry into the entire detention system — "into the system of interrogation which, in some instances, seems to have driven people to death".

He said inquest courts had refused in the past to consider evidence on detention conditions, methods of interrogation and any matter which was not directly relevant to the cause of death.

Another feature of a judicial commission, which would make it more thorough and effective, is that interested parties could make representations, while the commission itself could demand a wide range of evidence and subpoena any witnesses it wished.

Inquir system needed

BY JENNI

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 Dugard.

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 Dugard.

"However independent

Richard Smith



police harassment

him from participating in the activities of the Black Community Programme.

● 1975 — 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.

● August 1976 — Mr Biko detained by Security Police together with a reporter of the East London Daily Dispatch, and held under General Law Amendment Act and Section Six of Terrorism Act.

● November 1976 — Released after 101 days in detention in East London. But still under banning orders and cannot be quoted.

His wife, Mrs Ntsikie Biko, says her husband lost 15 kilograms in weight, though she believed he was well treated.

He had been held in maximum security section, Fort Glamorgan Prison, East London. Was often placed in solitary confinement and extensively interrogated.

● March 1977 — Arrested in King William's Town by Security Police for allegedly defeating the ends of justice. Detained, refused bail, case remanded.

● March 1977 — Appears in King William's Town Regional Court on two charges of contravening restriction orders.

Case remanded to September 26, and placed under Security Police detention at Fort Glamorgan.

● April 1977 — Appears on charges of obstructing the course of justice, alternatively with inducement to perjury.

● July 1977 — Arrested by Security Police in King William's Town for allegedly contravening restrictions imposed by his banning orders.

● 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 F van Zyl, said Mr Biko's evidence under oath was more

ROUND THE WORLD

/ into whole of detention ; say lawyers

ER HYMAN

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 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 do so.

Lawyers asked wheth Mr Kruger genuine believed that a resuscitat hunger striker could bring successful assault charg against the doctor c policeman who saved him.

To force-feed a hunge striker was "as much a cas of assault as to forcibl snatch a man from the ledg of a building from which h is determined to jump to h death", said one lawyer.

The Express has es tablished that the Depart ment of Prisons has a state policy not to force-fe hunger strikers.

This is in contrast to growing trend abroad force-feed on the grou that it ultimately prote the police from charges negligence.

Overseas statistics st that while force-feeding a controversial issue in t tain over Irish Republi Army hunger strikers a years ago, it is now on the increase.

sidered his speech an affront to the "fundamental integrity of the National Party".

Not surprisingly, Mr Kruger soon started backtracking from his initial image of callous indifference.

This added even further to the long list of contradictions, inconsistencies, inaccuracies and general blunders of taste and judgment that hallmarked Mr Kruger's public handling of the Biko affair.

At the Nat congress:

● Mr Kruger attacked Mr Biko personally as a man who wanted violent revolution. But on Friday he said it was "a matter of tact" not to comment on Mr Biko's political views.

"A man has died and it is not for me to start throwing mud at Mr Biko," he said.

● In three of his public statements last week, Mr Kruger gave the impression that Mr Biko's hunger-strike had resulted in his death.

He listened without protest as a Nationalist delegate congratulated him on being so democratic "that those who want to starve themselves to death are allowed by him to do so".

Then on Friday he denied he had ever said Mr Biko had died of a hunger strike.

● ...st Mr Kruger said Mr Biko died on Monday, September 12. Two days later he amended that: Mr Biko died on Sunday.



medical student was first placed under strict surveillance when he founded the Black South African Students Organisation in 1969.

All in all, he served 137 days in detention without trial — and was acquitted four times within three years in cases involving security policemen.

The persecution of Mr Biko began effectively while he was studying medicine at the magisterial district of King William's Town. Continues to do field work for the Black Community Project, but medical studies brought to an end.

● 1974 — First case against him is brought to court. Charged under the Suppression of Communism Act for breaking the terms of his banning order by receiving visitors illegally at his Ginsberg Location home.

Legal costs: R600.

● September 1975 — Refused passport as well as permission to leave the country on an overseas visit to attend conference on "Conflict in Southern Africa", organised by the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Germany.

● December 1975 — Served with a variation to his banning order further prohibiting

State witnesses.

"There must be grave doubt in the mind of the court on the accused's guilt. Under the circumstances he must be given the benefit of the doubt and is accordingly found not guilty and discharged."

Defence costs were R25 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.

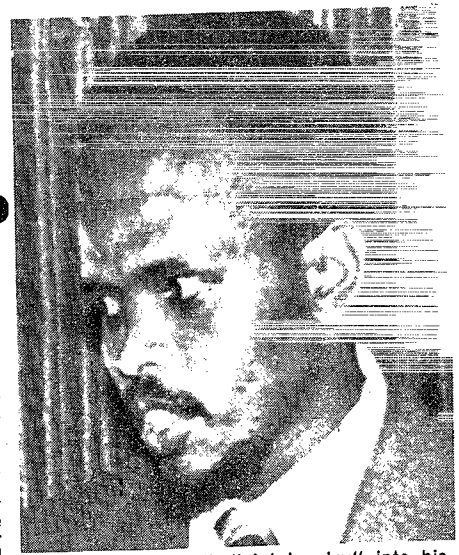
Held in the Walmer Police Station, Port Elizabeth, and transferred to Pretoria last Sunday.

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

19/9/77 SE



● Steve Biko ... "judicial inquiry" into his death.

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 benchmates in Parliament told me 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 hours of serious discussion on Friday. While Mr Kruger told the Express yesterday that his feelings about Mr Biko's death were "neutral", Mr Vorster described the matter to the New York Times as "very unfortunate" and promised a judicial inquiry would be held.

By HUGH MURRAY
Political Editor



● Mr Vorster ... long talk with his Police Minister.

In an interview at the Pretoria residence of Mr Kruger yesterday, he disclosed to me important new information. Among other things he said:

● As far as he was concerned, Mr 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;

● He was not prepared to state whether he was satisfied at the way in which his department had handled the affair. (See leader page).

Meanwhile, it is almost certain that counsel for Mr Biko's family will dispute any claims that he died of starvation.

Mr Kruger's flippancy at the NP's Pretoria Congress, is only one of the reasons some of his colleagues have been angered.

One Transvaal MP told me: "Jim has really made a mess of things this time. He's trying to smear the Black consciousness movement with the same brush as Black Power.

"Doesn't he realise that Black consciousness is virtually the cornerstone of separate development, and that in this sense it is as important as White consciousness."

My sources claimed Mr Kruger had been hauled over the coals by some of his colleagues. The Minister himself however, said he had not — or at least "not that I can remember."

Asked whether Mr Vorster endorsed his stand on the Biko affair, Mr Kruger replied: "I am not prepared to discuss what the Prime Minister and I had to say to each other at all."

I understand, however, that several members of the National Party's justice group may also be heading for a major confrontation with Mr Kruger.

One senior member of the group who cannot be quoted, said he had already made his displeasure known in such a way that Mr Kruger must be aware of it.

Yesterday afternoon legal experts reacted to Mr Vorster's promise of a judicial inquiry into Mr Biko's death with some scepticism.

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 Bantu 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.



● Mr Kruger ... not saying what the PM told him.

Biko's death, by Minister

'I didn't know about hunger strike'

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 Mr 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 Nusas conference in 1970 or the SASO conference. I am not sure.

Q. Why wasn't he prosecuted for what he did. From what you say there appears to be a prima facie case of incitement?

A. Of course that doesn't really mean anything. They may just have been letting him go first. I mean they don't prosecute you for sort of treading over the line for the first time. Not necessarily.

Q. Other people who knew Biko claimed he was an advocate of peaceful change?

A. I've got no comment on that.

Q. Will you give us permission to quote statements from him?

A. I've got no comment on that. You must make your application through the department in the normal way.

Q. Were you personally aware that Biko was on a hunger strike?

A. I knew that Biko had been taken in but I didn't know all the other 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 treat the matter lightly at the congress. I deny treating it lightly. The whole congress was taken totally out of context. You know how a congress reacts — it's full of fun and the laughter they say occurred really occurred because Mr Venter, who is a blind fellow, said it was a man's democratic right not to want to eat. That statement in a certain context could raise a laugh. I don't think the laugh was at all intended on Biko's

yesterday, is he completely with you in your handling of the matter?

A. No, I am not prepared to discuss what the Prime Minister and I say to each other at all.

Q. Are you personally satisfied at the way in which your department handled the affair?

Q. 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 ter minal stages of his life.

A. You know you really amuse me Mr Murray Honestly, it was quite clear ly states and the police got certificate from the [illegible] that he could find [illegible] wrong. Then another [illegible]

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... was at an inquest on Biko's death as was suggested. Secondly when I stood up to answer Mr Venter I simply said yes, this is a man's democratic right. And when I spoke about the other things the other laughter that occurred was when I said 'I am not sorry, I am not pleased, I am not sad about it'. And I said in Afrikaans 'Dit laat my koud' but it does not mean the same in English, it leaves me cold. It means I am neutral. I'm not emotionally involved. What the congress really laughed at was when I said 'I am sorry for anyone who dies' and this included Mr Biko obviously. I also said I would be sorry if I had to die. This raised a laugh because they thought this was humourous. Frankly I don't think the congress knew anything about Biko to laugh at. Incidently, I have never seen Biko myself and I've got no axe to grind with him. I don't know him at all.

Q. I am informed by one of your colleagues that you were criticised by Nationalists for the way you handled the matter and the way it was projected at the conference and that it was raised with you personally.

A. No, nobody raised it with me - not that I can remember at any rate.

Q. You had a long session with the Prime Minister

A. 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 what 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 commit suicide. That's an entirely different thing to Mr Biko's case.

was called (interjection. "On five different occasions.") Yes. What more must I do. I mean I don't know. I pose the question. I am not saying I agree with it or disagree, but what more should they have done. What do you suggest they should have done?

Q. It simply appears on the face of it that he died very suddenly.

A. I don't know. It took eight days or seven days, whatever the case may be. Well, I just disagree with you that's all. I mean you can draw your own conclusions.

Q. Was Mr Biko interrogated at any stage apart from the initial question which appeared to inspire this hunger strike?

A. Not as far as I know and I speak under correction because I don't know how many times the detectives saw the chap. They were questioning Jones from the 18th to the fifth. It was only on the fifth that they decided to move over to Mr Biko.

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.

Blunders and graveyard jokes PAGES 16, 17

Kruger has abused his powers —Suzman

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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 punchdrunk citizens of South Africa rouse themselves from their 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 had 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 carries that title too."

Mrs 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."

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 "Dit laat my koud" 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."

Mr A H de Vries, senior lecturer in the department of Afrikaans and Nederlands, said today: "The expression is exactly the same as the English expression 'It leaves me cold'."

Mr Graham McIntosh, MP for Pineland, said today parallels being drawn between the death of Mr Biko and the gunning down of a security policeman at his home in Durban were a sign of how the governmen had succeeded in "brain-washing" the pulic.

Mr McIntosh, who with his wife Santie 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 haven of police custody. He is the 44th detainee to have died in police custody."

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'Nats are to blame for Biko's death'

Staff Reporters

ABOUT 8 000 people, mainly students, applauded Dr Nthato Motlana yesterday when he told them: "Vorster and his Government are responsible for the death of Steve Biko."

Dr Motlana, representing the Black Parents' Association, 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 known 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's around," he added.

Mr George Wauchope, 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 an 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 Kruger, 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 imaginings of what happened to people in detention.

The service was organised by the South African Council of Churches

Mr Gqubule, who had known Mr Biko for nine years, said Mr Biko's dream was the creation of a non-racial South Africa. "Steve was never a racist . . . he was continually harassed by the police but was never found guilty of any offence under the law in any court in South Africa."

He called for the immediate institution of an independent commission of inquiry to look into the deaths of all detainees.

Mr Gqubule said detention without trial laws should be scrapped. Everyone who had the vote should appeal for this.

A Methodist minister, the Rev Peter Storey, told the congregation every human should regard Mr Biko's death as a personal tragedy.

"Whatever the actual cause of death, he died in a limbo where political rights were not there and protection was not given" he said.

More than 500 people attended a Ned Geref Reik 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. Dr Verwoerd's death had brought together the Afrikaners, they said.

A police spokesman said last night that the day had passed peacefully and no violence had been reported.

Major-General Dawid Kriel, assistant commissioner in charge of riot control, said police had taken every precaution and a watch had been kept on all memorial service venues.

(10)

(12)

5. Remplacez la proposition subordonnée par une proposition infinitive:

Il est temps que nous nous levions.

Il prétend qu'il a été très heureux.

Son père dit qu'elle devait se dépêcher.

Il faut que vous vous contentiez de peu.

6. Mettez les verbes entre parenthèses au mode et au temps convenables:

(a) Après que Robert (hanter) la sorbonne pendant

JEWS

5. Remplacez la proposition subordonnée par une proposition infinitive:

FLAVIAN PERIOD

Il est temps que nous nous levions.

Jos., BJ vii[illegible] all Jews everywhere, making them pay 2 [illegible] ust as they had previously con[illegible]

Il prê[illegible] didrachmon tax for

Dio lxvi,7,[illegible] heir ancestral cus-

Jupiter Cap[illegible]

toms.

Son pè[illegible] t; ad quem deferebantur,

Suet., Dom. [illegible] mulata origine imposita

qui uelut i[illegible] scentulum memini, cum

genti tribu[illegible] nonagenarius senex,

a procurato[illegible]

an circumse[illegible] (12)

Coin of Ner[illegible]

6. Mettez [illegible] temps convenables:

Dio lxvii, [illegible] wife) was atheism, a

charge on wh[illegible] ish ways were condem-

ned.

Dio lxviii[illegible] accuse other people

of maiestas[illegible] d'affaire. Cela (sauter)

REVOLT OF I[illegible] il,

Eus., Hist[illegible] pas sans quelques conseils

were flouri[illegible] vour and the church

the Jews w[illegible] ess the tragedy of

eighteenth[illegible] In the course of the

broke out[illegible] ion of the Jews again

and in the[illegible] For both in Alexandria du latin.

seized by[illegible] s though they had been

gainst the[illegible] hed into sedition a-

in the fol[illegible] e scope of the rebellion

Egypt. I[illegible] was governor of all concert.

fled to Al[illegible] rcome the Greeks, who

thus losin[illegible] nier s'il avait pu (10)

the [illegible] n the city, but though

Donne[illegible] ene continued to plunder

phras[illegible] ander their leader

Lucuas.[illegible] with land and sea

forces inc[illegible] gainst them in many

battles to[illegible] nds of Jews, not only

those of C[illegible] ed to Lucuas, their

king. Th[illegible] tamia would also attack

the inhabi[illegible] them out of the province.

He organiz[illegible] f the Jews there, and

for this r[illegible] the Emperor.

J'ai [illegible]

Après [illegible] s'en alla.

(8)

Biko: Wh Kruger t the Nats

19/9/11 (323) KAM

This is a verbatim transcript from a tape-recording of the account of the imprisonment, treatment and death of Mr Steve Biko given by the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, to the Transvaal congress of the National Party last Wednesday.

"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 connections 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 5.

"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 continually given to him, so that he would 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). It is a democratic land.

"We are now asked: 'When you saw he 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 there's a mark on his foot, and there's a mark on his ankle and here'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 (wragtig) 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 something

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's eye.

"That day (September 7), the district surgeon came.

"On the 8th September the man (Mr Biko) still lay there on the mat. And then 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

think it was the Rand Daily Mail. I am not sure. I made a mistake the other day . . .

"But nevertheless, the Press comes and asks: '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 this 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

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Mr Kruger . . . "Look, you cannot win."

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 and 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, did not know him and 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 that 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 accused a single prisoner. (Laughter).

"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: 'Your 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 found 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 (gatjies en plekkies). 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.'

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 situatioj. He would await the medical

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The day that the rains came down...

By DOC BIKITSHA

THE first summer rains drizzled over Soweto as 8 000 people moved purposefully to the Regina Mundi Cathedral in Rockville for Steven Biko's memorial service yesterday.

They were not grim-faced as they converged from all over Soweto. They came in cars, on foot — and dressed predominantly in black — to listen to black leaders pay tribute to the founder of black consciousness in this country.

The police were there, watching from afar as the vast cathedral swallowed all the mourners. BPC officials kept the flow of people moving smoothly into the church. They did not want crowds outside.

One police Land Rover kept up a constant vigil.

The Dean of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Simeon Nkoane, blessed the crowd inside. Other denomination clergy were also present.

It was a very orderly crowd entering the church, with no trace of anger or bitterness on their faces. Even a seven-year-old girl clutching a pen in her hand trooped in with bigger students.

The spirited singing of freedom songs like Tina Sizwe, Amandla Nkosi, Saba dubula nge were heard far and wide. A flute, clarinet, and drums were played in tribute, for Biko was a man of the arts and culture.

Time and again ululating broke out from inside and shouts of "Amandla" followed.

Even after the service there was that purpose on the people's faces as they silently left for home. They did not loiter round the cathedral. When the police saw the people dispersing they also left.

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 the 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 authorise 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 by far the most significant black 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 among younger black South Africans. His death 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."

The Washington Post said that with the death of black South African leaders such as Steve Biko the Pretoria government would "reap the whirlwind" for refusing to engage in a dialogue with its black majority.

"Few would be surprised if there were to be some sort of public protest in South Africa as a result of Mr Biko's death.

"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 back off from meaningful dialogue with the black community, are sowing the wind.

"Without the Steve Bikos, they will surely reap the whirlwind." — SAPA-RNS-AP.

Black Sash will hold Border 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. for interracial peace will have as its theme South Africa and its leaders with particular reference to those who have died in detention.

The Border chairman of the Black Sash, Mrs Val Sullivan, said members and other people concerned about deaths in detention would continue to wear a black ribbon as a mark of respect for all those who had died in this way.

"The black ribbon is also a constant reminder of those now detained," she said.

"None of us, wherever we 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 Black Sash, Mrs Sylvia Hagerty, 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 will remember what that meant — and still means."—DDR

Kei envoy calls for full probe

NEW YORK — Transkei's American representative, Mr Leslie Masimini, has joined the clamour over the death of Steve Biko.

"Many suspect the string of deaths in detention did not occur in the manner in which they have been explained," he said.

He called Mr Biko's death a great tragedy and hailed the BPC leader as a moderate who believed that all races had a future in South Africa and could live peacefully together in a multiracial society.

Unless there was a full, open inquiry, his death would convince many that the South African Government was not sincere in its repeated declarations of support for peaceful and harmonious change. — DDC.

Call for inquiry

GABERONES — An independent unbiased inquiry to establish the cause of the death of Mr Steve Biko would do South Africa a lot of good, the Botswana Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr A. Mogwe, said

Before leaving here as the head of the Botswana delegation to the UN, he said: "It is a tragic coincidence that for the last 18 months political prisoners died in detention at an average of one each month. There should be an independent inquiry if South Africa is to clear her name of allegations that police are responsible for the deaths of prisoners." — SAPA.

Obituary notices

CAPE TOWN — Notices of the death of Mr Steve Biko filled the obituary columns of the Cape Times on Saturday.

Examples of the notices which filled two columns were: "Deeply mourned and fear the consequences thereof," "To the memory of a hero" and "In death he will be heard."

The notices were placed by students of the University of Cape Town. — SAPA.

Diners pay tribute

JOHANNESBURG — People attending a dinner in Katlehong, Germiston, at the weekend observed a period of silence in tribute to Mr Steve Biko.

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, Dr N. Motlana, told them Mr Biko was not only a name published in newspapers but "a son of the soil who knew he would die in detention." DDC.

Free transport to funeral

PRETORIA — Mamelodi residents here have been offered free transport to attend Steve Biko's funeral in King William's Town on Sunday.

It was announced at a well-attended memorial service here that the bus would leave on Friday afternoon.

A Saso representative at the service, Mr T. Mokoka, said: "We appeal to those people who can, to accompany us to go and bury this great man."

Paying tribute, he said that looking at Steve Biko's life was like looking at the unfolding of history.

Mr Mokoka said Mr Biko's life was based on the liberation of blacks. He had preached the message of bringing blacks together. Before the existence of Saso, black students were characterised by lack of self-identification.

"Biko came and spread the philosophy of black consciousness. He thought himself first as a black man and lastly as a student. His career was dedication to the liberation of the black man."

His death was a challenge to the black people. Biko's spirit was burning in the minds of blacks who wanted liberation.

Some speakers during the service said Mr Biko's death would be like the death of former Prime Minister, Dr Verwoerd, to the Afrikaners. Dr Verwoerd's death brought the Afrikaners together.

There were no incidents before or after the service. No policeman was seen near the NGK church where 500 people, including the "Mayor", attended the service.

But there was a tense atmosphere at the Catholic Church in Tembisa where a memorial service was held.

The service was attended mostly by pupils, university students and members of BPC.

Those who attended sang the African national anthem, Nkosi Sikelela i'Africa. They sang with raised clenched fists.

Among speakers were Mr J. Moloya, chairman of the Tembisa branch of BPC and Dr P. Tlakula. Mr L. Nontenja read a poem he wrote as a tribute to Mr Biko.

The poem stated: "Biko died for us all. Man was born free and equal as far as God is concerned. Biko is dead like Abram Tiro died one for all like a hero. What was the cause of Biko's death. Mr Kruger please tell us what was the cause of death." — DDC.

Poetic tribute

EAST LONDON — Mr Steve Biko's sister, Mrs Bandi Mvovo, had a "sudden urge" at the weekend to write a poem about her brother.

Bandi's poetic tribute to her brother . . .

"Son of God, son of man, man of men, not only are you a brother to me, but a husband, a father and above all, a leader of the nation.

"And of course a child to our mother where you left room for me in our mother's home.

"The womb where we collected love to sow honour, the love of the nation. Steve, who among men are like you? Who is like you wonderful in all respects — you.

"You who stretched his arms to all those who were thirsty for education. You stretched your arms to all those who needed political guidance.

"Faithful to your promise you led your followers. By your strength you guided them. The nation has heard and it trembles with anger." — DDR

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 calous and inhumane society in South Africa.

As will the laughter 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.

Star 19/9/77



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

(19/9/77 (32) Std)

The Government came under fire yesterday when thousands of people of all races attended services throughout the country in memory of black conciousness leader Mr Steve Biko.

"We accuse the Government of the death of Steve Biko," Dr Ntatho Motlana, 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 organised by the Black People's Convention, Dr Motlana 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 salutes.

Referring to announcements that it might take as long as a month for the post mortem to be completed, Dr Motlana 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.

Speaker after speaker paid tribute to Mr Biko in glowing terms. At intervals, the Medupi Drama group rendered poetry pieces.



MRS SHEENA DUNCAN



● DR NTATHO MOTLANA

Mr Sedupe Ramokgopan, an executive member of the Black Community Programmes, initiated by Mr Biko, described him as a man of love, a man who could not have had anything to gain from hate.

"One of the notions used to justify 'law and order at all cost' is detention without trial. Ideologically, that notion is worse than the evil it attempts to justify. "It implies that human rights are a gift from the State and that man has to buy them by offering his life," Mr Ramokgopan said.

President of the Black People's Convention Mr Kenneth Rachidi voiced his organisation's growing concern for deaths in detention.

"The tragic death of Steve is seen by the BPC as the continuation of attacks on the movement by those who wield extraordinary powers in the name of the security of the State," 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 Qubule, 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 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 incommunicado 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.

Silence on Biko injury report

Star 29/9/77

Pretoria Bureau

The chief State pathologist, Professor J D Loubser, today said he would not confirm, nor would he deny that brain and rib damage were found on the body of dead black leader, Mr Steve Biko.

He said the whole of the laboratory of the department of forensic medicine at Pretoria University — his laboratory — had been mobilised for the tests.

Professor Loubser in an interview in Pretoria said it was unjustifiable "at this stage to say that brain damage was the probable case of death."

He was reacting to reports in the United States 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 Loubser said.

DELAY

Dr Jonathan Gluckman, the pathologist representing the Biko family at the post-mortem on Mr Steve Biko's body, has angrily questioned an American report that the black leader had suffered head and body injuries.

Though he would not confirm or deny the reports, Dr Gluckman said he refused to believe that anybody closely involved with the autopsy would have given details about the autopsy to CBS news service of the United States.

"I am just astounded at it," Dr Gluckman said. "I am staggered to think

To Page 3, Col 7

Silence on Biko

From page 1

that anybody close to the autopsy would make a statement at this stage."

The results of an ordinary autopsy should be available within three days, a Johannesburg pathologist said today.

He was commenting on the delay in preparing the results of the autopsy.

Professor Loubser has been quoted as saying it would take about a month to get the results ready.

"If I were to do an ordinary, average autopsy on a Monday morning I would have the microscopic information that same morning," the pathologist said.

"If an histological examination has to be done (investigation of tissues under a microscope) the results should be available by Wednesday.

"The only justification for a delay is if the tissues are to be subjected to analysis for poisons. This, as far as I know, may take weeks.

"But if this is not being done, it looks to me as if the autopsy team are dragging their feet."

Professor Loubser commented: "The exercise of proper scientific controls will put the finish of the autopsy tests within the four-week period."

● **Government lashed as thousands mourn Biko. — Page 7.**

... a statement to SAPA 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.

The Progressive Federal Party MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, said it might well be true that Mr Kruger had never used those precise words, but all the inferences to be 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 last week, Mr Kruger said Mr Biko died the following night after being examined and medically treated by a district surgeon in Pretoria, Mr Kruger said.

After extensive press coverage of his statement, Mr Kruger allowed to go unchecked and uncorrected every report which indicated Mr Biko's "hunger strike" was an apparent cause of death.

Last Wednesday, Mr Kruger told the Transvaal National Party congress police had not force-fed Mr Biko because they would have faced different sorts of accusations had they touched him.

On Thursday, he released 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."

Mr Swart said Mr Kruger "has hardly been all that lucid as to avoid confusion. He now had a "special responsibility to clear this up as a matter of urgency," Mr Swart said. — DDC.

discussion they had, she said Mr Biko's point of view was naturally not always the same as hers.

"But one impression he left with me was that this young black man was basically not a destroyer (breker), but a builder, and unless I'm mistaken, neither was he an ideologist.

"Therefore, it is distressing that a voice like this has disappeared from the critical dialogue of our country." — SAPA-RNS-DDC.

Minister did not deny starvation reports

19/9/77 (32)

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 in 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 16 said: "Steve Biko's death, in a jail in Pretoria as a result of a hunger strike, yesterday evoked widespread reaction in South Africa and overseas." — DDC.

Kruger asked to apologise

PIETERMARITZBURG — The Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, has been asked by the Presbyterian General Assembly meeting here to make a public apology for his statement about the death of Mr 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. This was because "many people especially in the black community, have been deeply hurt by the Minister's attitude."

The resolution referred to the comment by Mr Kruger that Mr Biko's death "leaves me cold." Mr Kruger has denied making the statement.

An amount of R203 was collected yesterday for Mr Biko's family at the service.

In a move which could force confrontation with the Government, the assembly reaffirmed that people of all races were free to worship at any Presbyterian Ch...

Appeal to Vorster over Peter Jones

EAST LONDON — The Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, who accompanied Mrs Ntsiki Biko to a King William's Town funeral parlour at the weekend to see the body of her husband, Mr Steve Biko, said he was "shocked and angered" at the appearance of the corpse.

"There appears to be a pronounced swelling on Steve's forehead and Ntsiki and I noted a distortion of his features, but to what extent these and other effects are due to the post-mortem operation will no doubt emerge at the inquest," he said.

"Right now I am most concerned about the welfare of Peter Jones, who was detained with Steve. In fact, there is a general fear among Peter's friends that his life may be in danger.

"The fear is that if he was in an adjoining cell and might have overheard any aspect of the interrogation of Steve, there may be those who want him silenced."

Mr Jones, secretary of the Black People's Convention, is being held in detention at an undisclosed prison, thought to be in the Port Elizabeth area.

Last night Mr Woods appealed directly to the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, to permit immediate access to Mr Jones by a member of his family, and by a doctor and a lawyer representing them.

"I hope Mr Vorster acts urgently in this matter," he said. "Such an action might do something to restore at least some element of trust in this country's now-tattered reputation for civilised administration of justice."

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. — DDR.

Lunchtime protest in Johannesburg

JOHANNESBURG — A citizens' protest meeting will be held in Johannesburg's City Hall at lunchtime today to focus attention on deaths in detention.

NEW YORK — CBS News last night reported there wa mounting evidence that Steve Biko suffered multipl brain and body injuries before he died in security polic detention last week. However, attempts last night t secure confirmation of this report were unsuccessful.

Quoting "well-placed" South African sources the United States radio and television network said preliminary findings from an uncompleted autopsy report by medical experts indicated that Mr Biko probably died of brain damage.

Attempts by news media last night to secure confirmation of the report by the pathologist concerned were unsuccessful, and one of the pathologists, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, told the correspondent of the New York Times in Johannesburg that as laboratory tests still had to be completed the report could not be anticipated at this stage.

Dr Gluckman was said to be "most upset" at the suggestion that the CBS News report could be based on any statement by anyone present at the post-mortem, as he was sure none concerned would have breached the confidentiality of the proceedings, which have been given top priority by the State Pathologist, Prof J. Loubser, in an endeavour to complete the report as soon as possible.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, commenting on the death of Mr Biko, called it "very unfortunate" and promised an inquest.

Asked about the Progressive Federal Party's call for the resignation of the Minister Justice, Mr Kruger, ov the matter, Mr Vorst said this was prejudgi the issue because the would be an inquest a anyone with knowledge the matter would giv evidence.

Mr Vorster added tha he did not agree with th view of the United State Secretary of State, M Cyrus Vance, that Mr Bik was perhaps the most im portant young black leader. "Before he died don't think that one out o 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."

However, there were growing signs at the weekend of increasing criticism in the Afrikaans Press of Mr Kruger's handling of the affair.

Rykie van Reenen, of Rapport, who visited Mr Biko in King William's Town some months ago, wrote yesterday: "Biko was the image of the new black man who dedicatedly endeavoured to prepare himself and his people for greater responsibilities."

Referring to

PFP claims Kruger has sown confusion

19/9/77

JOHANNESBURG — The fourth public statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, since the death of Mr Steve Biko last Monday night has "sown complete and utter confusion in the public mind," Mr Ray Swart, chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, said at the weekend.

On the SABC-TV news on Friday night, Mr Kruger, stumbling over his words and apparently ill at ease, said he had never suggested at any stage that Mr Biko had 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."

On 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."

ed 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.

And on Friday night, he said to have stated the cause of Mr Biko's death would have been anticipating the post mortem finding which was not yet available.

Mr Kruger also revealed that Mr Biko would have been charged [illegible]

500 attend King service

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — About 500 mourners packed the Weir Hall at Ginsberg here yesterday for a memorial service to the black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention early last week.

Mr M. Mbilini, regional secretary of the Black People's Convention, said the mourners had turned up despite the wet weather in appreciation for Mr Biko's contribution to the black man's endeavour for his freedom.

"You were never out of his mind," he told the gathering. "When he sat down to think, he thought about you, talked about you and consistently made plans for you."

His contributions were for the benefit of the workman, the student, the politician and all those "that the powers that be have chosen to discriminate against politically, economically and socially."

Mr Mbilini said Mr Biko had been the source of inspiration to many of the leaders who had met him.

Miss Z. Sangotsha, speaking on behalf of Saso, said Mr Biko was not dead but was still among the oppressed majority to whose liberation he had dedicated himself "and his message is alive today as when he first joined the struggle."

She added: "He has died on the battlefield of freedom and his blood will help irrigate the tree of freedom for which many black leaders of Africa have died."

Miss Sangotsha said the greatest tribute "to one of the greatest leaders of this country" would be to guard jealously all that he stood for. — DDR

Police alert as mourners

PRETORIA — Police were placed on full nation-wide alert yesterday as thousands of people gathered to mourn the death in detention of Steve Biko.

But by last night no violence had been reported. Memorial services had passed without any problem, Maj-Gen Dawid Kriel, assistant commissioner in charge of riot control, said.

In Johannesburg, police kept tabs on a multiracial service staged by the South African Council of Churches at the Central Methodist Church.

A number of foreign and local journalists attended the Regina Mundi service, but two reporters from The Citizen newspaper were refused admission when they produced their press passes. An SABC-TV crew was also asked to leave.

The Johannesburg service was addressed by the Rev Simon Gqubule, president of the Federal Seminary at Pietermaritzburg, and the Rev Peter Storey, vice-president of the South African Council of Churches.

Mr Gqubule said many questions remained unanswered and South Africans were haunted by im-

aginings of what happ

Long-term prisoners, on soap, fell from the 12 hunger strikes. "Why often die as a result of a principal of the forme at Alice, said.

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Hand-lettered poster cathedral proclaimed: come; and Rest in Peac

In Uitenhage, the nat Party, Rev Alan Hendri white South Africa must of Mr Biko's death. "It is is white South Africa that too late. We say to the wh now. If you believe what S be free." — DDC.

Biko brain damage report unconfirmed

Daily Disp. 17/9/77 (325th detention)

19/9/71

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400 at Umtata service

UMTATA — A multiracial congregation of 400 packed the Ncambedlana Methodist Hall here yesterday for a memorial service for Mr Steve Biko.

The main sermon was given by Rev O. M. Xundu, principal officer for the Black Community Programme in Umtata who said the congregation had gathered to sympathise with the Biko family.

He said the congregation had also come to identify with the ideals of the pursuit for liberation of the black people of Azania from the discriminating and oppressive laws of South Africa.

"Salvation commits us to ordering of a society which has equal opportunities. That is what Steve stood for."

Steve Biko's death did not leave the congregation cold but warm in the knowledge that he died in the "yoke."

The multiracial service was attended by the Commissioner of Police in Transkei, Brig E. Cwele, magistrates, top civil servants, doctors, lawyers, ministers of religion and Transkeians of all walks of life.

Rev Prince Ntintili said Steve Biko died in the struggle against oppression and that "Azania, our land, should be liberated." He said the bible spoke against all sorts of oppression.

Rev T. Mbabane said: "Steve Biko was a man whose projects reveal his dedication to the cause of liberation in all major facets."

They were deeply wounded by the manner in which the tragedy of his death had been handled by the Minister of Justice in South Africa. "But we are encouraged by the reaction of the whole world against the death." — DDR.

325 - detention

19/9/77

Fears for life of friend detained with Biko

The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Mr Donald Woods, the editor of the Daily Dispatch, said today he feared for the safety of Mr Peter Jones, who was detained with Mr Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader who died in custody a week ago.

Mr Woods said he had appealed directly to the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, to permit immediate access to Mr Jones by a member of his family and a legal representative for them.

'Peter Jones's friends fear that his life may be in danger. The fear is that if he was in an adjoining cell and might have overheard any aspect of the interrogation of Steve, there may be those who want him silenced.'

PARLOUR

Mr Woods, who saw the body of Mr Biko at a King William's Town funeral parlour at the weekend, said he was appalled at the appearance of the corpse.

There was pronounced swelling on the forehead and a distortion of the features, he said, but to what extent these were due to the autopsy would emerge at the inquest.

Asked if the body appeared to be emaciated from hunger, Mr Woods said: 'certainly not.' For legal reasons he could not comment further on what he had seen.

NOT INFORMED

The Commissioner of Police, General Gert Prinsloo, said today: 'We are awaiting a report on the post-mortem, but we have not seen it yet. An inquest will follow.'

Asked whether the holding of an inquest on Mr Biko would be a matter of priority, General Prinsloo answered: 'All cases are priorities. I cannot say this is a priority.'

The influential Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, called for Mr Kruger to consider a general investigation into the deaths of people in detention. 'It is no longer the security police's reputation that is at stake, but that of South Africa,' it said.

Pathologist won't be drawn on Biko death

ARGUS 19/9/77

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Chief State Pathologist, Prof J. D. Loubser, 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 Loubser said it was unjustifiable 'at this stage to say that brain damage was the probable cause of death.'

Professor Loubser 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 Loubser said.

Professor Loubser 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 Loubser said: 'I will have firm thoughts before four weeks are up on what caused death. But to hand over a docket 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 the four-week period.'

He was reacting to statements by some doctors that they were surprised that the post mortem tests should take so long.

'I don't know if the investigation. But what I usually do is to file any documents when they are complete so that, if any officer pursuing an official investigation needs any of them, then they are available.'

Certain documents were at this stage available to policemen who might be pursuing an official investigation, said Professor Loubser.

'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 had died as a result of illness, self-infliction, negligence or assault' was justifiable on the basis of probabilities.

FAIR COMMENT

Professor Loubser 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 Loubser said tests on samples were 'running on schedule.'

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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 Sendingkerk.

Others taking part are the Suffragen Bishop of Cape Town, the Rt Rev Patrick Motolengwe; the Rev Moses Moletsane, 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 Daphne Wilson at 74-1888 or at the cathedral.

Oggenblad hits out

PRETORIA. – Oggenblad, an Afrikaans verligte newspaper, 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 of happened to him," the newspaper writes. "But we are not implying that he was perhaps assaulted 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 detainees should be properly looked after," the newspaper says.

Kruger

Continued from page 1

Mr Kruger gave details of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) which acts in association with the Black People's Convention of which Mr Steve Biko was a member.

On SABC-TV, Mr Kruger read from a "secret document" in which the programme of action of the BCM is set out.

"This means that the BCM wants to counter fascist propaganda in all its aspects," Mr Kruger quoted from the document.

"The BCM wants violently to smash international and national capitalist economic structures ... and State institutions in South Africa and on their ruins build a new democratic system."

Mr Kruger said the document then mentions armed struggle. "The BCM is resolutely committed to the liberation of the oppressed masses of Azania (South Africa) by building up a peoples' army and creating conditions for a peoples' war against the fascist and imperialist oppressors.

"This will be a long and protracted struggle in which the peoples' army for the liberation of Azania ... will not only fight the enemy but also have the duty to defend the revolution.

"The BCM has adopted a military programme to train the Azanian Peoples' Army.

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(For Changes to Postgraduate Registration, see over)

325- detention

THE ARGUS, MONDAY SEPTEMBER 19 1977



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.

'Humanity' 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.

The non-liturgical service in the cathedral.

Even the side chapels and other available areas were packed by standing crowds, while many waited outside, although they could not hear the service.

The crowd was esti-

Whether this was said in Afrikaans, Russian or Chinese, it was a shatteringly heartless remark.

'I bid you to pray for the Minister, that he may recover his humanity. Pray for the police, especially the Security Police and those in

prisons, that they may realise they are human beings.

'We weep for our land, which has suffered so grievous 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.'

CAPE TIMES
Monday, September 19, 1977 ★ (325- Detention)



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 Nthto Motlana on behalf of the Black Parents' Association. Other speakers were from the BPC, SASO and the Soweto SRC.

CAPE TIMES 19/9/77 (325-Biko)

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.

Wreath left at Boraine's home

A WREATH and a threatening note were left at the entrance to the Rondebosch home of Dr Alex 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 Santie 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.

Church asks for public apology

Own 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 the 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.

revenue from a Yo as used Yo indicate trends in the building indus Yo 1849 (3). Once again modern statistics an ory can* be usefully employed in reconstructing data by regression and inference analysis be extended on a graph by means of e while missing information can be filled graph by means of interpolation. Mathem been of practical value in the formulation of equations and parameters, while computers and other mechanical aids have been effective in sorting out and analysing large bodies of data.

CAPE TIMES 19/9/77

Security Chief: No comment

(325 - Detention)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Brigadier C F Zietsman, chief of the South African Security Police, last night declined to comment on reports that the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said heads may roll in the security police because of the handling of Mr Steve Biko's death.

"I do not feel like talking to you on a Sunday evening," Brigadier Zietsman said.

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 predictive power of these laws in constructing models,(4) the most controversial issue in New Ecomic History. To evaluate the rôles of various factors in a historical process, the New historians reconstruct the past, excluding the factor 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" presents a classic example of the use of a counter-

(3) E. Hunt: "The New Economic History: Professor Fogel's study of American Railways", History, 1968, p.5.

(4) R. Fogel, New Economic History: findings and methods. Economic History Review, XIX, 1966.

(325 - detention)

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 way 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.

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any particular site factor though this type is commonly found on Mispah form soil, where biotic factors have been extreme.

The dominant species are Eragrostis lehmanniana and Eragrostis chloromelas, with accompanying species being Trichoneura grandiglumis, Eragrostis gummiflua, Eragrostis plana and Cynodon hirsutus, as well as Themeda triandra and

Quam species actio, unde oriatur, & quotuplex sit, & actio inter privatos nascitur, & inter reos constituitur. Quæ quid sit, quomodo & quibus fiat, tum quæ poena infligatur, & quomodo ea poena vel augeatur aut minuatur, & de-

Communium. Ex argumentatione.

alias culpa, quam Græci ἀδικημα dicunt, sicut in lege Aquilia damnum injuria datum accipitur: alias iniquitas & injustitia, quam Græci ἀδικιαν appellant: quæ à con-

Cujacius in Rubrica Digestorum de Damno infecto.

Damnum generale verbo injuria dicitur. l. 1. hoc tit. ubi Ulpianus scribit, damni nomine etiam ipsam rei deminutionem contineri. Itaque omne factum, quo nocetur detrahiturque

Digestorum seu Pandectarum. Lib. IX. Tit. II. 949. hoc tit.

40 are exceptional to the usual soil forms and habitation

biotic factors showing old wheatfields on Avalon and Clovelly soil forms respectively that have reverted to pioneer veld. These plots had higher values of the pioneer grass Aristida congesta than found on the surrounding veld. Germination in these plots was evident but was hampered by the more palatable species.

Heavy grazing was a feature of the plots 108, 116, 133 and 28. These plots can be associated with adjacent habitation 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 pentzii, Trichoneura grandiglumis, Eragrostis gummiflua and Cynodon hirsutus.

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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 inquest.

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 inquest 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."

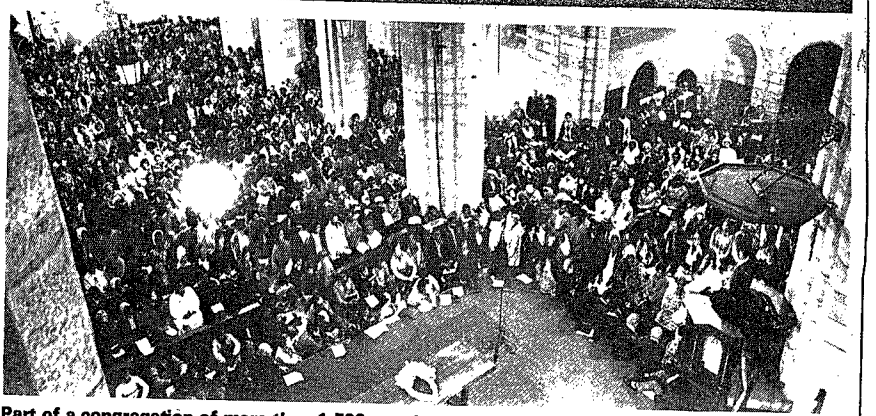
Mr Vorster said it had never occurred to South Africa to use her nuclear technology for military purposes because "we can deal with everything that comes out of Africa to the north of us in the ordinary conventional way".

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-Reuter-AP

Cape Town cathedral tribute



Part of a congregation of more than 1 500 people at a memorial service in St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, held in memory of Mr Stephen Biko, a black student leader.

Thousands pay tribute to Biko

CAPE TIMES 19/9/77

325 detention

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 Sendingkerk, and the Rev Theo Kotze.

The Rev Moses Moletsane, of Langa, led the service which opened with a minute of silence. A young black man then laid a wreath on the cathedral's altar.

Rapport calls for

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English were sung. The service closed with Nkosi Sikelele Afrika..

Bishop Tutu said Mr Biko had been a founder of a "movement of God" – black consciousness – in South Africa. "Steve called on 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 people 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 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 "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 trampled on".

"His vision for South

Continued on page 2

general inquiry

RAPPORT, the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, yesterday described detention without trial as "an embarrassment" and called on the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, to institute a general inquiry into the "alarmingly long list of deaths under detention".

In an editorial article it said the "true facts of Biko's death should be made public as speedily as possible in a court of law".

"Detention without trial is a sore point in the South African political dispensation. No fair-minded South African likes it, although all reasonable people accept that we need such laws to safeguard our state.

"It (detention without trial) remains an embarrassment we would rather manage without. For this reason we and others have on many occasions warned the authorities to apply it with the greatest circumspection and either put on trial, or free as soon as possible, detained people.

"The value that is placed on people's freedom is often the biggest difference between civilized and other countries. The death of Steve Biko has again forced this feeling into the open. About his death itself there is little to say because too few of the actual facts are known. Over the handling of the affair one can only shake one's head.

"Now already, a few days after his death, there have been so many conflicting statements that the disquiet has been fanned rather than lessened.

"He died in hospital – no, in his cell.

"He died as a result of a

Continued on page 2

Thousands pay tribute

Continued from page 1

Africa was a beautiful one W 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 chapel.

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 Mthato Motlana say at 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 television 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 Bikos 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.

Amid applause 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 Umtata, 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 on 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 our critics, where such incidents are ever so common that they are condoned without further to do.

"Therefore the true details of 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.

Legislation providing for detention without trial in Kenya will not be reviewed — despite new calls for the repeal of the country's Public Security Act.

In response to the calls by Kenyan MP Maurice Mboja and the National Christian Council, Attorney-General Charles Njonjo has reaffirmed the Government's stand on political detentions. The Government, he said, had no intention of scrapping the detention Act which was "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 Seroney, and MPs Martin Shikuku, George Anyona and Wesonga Sijeyo, 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 its every movement and if it does not change, we will not hesitate to ban the paper."



Mr Charles Njonjo . . . reaffirmed government's stand.

"Detainees in Kenya are well looked after by the Government, which continues to review individual cases," he added. "People like Seroney, 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 Seroney and Shikuku had been arrested inside Nairobi's parliament building in October 1975. Both men were members of a parliamentary committee inquiring into the death of a prominent critic of the Government, politician J M Kariuki.

Mr Shikuku was also chairman of a parliamentary committee investigating alleged corruption at high level, the report said. Mr Sijeyo, 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.

Another Kenyan MP, Philomena Chelagat Mutai, 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 Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu, former minister for development planning, and two other leading Zanzibaris, Ali Mahfoudu and Ali Issa, who were detained five years ago after the assassination of Tanzania's first vice president, Sheikh Abeid Amaan Karume.

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, Mahfoudh and Issa were among about 30 alleged plotters still being held.

BIKO: NRP SLAMS KRUGER

Argus 20/9/77

325 Selection

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.

DRASTIC STEPS

Dr Prins also appealed for a full judicial inquiry into the death of Mr Biko and other political detainees.

Mr Webber echoed his call, saying drastic steps must be taken to clear the name of the thousands of policemen who were fighting crime.

Mr Kruger's 'attack on members of the force' after Mr Biko's death, was to be condemned, Mr Webber added.

'That he should say that "heads will roll" is iniquitous,' Mr Webber said, quoting from a Sunday newspaper report.

'The first head that must roll is that of the Minister.'

NO RIGHT

And a Progressive Federal Party member Mr 'Kowie' Marais told a mass meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall that Mr Kruger had no right to hide behind senior policemen in the Biko death incident.

He asked, in the light of the contradictory statement, whether Mr Kruger could still be regarded as worthy of holding office in a position which governed all South

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 Streicher, said here yesterday.

Speaking at a public meeting, Mr Streicher said it was regrettable that leftist elements 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.

N. Mercury 20/9/77

Growing call on Kruger to quit

325-detention

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, Ormande Pollok, 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 Nationalists 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

TURN TO PAGE 2

Mercury Reporter

SASH OUT OF BIKO MEETING

THE Black Sash will not be taking part in tonight's Biko protest meeting because of the reported comments of the NRP and its plan to attend.

And it is believed the SRC at the University of Natal in Durban will not attend the meeting either, according to Mrs. Solvieg Piper, vice-chairman of the Natal Constal Region of the Black Sash.

Mrs. Elizabeth Franklin, chairman of the Black Sash Natal Coastal Region said "the NRP statement is an insult."

"We are dissociating ourselves from the Biko meeting because of the presence of the NRP," she said.

Only the president of the SRC, who could not be contacted last night, was permitted to comment on the SRC's decision.

Replying to the statement issued by Brigadier Curt von Keyserlingck (MP Umlazi) and Mr. John Phipson (MPC Berea), Mrs. Piper said the men had confused two issues.

The first was the murder of policeman Detective-Sergeant Leonard Nkosi. The second was the death of Mr. Steve Biko, a civilian, while in the protective custody of the Security Police.

An inquiry into Detective Sergeant Nkosi's death had been set up by the Security Police and the Criminal Investigation Department.

"There we have no doubt the full process of law 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 Nkosi the Black Sash does not comment on every crime 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, Women for Peaceful Change Now, said yesterday the group "deplored all acts and forms of violence."

"In protesting deaths in detention we address ourselves to executive office holders who are supposed to be in control of law and order," Dr. Pamela Sharratt said.

"Of course we are appalled by the new aspect of violence which has entered our society through the death of Detective-Sergeant Nkosi.

"Women for Peaceful Change Now continues to believe that harsh supression of Black political aspirations breeds violence and will continue to do so in increasingly diversified forms."

Archbishop Denis Hurley speaking for the Justice and Reconciliation Committee, said all deaths through violence were regrettable.

Mr. Steve Biko was a human symbol of the struggle for freedom for his people. It was inevitable that those who held him in this light would protest and hold memorial services.

Detective Sergeant Leonard Nkosi was a symbol of the forces maintaining and imposing apartheid.

Those who accepted th symbolism had every digi to protest on his behalf an hold memorial services, th archbishop said.

In Pietermaritzburg Steve Biko Memorial Fun which will give financial a sistance to families of peop who die in detention h been launched by the Blac Methodist Consultation.

The Rev. Dr. E. M. Mg jo, secretary of the consult tion, said yesterday the fun was opened at a meeting Bloemfontein last week wh the collection of R67 fro delegates. First news of th fund was released yesterday

The consultation als decided that a committee e tablished to administer th fund should regularly revie the needs of families of de detainees and where nec sary channel funds to African community projects.

Quit call to Kruger

FROM PAGE 1

once proud system of criminal justice."

The Natal leader said he had no hesitation in demanding that the Minister resign his post "forthwith" so as to allow a more concerned minister to guide the country back to the norms of a democratic society.

Earlier Mr. Webber called on the Prime Minister to appoint a judicial commission to investigate deaths in detention.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that a crowd of more than 2 000 cheered Mrs. Helen Suzman, MP, in the city hall yesterday 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."

and stature as Albe Luthuli."

From Cape Town o correspondent reports th the MP for Pinelands, D Alex Bowaine, said last nig that if Mr. Kruger had n been told of Mr. Biko detention until his death, and his department h broken a law and should charged without delay.

He also said that in t light of Mr. Kruger's "cor tant statements, denials, ditions and amendation relating to the incident, question arose who was re ly running the country.

"Is it the Security Poli the Bureau for Sta Security, the Broederbor or a combination of three? One thing is cert and that is that Mr. Krug is not even in charge of own department."

Mrs. Suzman 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 the death of Mr. Biko had made him "a complete and unequivocal opponent of the security legislation in this country."

Mr. Justice Marais told a lunch hour 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 it was time that the Minister was removed from office immediately.

The director of the Christian Institute, the Reverend Beyers Naude said Steve Biko was "one of the most outstanding Black leaders this country has produced — a person of the same quality

The South African institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg demanded an immediate inquiry before a judge into the death.

Nothing less would satisfy the people of South Africa.

The institutes also said it deplored the law which had permitted the death of Mr. Biko and considered the explanation of Minister of Justice "inadequate."

From Standerton Sapa reports the leader of the South African Party, Mr. Myburgh Streicher as saying last night that the death in detention of Mr. Biko was being exploited in order, among other things, to encourage further interference in South Africa's domestic affairs.

Speaking at a public meeting, Mr. Streicher said it was regrettable that Leftist elements 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, made the original announcement of Mr. Biko's death.

"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."

From Pretoria the Mercury 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 that all the results from the tests now being made would be available within the next four weeks.

(325) detentions RDM 20/9/77

Kowie's views change after Biko

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Staff

MR KOWIE Marais, the recently retired Supreme Court judge, said yesterday the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko had changed his entire attitude to the country's security legislation.

In a fiery speech to more than 2 000 people at a lunchtime protest meeting in Johannesburg yesterday Mr Marais, a former National Party supporter, said he had never before expressed his opinion on detention without trial.

"For a long time my sympathy lay with the police who had a very difficult job maintaining the security and safety of our country.

"I can tell you that since



Part of the crowd of more than 2 000 people who gave Mrs Helen Suzman a standing ovation as she lashed the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, and the system of detention without trial.

come a complete and unequivocal enemy of the security legislation."

Applause lasting almost a minute came when Mr Marais said: "We know now without any doubt whatsoever—Mr Steve Biko's case has proved it—there is no one in the Government or the police force or the Department of Prisons who could willingly undertake the responsibility of applying these laws without damaging the greatest possession of mankind—personal freedom.

"We have come to the stage where we — and especially the Afrikaner Nationalist — must decide: Is Mr Kruger worthy of holding our freedom in his hands?" Mr Marais asked.

The crowd roared its agreement when Mr Marais said: "Mr Kruger, the man who is responsible for the safety and security of our country and our future, has hit our security a harder blow than any number of suspected enemies. It is time that the Minister was given the sack."

Raising his voice and slamming his fist against a table, Mr Marais said: "I am asking the Afrikaner: Are you still saying after the events of last week that Mr Jimmy Kruger is an honourable man?

"Do you think it is honourable and honest man who comes after a man's death and says here is the charge agaist him?

"Mr Biko was in jail since August 18 — why didn't he appear in court before he died?" asked Mr Marais.

"If it happens that sanctions are applied against ... the Prime Minister must not come and say it is or that is to blame. We know that one of the nails in our coffin was that the Minister did over Steve Biko's death."

2 000 call on Kruger to resign

7/9/77
RDM 3?

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Staff

MORE than 2 000 people of 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 stamped and clapped as speakers lashed Mr Kruger for his "callouness, 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 Terrorism Act has killed 20 other unfortunate people during the last 18 months ... and 33 others during the 10 years this 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 if the vicious law that is the root cause of his death and of the death of so many other people is struck from the statute book" she said.

The meeting passed a resolution calling for:

- The resignation of Mr Kruger;
- The repeal of Section 6 of them 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 been 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 become inured to the loss of their civil liberties and the normal protection of the rule of law enjoyed by citizens in all Western countries.

"I accuse the Minister of Police and Prisons of abusing the power he was so misguidedly given by Parliament when it passed that miserable Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

TRAGEDY

"I accuse the Minister of Police and Prisons of jeopardising South Africa's claim to be numbered among the civilised nations of the world. And I accuse the Minister of Police and Prisons of gross callousness in his entire handling of the Biko tragedy," she said.

In a personal tribute to Mr Biko, Dr C F Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute, described him as "one of the most outstanding black leaders this country has ever produced ... a person whose breadth of vision, whose true humanity, and whose political wisdom placed him in the category of a future Prime Minister of our country.

"And Prime Minister, I believe, he would have become had his life been spared to play this significant role."

Dr Naude slammed "the despicable system of bannings whereby the public is deliberately prevented from being exposed to the creative and challenging ideas of such a person as Steve Biko."

Most white South Africans knew little or nothing about Mr Biko, he said.

"This is another proof of the tragedy and the danger of the abysmal ignorance which the policy of racial separation has created about leading and outstanding black personalities, who, in any normal society, would have been widely known and acclaimed."

Speaking in Afrikaans, Dr Naude said Mr Biko's life and death had a special message for Afrikaners.

It was the Afrikaner with his heroic history and sacrifice for a grand ideal which served as a strong impetus for Mr Biko to develop the concept of black consciousness and apply his strategy of black solidarity — not to threaten the Afrikaner, but to help him out of his ideological straitjacket and lead him towards a greater and all-embracing South Africanism.

"The death of Steve Biko challenges the Afrikaner to a new and heroic deed," he said.

Mr Biko's life and death also contained a message for the white liberals.

"It is no longer good enough to voice your opposition to apartheid only through motions and resolutions.

"You should go further: you should become truly committed to the cause of freedom by your willingness to relinquish illegitimate privilege and power and share it with all the people of the land.

"You should participate more actively and meaningfully in a radical programme of non-violent action to bring about fundamental social and political change," Dr Naude said.



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 Allorto Bakeries, will be served with the tea after singer Nick Taylor has entertained guests.

The tea will be supplied by Pitco.

If you want to come along telephone Leigh Harris at the Rand Daily Mail. Her number is 28-1500.

(325) detentions RDM

By MELANIE YAP 20/9/77

MR 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 reports 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 sources" as saying Mr Biko suffered multiple brain and body injuries, Prof 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.

Prof Loubser said that progress in preparing the report was better than expected.

Prof I Simson, 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-morten results were in Prof Loubser's hands.

Mr Kruger has meanwhile 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 comment.

General Gert Prinsloo, Commissioner of Police, last night told the Rand Daily Mail: "I don't have to answer any of your questions. I am not responsible to you."

Brigadier C F Zietsman, Chief of the Security Police, refused to come to the telephone. "My father never speaks to the Press," said his son.

Strong reaction to Mr Biko's death continued yesterday at memorial services and protest meetings. At least three unnamed people in Grahamstown have started an eight-and-a-half day fast.

All Soweto businesses will close for an hour each day until Sunday. And in Maritzburg a Steve Biko memorial fund to give financial assistance to families of people who die in detention has been launched by the Black Methodist Consultation.

EDITORIAL OPINION

Honouring man of peace

One of the best memorials to the memory of Steve Biko would be a continuation of the admirable discipline that has been maintained by his tens of thousands of mourners throughout the country — an attitude which sets a remarkable example of dignified restraint and moderation in honour of a moderate man of peace.

It will indeed be a shining memorial to him if all the meetings and services in his memory, right up to and including his own burial this coming weekend, will continue to set this example of discipline.

The students of Fort Hare can contribute to this impressive display of discipline in mourning. When their 806 fellow-students were arrested at an earlier (and peaceful) memorial meeting, the other students understandably stayed away from classes out of loyalty and solidarity. But now that the 806 have now been released on bail amounting to R16 000, raised at great sacrifice by parents and friends, it would be a suitable gesture for all the students to return now to classes.

The students may be assured that their stand has been admired throughout the country, and their justified grief acknowledged with all credit for their peaceful behaviour throughout.

Let no inappropriate intemperance mar this time of tribute to a great and good man.

Time to go

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, is backtracking so fast on his previous statements over the death of Steve Biko that he is in danger of tripping over his own feet. It is traditional in Western government that politicians at the top must go if they make serious errors or if serious errors are made in their name by civil servants. So although it is unusual for Mr Kruger to promise that "heads will roll" if the Special Branch is guilty of any wrong-doing in the Biko case, that is not enough.

Mr Kruger is the man at the helm. He must take responsibility for his own blunders and for the wrong information apparently being fed to him. On these two grounds Mr Kruger must go — now.



The other side of Steve Biko

Political Correspondent BARRY STREEK gives a personal view of the black consciousness leader who died in detention last week.

Those pictures of the late Bantu Steven Biko are being splashed across the newspapers now that he is dead, are giving me the shivers.

Or to borrow the Minister of Justice's delightful comment, they leave me cold.

In those photographs, one sees the face of a friend who must now only be a memory.

Yet, only last month when I saw him for the last shortly before he was detained for the last time, Steve was, as ever, so alive, alert and human that it is difficult to accept that those newspapers photographs show a face that will never again live.

There is little doubt that his actions and thoughts survive. In spite of apparent Government policy towards black conciousness, the movement, so misunderstood by many whites will continue. Unless Government action prevents it, the organisations he was involved in — Saso, the Black People's Convention, the Black Community Programmes, and the Zimele Trust Fund are the most prominent — will continue to be living testimonials.

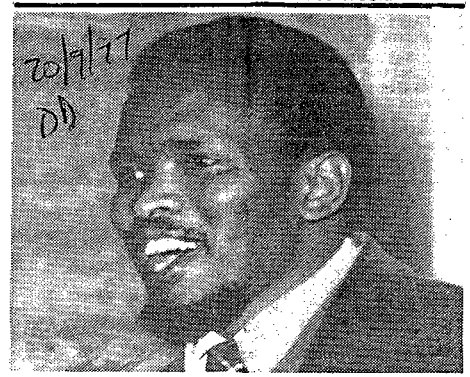
But Steve Biko the person is no more.

Last month, when we sat in a car in the grounds of 15 Leopold Street, King Willlam's Town, which is the unlikely place where a number of black conciousness organisations have offices, a Special Branch car drove in, presumably to check up on us. Steve immediately waved to them and they waved back before driving out again.

It was a small incident, but it underlined so much. Although these were the people responsible for so many prosecutions against him — he had won them all although a few were still pending — and although he had been detained by them, he did not seem to harbour any grudges against them. It was as though, they, too, were victims of the system.

Although he will be remembered for his struggle to give black people pride and for re-establishing a black movement after the political depression of the 1960s these will, for me, be these personal incidents.

Like the time when Steve, then a second or third year medical student debated with a Zoology I drop-out about the sex of a kitten in a student house in Cape Town. As it turned out, later, he was wrong.



I will always remember a party during the 1968 Nusas Congress — those were the early days of Saso when they still went to such gatherings — when we had a long conversation while the rest of the delegates were enjoying themselves. We both had far too much to drink by the end of the night.

Then, there was the time when a couple of us went to meet him at the black campus of the University of Natal for a chat. When we finally found him, he was still in his rugby clothes but as he had had a couple of drinks with the boys after the game, any serious talk had to be postponed.

And this was the Steve Biko I shall remember. In many respects, the typical South African male who enjoyed his rugby, liked a drink and had an eye for women — indeed he was so South African that many regarded him as a male chauvinist.

In his death, one cannot help asking why this typical South African male was so misunderstood and so feared by his equally typical compatriots many of whom had been through a similar struggle for their people.

After all, the history of Afrikaner nationalism, and particualrly that of the Ossewa Brandwag of which Prime Minister John Vorster and Gen Hendrik van den Bergh were members, parallels in so many respects the history of black conciousness.

In the 1940s, the Smuts Government, then totally committeed to fighting Nazi evil, completely misread the young Afrikaner movement, because of their partial sympathy with the Nazis. Many Afrikaners were detained without trial and imprisoned for essentially political offences.

These temporary setbacks never stopped the tide in the 1940s as it will not do in the 1970s. Right now, the present Government seems to be making exactly the same errors as the Smuts Government did more than 30 years ago.

Is it, now, too late for other typical South Africans to find each other and understand each other's aspirations?

Perhaps, in the tragedy and complete pointlessness of Steve's death, that essential message will get through to our rulers. Or else those photographs may haunt us even more.

Salute the students of Fort Hare

Let it never be said that the students of the University of Fort Hare who gathered to pay tribute to Steve Biko last Thursday did not honour him in the same spirit by which he lived.

To have witnessed the dignity, discipline and total absence of physical resistance with which the students went into custody has left us with a profound sense of admiration and hope for the future of this country. That no reaction was forthcoming from the students to promote a confrontation must have been completely unnerving to those who believe in physical force and the use of violence to suppress anything which is seen to be critical of the present regime.

Whatever further restrictions may be placed upon these students in the future and whatever hardships they are now having to suffer, they have gained the admiration of those who believe that this country can only survive it it if freed of racial discrimination and the Rule of Law is rewritten into our constitution.

The form in which this overt rejection of force and violence, discrimination and oppression, took place and the remarkable success of their stand for right to pay tribute to a man who represented their aspirations and hopes for a greater non-racial South Africa is evidence of their deeply-felt grief. It is as Steve Biko would have wanted it and from among these young men and women may yet another great leader emerge.

God bless Africa and in particular these students for no matter what forms of oppression are devised there will always be men and women to stand witness as these students did on Thursday in honour of Steve Biko.

Ruth and Alan Penny,
Faculty of Education,
University of Fort Hare,
Alice.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Mourned

We the people of Azania mourn the death of our hero, Steve Biko.

He died for a cause, he died for you and me and for the cause of justice and humanity.

His sacrifice will not be in vain.

May Steve Biko rest in peace. May God be with him.

D. Gozard
2 Greenwich Str.,
Pefferville, 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 goes another hope of continued peace in this country.

Judith Fitzgerald (Mrs),
9 Sandhurst Rd E.L.

Why?

One question is crying out to be answered: What caused Steve Biko to go on a hunger strike?

Also what caused ten 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 are reported to have died of "natural causes," and two more of strokes. What happened to the others?

I knew Steve Biko as a sensible, balanced, down-to-earth young man, as well as an exceptionally able one, and a born leader. He would not have gone on hunger strike, until death, without sufficient reason. What was the reason?

These are questions that the Minister of Justice has not answered: a statement that a memorandum, of unspecified date and obscure origin, advised detainees to commit suicide rather than betray comrades is no answer. If such a memorandum indeed exists, and they are influenced by it, why were they in danger of betraying comrades?

It is the responsibility of the Minister of Justice to provide the answer. Until he does, every voter in South Africa must live in fear.

Monica Wilson,
Hunterstoun Hogsback.

Martyrs

We all mourn the loss of the latest detainee victim, Mr Steve Biko.

It is unfortunate that such a man should die, at a time when South Africa is in need of moderate blacks, still willing to talk.

We also think of Mrs Biko, widowed at such an early age, and her family.

It is time, too, to remember the other detainees who have died while in detention. They will be regarded by future generations as martyrs.

T. R. H. White
20 Gaga St. Alice

Bigots

The biggest human embodiment of hope in South Africa, Mr Steve Biko, is dead.

Through the banning order placed on him his words were little known to most of us, but as the symbol of the philosophy of black consciousness, of anti-racialism, of the reconciliation of the races in South Africa, of the only solution to the unjust status quo in South Africa, he became a ray of hope in this evening of South African madness.

Steve Biko is dead. I saw him as being maybe the last of the moderate African leaders who could hold sway among the masses and prevent violence.

There are unfortunately whites in their thousands, who don't see the South African situation in this light at all. Because of their tragic ignorance of black people they are prejudiced against their fellow South Africans.

What chance of a peaceful solution to the country's problems when they tear up newspapers featuring a portrait of a dead leader because he is black? What do they want in Africa if they can't accept its people? Africa needs their bigoted hatred as much as it needs that of Idi Amin.

C. K. Bentley,
27 Lotus Ave., Beacon Bay.

Which way?

I was shocked and saddened by the inexplicable death of Steve Biko. In this time of grief and loss of one of our much loved brothers, it is perhaps well to ask what kind of a nation we are and what direction we want to move in. Those who are black could be filled with bitterness, with hatred, and a desire for revenge.

Must we move in that direction as a country, in great polarisation — black people among black, white people among white, filled with hatred toward one another? No, we can make an effort, as Steve Biko did, to understand and to comprehend, and to replace violence, with an effort to understand with compassion and love. What we need is not division, not hatred, not violence or lawlessness, but love and wisdom, and compassion toward one another, and a feeling of justice towards those who still suffer within our country, whether they be black or white.

Steve Biko has gone, but his spirit remains with us.

W. H. Suckow,
7, Hereford Rd, EL.

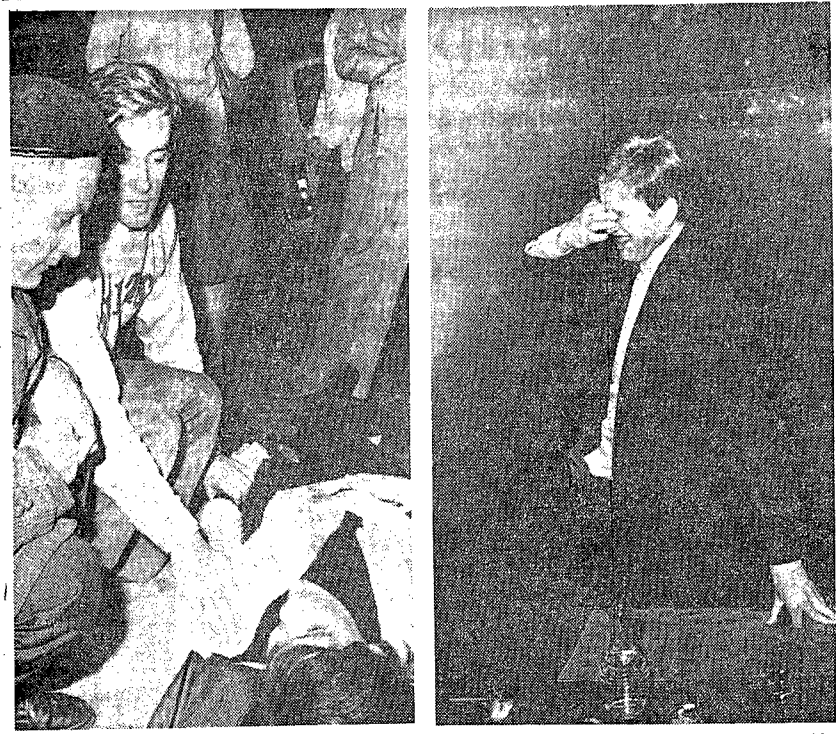
Writers of Letters to the Editor are reminded that contributions must not be longer than 250 words, must be written on one side of the page and should preferably be typed. All letters must bear the writer's full name and address — box numbers are not sufficient.

City security police join teargas probe

325-Detained

ARGUS 20/9/77

Teargas toll at Rondebosch



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).

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 Eglin.

Early today, Dr Alex Boraine MP, one of the speakers last night, received an anonymous telephone call in which the caller threatened to 'get him with a machine-pistol.'

Condemnation of last night's action was today voiced by Opposition leaders, as well as the chairman of the National Party in Rondebosch, Dr Deon de Wet.

Dr de Wet said: 'I strongly disapprove of this type of action ... and cannot condemn it too

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)

20/9/77 (325)

Arg

strongly.

Police are fairly certain that the teargas was thrown into the hall, and not fired.

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 Alex Boraine, MP (PRP, 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 PFP, 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-organised because it came at the high point of the meeting and was thrown into the middle of the hall to create maximum chaos.

325-Detention

CAPE TIMES 20/9/77

Leftist bid to 'exploit'

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 Streicher, said here yesterday.

Speaking at a public meeting, Mr Streicher said it was regrettable that leftist elements 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.

"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." – Sapa

Man bails out 806 students

ALICE. – The 806 University of Fort Hare students charged here last week under the Riotous Assemblies Act were released yesterday on bail totalling 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 Canca.

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

The Cape Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1977

325-detention

Political hooliganism

IN A SOCIETY with deeply-rooted traditions of parliamentary government, attempts to harass, threaten or intimidate elected representatives of the people are regarded in an extremely serious light. And the police are no 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 — and 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 courts.

[redacted]

CAPE TIMES 20/9/77

325-Detention



Dr Alex Boraine, 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 here 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 placed 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 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 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 Kruger had "undoubtedly 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 become inured 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 30 years of Nationalist 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 — This Act was meant for terrorists in the bush?

"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 at the tender mercy of the Special Branch." — SAPA.



MRS SUZMAN

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

Kruger is accused of hiding behind police

JOHANNESBURG — The death of Mr Steve Biko had made him "a complete and unequivocal opponent of the security legislation in this country," former judge, Mr Justice Kowie Marais said here yesterday.

Mr Justice Marais told a lunch-hour meeting in the City Hall that Minister of Police, Mr 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

in influence and significance as the years went by.

Mr Biko was a person with a deep respect for every human being regardless of race, a Christian with a deep concern for all fellow men. That was why he towered over all racial prejudice, class distinctions and ethnical and tribal loyalties.

Kruger

Gatsha

PRETORIA — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, has assured the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, that once 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 Inkhata Movement and this was discussed.

"An alleged alignment of Inkhata with the ANC and the PAC was also discussed. Chief Buthelezi assured Mr Kruger that although he is prepared to speak to anybody, the Inkhata 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 once 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 interdenominational memorial church service for Mr Steve Biko will be held in the Engcobo Town Hall — the Transkei town where Mrs Mtsiki Biko, wife of the deceased black consciousness leader, worked.

An Engcobo resident, Mrs Fannah Mkentane, said the memorial service would be held today at 6pm in the Town Hall.

The service will be conducted by Fr D. Tandwa of All Saints Mission hospital near Engcobo, the hospital where Mrs Biko has been working as a nursing sister for the past two months.

Mrs Mkentane said arrangements had been made for most of the hospital nurses to attend the service in sympathy for their working colleague and to offer their condolences to the Biko family. — DDR.

tion which governed all South Africans' rights of freedom and which was in charge of the country's security.

He said the bungling over the Biko death showed it was time the Minister was removed from office immediately.

The director of the Christian Institute, the Rev Beyers Naude said Steve Biko was "one of the most outstanding black leaders this country has produced — a person of the same quality and stature as Albert Luthuli."

He said he believed Mr Biko's witness would grow



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 prisoner 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 depict 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-AP.

message Mr Biko could bring to the black community, the English-speaking liberal community and the Afrikaans establishment, that the country should have heeded and responded while there was still time.

The meeting unanimously approved resolutions expressing deep sympathy with relatives and friends of Mr Biko, demands for an independent commission of inquiry into the circumstances of his death, demands for the repeal of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and the resignation of Mr Kruger. — SAPA.

of Transkei will never tolerate such autocratic actions."

Mr Diko said on many a time he has called on the Government of South Africa to give civil liberties to political detainees but in vain.

Mr E. M. Makiwane, a former teacher of Mr Biko who taught him general science and mathematics at the Forbes Grant Secondary School, said: "I will remember him as one of the most intelligent students I have ever taught. He had a friendly disposition to all and was a man of peace." — DDR.

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DM

Webber joins call on Minister

JOHANNESBURG — The Natal leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Warwick Webber, demanded here last night that Mr Kruger resign as Minister of Justice and if he did not do so that he be removed from his post.

Speaking at a public meeting in Hillbrow, Mr Webber also demanded 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 finally 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 Kruger 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 re-establish 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 Republic — this step must be taken now as a matter of urgency."

Mr Webber said justice had to be seen to be done. "Our sense of justice has been consistently eroded with each death of an unconvicted detainee and 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 81-day fast to mark the death of Steve Biko.

The call to fast was made at an interdenominational memorial service in the Grahamstown Cathedral last week. The period set, from 7 am last Sunday to 7 pm 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 lecturer, a school teacher and a student leader. It is believed 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 decision. They were fasting for different reasons, among them Christian commitment. — DDC.

Pray for Kruger says Bishop Tutu

CAPE TOWN — More than 1 500 people attended a memorial service in St George's Cathedral here for Steve Biko.

The service, 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 Allen Boesak of the NG Sendingkerk, Dr Francis Wilson, and the Rev Theo Kotze.

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's altar.

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 a founder of a "movement of God" — black consciousness — in South Africa.

"Steve called 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 your dog," Bishop Tutu said.

Bishop Tutu said he was "unbelievably shocked" at the statement of the Minister of Justice, Mr 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 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 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 trampled on."

"His vision for South Africa was a beautiful one — one in which those crippled by racism could be liberated," Dr Wilson said.

The Ministers' Fraternal is arranging buses to take mourners to the funeral of Mr Biko in King William's Town on Sunday. — DDC.

Institute calls for inquiry

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Institute of Race Relations has demanded an immediate inquiry before a judge into the death of Mr Steve Biko.

The institute said yesterday nothing less would satisfy the people of South Africa.

The institute said it deplored the law which had permitted the death of Mr Biko and considered the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger's explanation "inadequate." — SAPA.

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 their 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 — and even less than coherent —in explaining Mr Biko's death," the editorial said. — SAPA-AP.

Today's Cabinet meeting comes also on the 20/9/77 (32)

Motlana blames Vorster

JOHANNESBURG — A crowd of about 800 people, mainly students, gave Dr Nthato Motlana a deafening applause when he said at a memorial service at Regina Mundi Church Hall: "Vorster and his Government are responsible for the death of Steve Biko."

Representing the Black Parents' Association, he said when he was involved in the banned African National Congress, Mr Biko was born.

"We do not care what the post-mortem will say. I have never known or heard of a post-mortem that takes a month."

Ten police vehicles kept a watch on the cathedral.

Radio and television were out in full force. German and other overseas TV crews went into the cathedral but the SABC television crew, was turned away.

Dr Motlana said: "Black consciousness will free the people from the racist chains. Biko was close to my heart and no doubt to every one 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."

He said the Minister of Justice was afraid of black consciousness and made jokes about Mr Biko's death as a representative of the Government.

"Biko has not died in vain. There are hundreds of Bikos around."

Mr G. Wauchope, chairman of the Johannesburg branch of the Black Peoples' Convention, said: "Today Steve the man has been silenced, but Steve the spirit and pillar of black consciousness will live on the ideal of the quality of mankind. The fight for the dignity of the black man, the zeal for self reliance, the zeal for self realisation. The quest for liberation will live on."

A Saso representative said: "If we are sincere to ourselves and listen attentively wherever we may be, we can hear clearly the voice of Steve Biko: 'freedom in Azania is a reality and certainty.'

"Our numerical strength is not an accident. It has been provided by nature to counteract malicious and brutal acts." — DDC.

who is running country?

CAPE TOWN — The MP for Pinelands, Dr Alex Boraine, said last night that if the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, had not been told of Mr Steve 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 "constant statements, denials, additions and amendations" relating to the incident, the question arose 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, Dr 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 detained until he was told of his death.

"If this is true, then he and his department have broken a law of their own making and must be charged in a court of law without delay," he said.

In terms of the Terrorism Act, the Commissioner 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 what kind of man Steve was, I want to let him speak for himself. Mr Kruger has quoted h[illegible] (out of context), so I w[illegible] do so as well."

1 300 pray in Queenstown

EAST LONDON — At a mass meeting in the Queenstown township, Mlungisi, over 1 300 residents gathered to offer through silent prayer their sympathies for the Biko family following the death in detention of their son, Mr Steve Biko.

The meeting was organised by the Queenstown Township Advisory Board and the Residents' Representative Committee.

The RRC 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 merciless death of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, the meeting in earnest consternation 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 all 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 have been; but thank God we are not where we used to be" being read out to the mourners. — DDR

Free Mohapi's widow – lawyers

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Mrs Nohle Mohapi's lawyers have launched an extensive effort to secure her release from prison where she is held incommunicado under the Terrorism Act.

This was disclosed by a spokesman for Durban lawyer Mr G. Mxenge, who is Mrs Mohapi's legal representative in the claim against the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, arising from the death in detention last year of her husband, Mapetla.

At the time of his death, Mr Mohapi was also a Terrorism Act detainee. Police alleged he had hanged himself with two pairs of his own trousers.

Mrs Mohapi was arrested on August 25 and taken to Port Elizabeth by Security Police. At the time of her arrest, she was awaiting results of her claim against Mr Kruger.

The spokesman for her lawyers said yesterday: "There have been some developments in the matter which need Mrs Mohapi's immediate attention, but her detention is greatly hampering the course 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 was rejected by Mrs Mohapi.

Regional magistrate Mr A. J. Swart found in the subsequent inquest nobody 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.

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 Consultation.

The Rev Dr E. M. Mgojo, secretary of the Consultation, said yesterday the fund was opened at a meeting in Bloemfontein last week with the collection of R67 from delegates. First news was 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 in 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-enslaving an 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 wherever and whoever they are. That is, people regardless of their social status, race and creed for

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 South West Africa.

Mr Biko's death in detention and the international campaign of condemnation which has snowballed around it is now commanding increasing attention among Nationalists whose newspapers are even calling for a full-scale inquiry.

At the centre of the storm is the Minister of Justice, 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

eve of another round of talks with the five Western Security Council members on the future of South West Africa.

Representatives of America, Britain, France, Germany and Canada will meet the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, in Pretoria on Thursday and Friday to put what has been described as a "make or break" plan for the withdrawal of South African troops from the territory.

It could lead to a showdown as there are suspicions in Pretoria that the West may try to force South Africa to accept a security force based on the terrorist bands conducting 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

STAR 20/9/77

(3-2)

John Patten
Political Correspondent

The Cabinet today considered for the first time the circumstances of the death last week of Black Consciousness detainee Mr Steve Biko and its political consequences.

With indignant reaction to the death and to the Government's handling of the whole affair now echoeing round the world, Mr Biko's death is already being seen as having dealt South Africa a blow as damaging as the Sharpeville shooting in 1960 and the Soweto riots of last year.

The Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, has been severely censured for his allegedly callous attitude to Mr Biko's death and for causing confusion with apparently contradictory comments.

PREMATURE

There have been calls for Mr Kruger's resignation or dismissal from the Cabinet, but the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, has already indicated he regards such calls as premature, considering the inquest has not yet been held to establish the facts of the case.

The Cabinet is also virtually certain to take a serious view of the failure by the police to inform the Minister in time of the deterioration in Mr Biko's condition and his hunger strike.

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 as having administered a crippling blow to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha and Dr Mulder respectively, in trying to project a better image of South Africa abroad.

Daily Disp. 20/9/77
325 detention

Biko details for Cabinet

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, is expected t report to the Cabinet today on the Steve Biko affair amid growing cal for his resignation and in the wake of published reports that the blac leader suffered brain damage.

Memorial service at City Hall today

EAST LONDON — An inter - denominational memorial service for the late Steve Biko is to be conducted in the East London City Hall at 5.30 this afternoon. Several leading churchmen of the area will officiate and all members of the public are invited.

The service is backed by public representatives of the city, including Mr Harland Bell, MP, Mr John Malcomess, MPC, both of the NRP, and Mr Ivor Sparg, regional chairman of the PFP. In a statement yesterday Mr Bell said: "When a man is detained in prison and denied every basic right of an accused his death becomes a burden of conscience on every single South African.

"The death of Mr Steve Biko in detention has served to highlight the failure of the Government to appreciate the standards of justice demanded of a democratic government and if we are to think and consider and dedicate ourselves to a return to the norms of a just society, I believe we should all attend the inter-denominational service. I will certainly be there.

Mr Malcomess said: "I did not have the privilege of knowing Mr Steve Biko, but I am delighted to have [illegible] attend [illegible] detained, and I am not given the opportunity to judge, nor is any court of law given the opportunity to judge as to whether he was a peaceful man, seeking the best peaceful solution for his people, or whether he was a terrorist seeking to violently overthrow the established order.

"It is imperative that all thinking South Africans should register their disapproval of detention without trial, and return to the norms of a civilised society, by attending this memorial service."

Mr Sparg said: "I am gravely concerned, as I am sure many thousands are, at the [illegible] post-

The Minister will obviously be asked 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 later he said Mr Biko had been given "some sort of feed."

On Friday he said he had never suggested at any stage that Mr Biko had starved himself to death and at the weekend he said Security Police failed to inform him of Mr Biko's illness until after his death.

Meanwhile, Prof J. D. Loubser, Chief State Pathologist, refused to confirm or deny that brain and rib damage had been

A preliminary, routi report had been sent the police and resul from tests now bei made would be availab within the next fo weeks, he said. Progre in preparing the repo was better than expecte

Prof I. Simson, head the Department Pathology at Pretor University, who was i vited to attend Mr Biko post-mortem as an i dependent observer, sai he expected histologic reports to be ready withi three days, but further i vestigation would still b necessary.

The release of the pos mortem results was i Prof Loubser's hands an he declined to commen on possible brain damage

Mr Kruger has however, gone silent o the issue. For the firs time since the news of M Biko's death broke, he h refused to make an

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Tear gas at protest meeting

CAPE TOWN — Hundreds of people streamed coughing and weeping through the doors and smashed windows of the Rondebosch Town Hall last night when a tear gas canister hurled or fired through a side window disrupted a meeting called to protest the death of Mr Steve Biko.

Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands, was addressing more than 1 000 people when the incident occurred.

Police investigating late last night said someone standing on a nearby bridge launched 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 a total of 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 Mkhola — 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.

People in the hall said they heard a loud retort and seconds later were caught up in the commotion.

But police were unable to say whether or not the canister had been thrown or fired from the barrel of a specially - adapted rifle.

A police spokesman said the canister recovered from the minor hall had been scratched free of markings and there was no immediate way of telling where it had come from — police, army or navy issue.

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.

nationalist Government to realise the consequences of its policies and laws relating to detention without trial. I believe these policies and actions pose a threat to the peace and security of all peoples of South Africa.

"I am honoured to be associated with an interdenominational service for the late Mr Steve Biko, who I understand was opposed to violence as a solution to South Africa's problems.

"I therefore urge all citizens of all political persuasions, races and religions to attend this ceremony and share in the sorrows and suffering which detainees and their families are enduring."

Officiating at the service will be Father R. Abdo, of the Catholic Church. The Rev K. Dale of the Presbyterian Church, The Rev P. Campbell of the Anglican Church and the Rev P. Welsh, of the Methodist Church.

A memorial service will also be held in Mdantsane Civic Hall at 7 pm today.

— DDR

mortem on Mr Biko.

Referring to reports from the United States quoting "medical experts and well-placed sources" saying he suffered multiple brain and body injuries, Prof Loubser said it was unjustified to say at this stage these were the probable cause of death.

Gen Gert Prinsloo, Commissioner of Police, said last night: "I don't have to answer any of your questions. I am not responsible to you."

Brig C. F. Zietsman, Chief of the Security Police, refused to come to the telephone. — DDC.

More calls for Kruger to resign, page 13

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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 — off church premises.

ARGUS 20/9/77

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 canister, 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 incident happened

The meeting resumed about 30 minutes after the explosion with about 750 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. T. 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 when, where 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 polarisation. The outcome of this was either peace or violence. Black people had opted for peace.

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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 go 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.

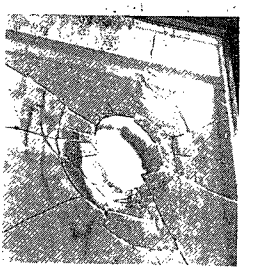
He said protection at future meetings would probably be necessary.

Dr Boraine's address was followed by a speech from the Rev Allan Hendrikse, 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.





Dr Alex Boraine leaves the town hall with tears streaming down his face and right, the window through which the teargas canister was thrown.

Hundreds flee Rondebosch hall

CAPE TIMES 20/9/77 (325-detention)

Teargas chaos at Biko meeting



Crowds start to stream out of the Rondebosch town hall as the gas starts to spread

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 Mkhola – 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.

CAPE TIMES 20/9/77 325-Botha

Africa background

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 is said that this temperate black leader warned that it was 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 France had found it necessary to make increasingly 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 affairs was having an increasingly adverse effect on African as well as international opinion. And this was at a time when the black states became [illegible] about Russia's



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 Neto'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 is thought to be Mr Vorster's proposed new "constitution".

Killing of youths

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 retort by Mr Vorster that the black Africans could make use of their one-man-one-vote opportunities in the Bantustans and the Transkei would have raised a howl 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

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more disturbed about [illegible] 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 had even their pitiable shanty-

typically 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 hawked about by some South African critics, the ugly South African.

(325- detention)

Woods 'shocked' by appearance of body

CAPE TIMES 20/9/77

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. – The editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, who accompanied Mrs Ntsiki Biko to a King William's Town funeral parlour at the weekend to see the body of her husband, Mr Steve Biko, said he was "shocked and angered" at the appearance of the corpse.

"There appears to be a pronounced swelling on Steve's forehead and Ntsiki and I noted a distortion of his features, but to what extent these and other effects are due to the post-mortem operation will no doubt emerge at the inquest," he said.

"Right now I am most concerned about the welfare of Peter Jones, who was detained with Steve. In fact, there is a general fear among Peter's friends that his life may be in danger.

"The fear is that if he was in an adjoining cell and might have overheard any aspect of the interrogation of Steve, there may be those who want him silenced."

Mr Jones, secretary of the Black Peoples' convention, is being held in detention at an undisclosed prison, thought to be in the Port Elizabeth area.

Mr Woods appealed to the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to permit immediate access to Mr Jones by a member of his family, and by a doctor and a lawyer representing them.

"I hope Mr Vorster acts urgently in this matter," he said. "Such an action might do something to restore at least some element of trust in this country's now-tattered reputation for civilized administration of justice".

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 Rondebosch organized by the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Boraine said 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

Aircraft	17	Jackpot	8
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Burger	5	Racing	12
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Crossword	10	Women's	4
Emergency	17	World Report	4

of the fact that Mr Biko was banned and may not be quoted.

He prefaced the quotations by saying: "To illustrate what kind of man Steve was, I want to let him speak for himself. Mr Kruger has quoted him (out of context) so I will do so as well."

Dr Boraine said he had known Mr Biko well – "he impressed me as one who was special, an ice-cold mind with a warm, compassionate heart."

Whatever the cause of his death, he did not die naturally – he was "killed by a system which is brutal and terrifying".

The system was not only Section Six of the Terrorism Act. It was "the entire dehumanizing white power-structure which declares implicitly by attitude and prejudice and explicitly by law and custom, that the black man is inferior and is to be feared as though he was the carrier of a dreaded disease".

He was proud

Dr Boraine went on: "Steve Biko's sin was that he refused to be categorized – that he was proud to be black without hating or despising those who were not.

"But, Mr Kruger and his government are afraid of black consciousness and that is why they harass and intimidate, restrict, ban and imprison those who dare to reject the labels of inferiority and demonstrate their common humanity," Dr Boraine said.

The meeting adopted a resolution calling for Mr Kruger's resignation and demanding an in-

In a book, "Marina and Nixon",

Oswald was infuriated, his widow Marina said. He grabbed a pistol and said he was "going to have a look at President of Cuba, Fidel Castro, in a speech.

by Mr Kruger and delegates of the Transvaal National Party congress. This, however, was symptomatic of a system which showed complete disregard for the aspirations of black people and denied them even elementary rights.

Mr Olivier said Mr Biko was a person who detested and rejected the system. The role he played was similar to that played by Afrikaner leaders in the past. "When we attack black consciousness we attack Afrikaner consciousness and Afrikaner nationalism," he said.

The national chairman of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrikse, said that Mr Biko's death was caused by the fear which permeated the South African society. What happened at the hall last night was symptomatic of this fear, he said.

Mr Hendrikse said Steve Biko had to die because of his assertion of the humanity of the black people. But if there were ever people who should be brought before the courts, these were the South African Government.

Death and detention no longer held any fear for the black people, he said, because history and time were on their side.

If the pulverization of the black people was the way to adjust society then all he could say was, "Thank God we're prepared to be pulverzied".

Mr Hendrikse paid tribute to Steve Biko as "a man who lived and died for his country".

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that widespread calls for

Chairman of the Labour Party, Major P J Mostert, Wynberg, charge of investigations.

mation and leads reported to ked that anyone able to assist brary CID at 66-3681.

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.

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Mother vows to find son

'Wherever he is I will make a way'

PENNILESS 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.

'Prepared'

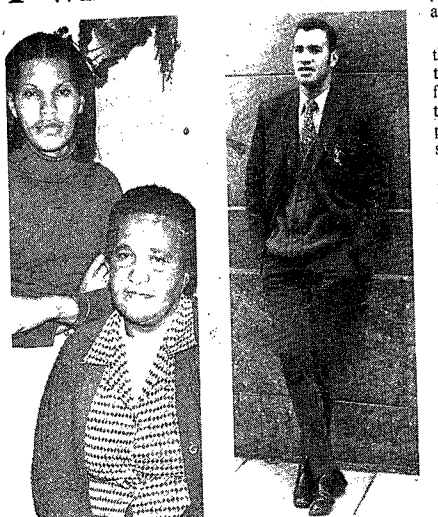
"Now, every time there's a knock at the door or my neighbour calls me to the telephone next door, I prepare myself to hear that something's happened to Peter," she said.

"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.

"Now that this has stopped we are really struggling. At the moment, I have no money at all."



Mrs Anne Samboer (centre), her daughter Lorraine and son Mr Peter Jones.

Mr Jones, 27, graduated with a degree in commerce from the University of the Western Cape and was an accountant for the community centre.

He has never been 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 "tin 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 had 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.

D.D.
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The message behind says: "Wait on the Lord: be of good courage," as Miss Theresa Waller of the Black Sash protests the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

100 attend EL prayer service

EAST LONDON — Over 100 people of all races attended a lunch hour prayer service for South Africa at Trinity Methodist Church yesterday.

Most of them signed a letter to the Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, Mr Kruger, expressing "grave concern" at the deaths of 20 people held in detention in the past 18 months.

Prayers were offered for the Prime Minister, the cabinet, MPs, black leaders, magistrates, judges and police, particularly the Security Police.

The Black Sash vigil in memory of Mr Steve Biko continued from 7am until 5pm yesterday outside the church.

Shortly after 8am a man driving a small truck stopped and placed a placard against the wall of the church. It read, in purple lettering: "We mourn Leonard Nkosi".

Mr Nkosi was the policeman shot and killed at his home near Durban after he had helped smash an urban terrorist ring in Natal.

council, handed on a lighted candle to her successor who was soon approached by a member of the church council and told the candle was not permitted.

And in King William's Town an inter-denominational requiem mass for Mr Biko will be held today at the

Ginsberg Anglican Church, of which the late black consciousness leader was a member.

The service, which will be held in the evening, will be conducted by the Rev. J. P. Ncaca, of Zwelitsha, who was Mr Biko's priest as Rector of the Church of St John and St Chad.

He will be assisted by several clergymen from Stutterheim, St Matthew's, Alice, Peddie and East London as well as local priests.

Mr Biko was a full member of the church and was described by Mr Ncaca as a sincere Christian.

And in Engcobo, Transkei, a multiracial memorial service will be held today in the Town Hall. Engcobo is the town

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A Black who had not heard the Sash vigil with candles inside the church had been disallowed by the church

black consciousness leader, Mrs Mtsiki Biko, lived while working at All Saints Mission hospital. — DDR

Protester tells of threats

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 incitement.

"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. Smal, 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 suporting a huge poster reading: "Kruger's system killed Biko?". He stood alone because if anyone had been with him he would have been contravening 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 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 was disgusted at how "apathetic" people in South Africa were, and at their refusal to "stand together".

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. — DDR.

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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 inquest into Mr. Biko's death, and prosecution should the inquest reveal anything; a full scale 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 his 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.

"Those 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 NRP representatives, Brigadier Curt von Keyserlingk (MP Umlazi) and Mr. John Phipson (MPC Berea), critising pressure groups for not being equally concerned over the death of Detective-Sergeant Leonard Nkosi.

BPC leader calls for day of mourning

RDM 21/9/77

325 detentions

Staff Reporter

THE vice-president of the Black People's Convention, the Reverend Drake Tshenkeng, yesterday appealed to people not to make merry on Sunday during the funeral in King William's Town of the former honorary president of BPC, Mr Steve Biko.

Mr Tshenkeng also appealed to all "organisations working for meaningful change in South Africa" to observe Friday as a day of mourning by closing their offices. He asked all churches to use Sunday as a 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 organisers before midday today.

In Soweto the registration centres are: Youth Centre, Jabavu; St Mary's Anglican Church, Orlando; BPC offices, 5 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, Phamameng, 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 arrest had so far been made, he said.



MR MOREMI
... attacked

Clubs call off sport

Staff Reporter

THREE Transvaal amateur soccer bodies have joined their professional colleagues and called off Sunday's matches out of respect for Mr Steve Biko.

The Johannesburg Bantu Football Association, Roodepoort Football Association, and SA Soccer Federation's Transvaal unit have cancelled their matches.

Federation Professional League and National Professional Soccer League games for Sunday have been postponed.

● A memorial service for Mr Biko, and others who have died in detention, will be held at Lenasia Civic Centre on Sunday.

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 eliminate the "disfunctions" in society. Why, then, Mr Vorster, was Steve Biko banned, harassed, detained and allowed to die in a prison cell when the State could not prove that he was responsible for any single "disfunction" in society?

Mr Vorster went on to say that to diminish these "disfunctions" and to "achieve and retain this condition of balance and harmony ... frequently calls for far-reaching actions by the institutions of authority. Unfortunately such actions sometimes affect some individuals and groups of individuals negatively." That is one way of putting it. Many others would say that to describe action which results in the death of 45 people in detention as something which "affects individuals and groups of individuals negatively" is to try to disguise unpalatable facts.

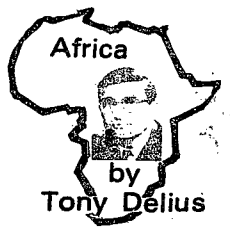
The Prime Minister continued: "The reaction which sometimes follows upon such action, ignores or rejects the concept of democracy that the interest of individuals or smaller groups of individuals shall be secondary to the interests of the larger society." That, too, is an attempt to disguise unpalatable facts. And Mr Vorster shows his ignorance of the concept of democracy: democrats put individuals first, not the interests of "the State" or "the larger society." Further, in what way is it in the interests of "the larger society" that individuals be subjected to banning, harassment and detention without trial?

Mr Vorster also said the government had the task of arbiter, undertaker, deliverer of the goods, protector, watchman and regulator. If so, Mr Vorster's Government is a failure. It has failed to arbitrate a democratic, just society. It has failed even to undertake this task. It has failed to deliver these goods. It has failed to protect those most in need of protection. It has failed to be a watchman of individual democratic rights. It has failed to regulate the behaviour of its servants. In all these tasks, the death of Steve Biko and 44 others is the acid test.



"All I did was to suggest the IRA take over from army and police in Ulster . . ."

Biko's death touches a raw spot



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That was before the death of black consciousness leader, Steve Biko. 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.

Even before Mr Biko's death in police custody, as tough and independent a nation as the French had found it necessary to make increasingly severe gestures against South African policies to improve its relations with black African countries. One of France's closest allies in Africa, Pres Leopold Senghor of Senegal, has 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 Pres Houphouet-Boigny to issue any warnings he might have done.

The fact is that even before this last week's news from the Republic began to get about the continent, the effects of South Africa's handling of the Soweto, and then the Modderdam, affairs were having an increasingly adverse effect on African as well as international opinion. And this was at a time when, as the black states became increasingly disturbed about Russia's 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 us blacks."

It is that phrase "us blacks" which is the important one for South African policy-makers and diplomatics to remember. Identification between blacks elsewhere on the continent breaks down time and again — there no "us blacks" feeling between Somalis and Ethiopians at this moment, or Saharouois and Mauritanians and Moroccans, or Neto'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 white 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 of 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 is thought to be Mr Vorster's proposed new "constitution."

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 wanted 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 had even their pitiable shanty-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 report by Mr Vorster that the black Africans could make use of their one-man one-vote opportunities in the Banustans and Transkei would have raised a howl of bitter laughter from one end of the continent to the other.

And now the death of Steve Biko touches the rawest spot in the 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 was 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 epitomised in the lonely manner of his death.

Nobody in black Africa and further 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 typically a man of Africa. He refused a trip to America because he did not want to seem to be pro-American, just as he criticised 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.

Nothing could have been worse for South Africa's reputation than the ineptitude of the performance before world opinion by the Minister of Justice, Mr J. Kruger, soon after the news of Mr Biko's death broke. His statement: "Biko's death leaves me cold" seemed exactly the sort of inhumane remark to be expected from some functionary of an inhumane system.

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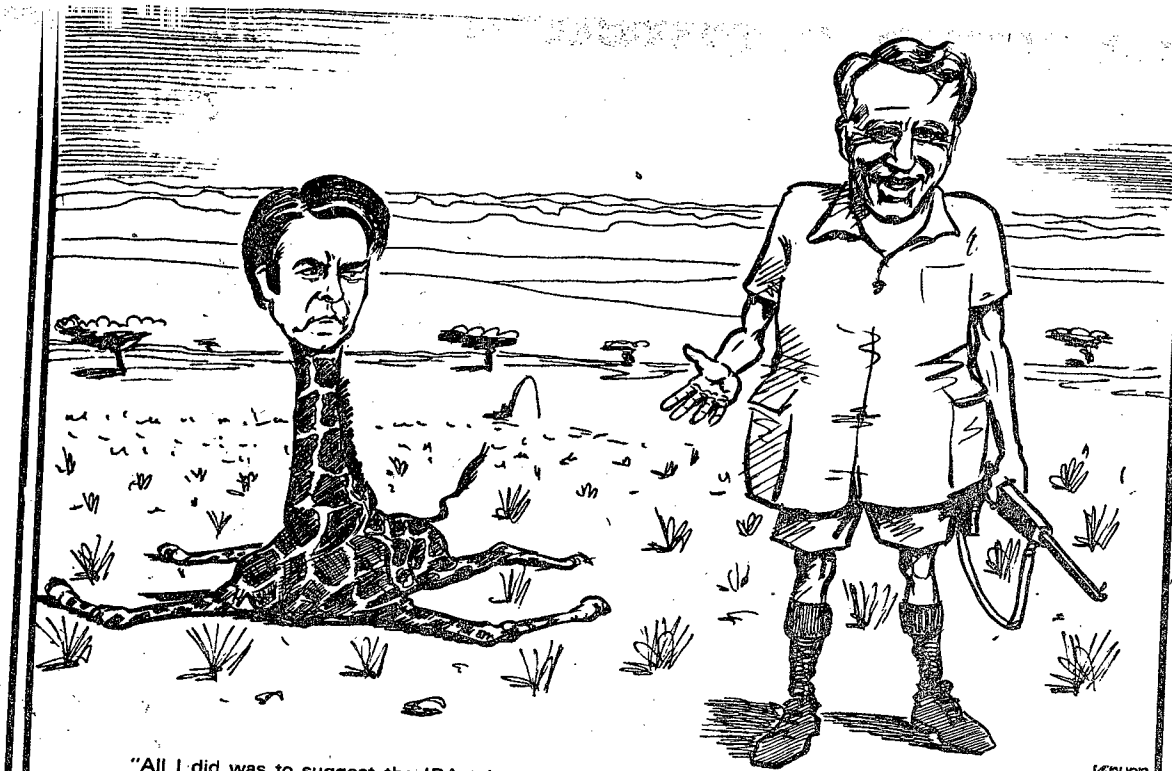

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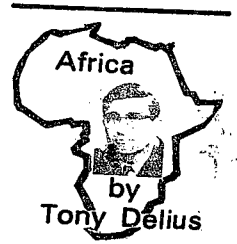

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am not glad and I am
ıot sorry about Mr Biko.
He leaves me cold. I can
ay nothing to you. Any
person who dies . . . I
hall also be sorry if I die
laughter).

But now there are a lot
of scandal stories (skinder
tories) and all sorts of
positions are now taken
gainst the South African
Police. And even if I am
heir Minister, Mr Chair-
man, if they have done
something wrong, I shall
be the first man to take
them before the courts.
They know it.

But what happened
there? This person was
arrested, as I said, in con-
nection with riots in Port
Elizabeth. Among other
things they were busy
with the drafting and dis-
tribution of extremely in-
flammatory pamphlets
which urged peple 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 — assume that
they asked certain things
occasionally, I am not sure
of that. But he did not un-
dergo a long, intensive
questioning from August
18 to September 5.

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 him a chance
for a quarter 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 con-
tinually given to him, so
that he would freely drink

Kruger on Biko

21/9/77 DD

This is a verbatim transcript from a tape-recording of the account of the imprisonment, treatment and death of Mr Steve Biko given by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, to the Transvaal Congress of the National Party last Wednesday.



or eat.

It is very true, what Mr Venter said (about prisoners in South Africa having "democratic right" to starve themselves to death). It is a democratic land.

We are now asked: "When you say he 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 there's a mark on his foot, and there's a mark on his ankle 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 it was there I would have said: "Do not touch him", but would have said: "Call a doctor."

And on that same day, the seventh of September, the district surgeon was called in.

Do you know, Mr Chairman, now some newspapers come and they have really (wragtig) got the cheek to ask: "Why didn't you bring in a private doctor?" (laughter).

Look, we cannot win. That I understand. Sir, I have no illusions about the press on this point, you cannot win. There always will be something.

But a district surgeon is 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 full-time. 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's eye.

That day (September 7) the district surgeon came.

On the eighth of September the man (Mr Biko) still lay there on the mat. And then 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 eighth of 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 observation. Now the press comes. This morning, sir, I think it was the Rand Daily Mail. I am not sure. I made a mistake the other day ...

But nevertheless, the press comes and asks: "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 this 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 the same night he was brought to Pretoria.

Now, Mr Chairman, and the press loses sight of this — the day he came to hospital to the Pretoria Prison . . . he was totally out of that area of his actions and the police action against him.

He is now on neutral grounds. A person can put in 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 and lay him down there. We shall organise to take him to 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 and therefore I do not want to stick my neck out as far as that is concerned. I assume there will be investigations. I don't know. But this doctor, whatever he did to the late Mr Biko or gave him, or whatever, did not know him and 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 that you can see that the people do not hang themselves.

Incidentally, I can just tell the congress, the day before one of my own lieutenants in the prison service also committed suicide and we have not yet accused a single prisoner. (Laughter).

When this man came to look in the peephole he saw that the man (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 say: "Your fingerprints are 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 still. There is something wrong." And they summoned the doctor and found the person 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.

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."

But I say to you as Minister, that I cannot see how we could have acted differently. (Cheers and applause).

Long live Steve's spirit

What do you do in the presence of a tragedy like the death of Steve Biko? You want to hurry to him to ask for direction out of the terrible darkness. And now he cannot be reached with his humour and tolerance and insight and wisdom.

The lovely land which we are going to share, he will now never see. Perhaps nor will we, because one of its most important architects is dead.

There is nothing to say. Good and evil are fully exposed. The vulnerability of a system which fells a man of the beliefs and principles of Steve is made manifest.

Steve is dead. Long live his spirit.

Dr. G.C. Thomas,
Vice-chairman, Border Region, Black Sash,
3 Dew Drive, Gonubie.

Biko

He now belongs to the ages;
Yet we who knew him —
And the high faith in his dedicated heart —
Perpetuate proudly the thought
That, in life, he belonged to us:
He is now endowed with the grace of immortality,
Yet we know that he is not gone,
But waiting
In the glades of paradise;
No departed soul barred from redemption,
But a brilliant spirit
Radiating with effervescing truths
The despondent depths of Darkness:
Like rain-drenched cypress trees we stand —
Forlorn and desolate —
Shedding our tears
And grieving his loss;
Yet ever drawing courage
From the glorious knowledge
That he was ours for a while:
Indeed, he is now of the aeons,
But his mem'ry is interr'd in us —
And tho' his frozen pulses are cruel-pressed by earth
We know that he will live forever
While WE live!
So grieve not, you sombre masses —
HE would not have you cry —
But stirred anew to face the dawn
And 'front eternity!

Louis Mallett,
28 Barkly Rd., Kimberley.

Bridge

During my primary school days we learned that Tshaka's army had difficulties in crossing rivers as there were no bridges. Tshaka, a great strategist, would order a group of his bravest men to wade across. Of course they would drown, thereby forming a human bridge. The rest of his army would then step on their fallen comrades and gain access to the opposite bank.

That is what Steve Biko has died for. He is part of the human bridge to our freedom.

K. Mnonori,
Healdtown Institute, Healdtown.

Fear

I refer to the headline, Biko dies in detention.

Another step towards self-determination? I guess it's one way of securing white majority rule.

I fear for my country when I remember God is just.

E. Weston,
Savoy Annexe, Umtata.

Need

The time has come for an official inquiry to be held into the deaths of people while in detention.

The rate of deaths is abnormally high for a civilised, Westernised country.

Something is really wrong and the whole system of detaining and interrogating political prisoners should be investigated and revised.

T. R. H. White
20 Gaga St. Alice

Essential

When a man is highly thought of not alone in his country, but in many a foreign country, people are inclined to stop and think: what manner of man was this?

This is what is going on with Biko. He died in custody. He was 30 years old, a brilliant man — a man who knew exactly what he was hoping and working for. He could not accept the ideology of the establishment where he felt he and millions who thought as he did, would be less than human persons unless there was a radical change and definite power sharing.

The world is shocked at the death of this outstanding young South African while in custody, and the more so as there have neen previous deaths. A full inquiry by three judges should be instituted to look into what goes on when a "political" suspect (he is innocent until proven guilty) is arrested and hidden from the public eye.

The suddenness of his death, his personal record, his ideals, his ambitions, his birth and residence in South Africa, cry out for a full and just inquiry, and an immediate one at that.

D.J. Hatton,
395 Bosman St, Pretoria.

A thought

An inspiring thought came to me during the night which would seem apposite to our tangled situation in South Africa.

As it might be of some help, however small, in the process of our self-examination I accordingly request that you kindly give it publicity in the correspondence columns of your distinguished paper.

Here it is: All goats are not white goats. Neither are all sheep black sheep.

N.S. Kati, 525 Zone 4, Zwelitsha.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Mabandla: African nation mourns Biko

Daily Disp 21/9/77 325-detention

UMTATA — The Speaker at the Transkei National Assembly, Mr Z. M. Mabandla, said the whole African nation deeply regretted the loss of Steve Biko.

"What is more discouraging to the people is the constant loss of life by detainees. One cannot exonerate the Security Police under whose hands these men have been entrusted," 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 multi-national country will not be accepted by the black people."

Mr Biko would never die in the hearts of those who sought liberation, the Rev Mashwabada Mayatula, resident of the African Independent Churches Association said yesterday.

"He is our roving ambassador — his spirit is all out to set us free," Rev Mayatula told more than 100 black students and workers at a memorial service at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Free bus transport will be provided for Transkeians attending the funeral on Sunday. The Rev P. Ntintili said a number of buses would be available.

Anyone wanting transport should telephone Umtata 3119, 2680, 3444, or after hours, 3205.

Buses will depart at midnight on Saturday from Ncambedlana Methodist Social Centre, proceed to the Bible House, next to the offices of the Daily Dispatch to collect people living in town, and from there to Ngangelizwe 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. — DDR.

Detainee's mother lives in fear

Daily Disp 21/9/77 325-detention

CAPE TOWN — Penniless Mrs Anne Samboer, whose son, Peter Jones, was detained with Mr Steve Biko at a roadblock a month ago, has vowed to find her son — "no matter where he is or in what condition I may find him."

Interviewed in the cramped, one-roomed dwelling she shares with her husband and family at The Strand, she said she "felt terrible" and feared the worst when she heard from a neighbour that Mr Biko had died in detention.

"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 — but wherever he is I will find a way to get to him."

Her husband, Mr Minty Samboer, is an unskilled worker at a motor concern "and earns only enough to keep us alive."

Peter sent regular cheques to her from King William's Town where he works with the Black Community Programme.

"Now that this has stopped, we are really struggling. At the moment, I have no money at all," she said.

Peter, 27, graduated with a degree in commerce from the University of the Western Cape and held an accountancy position at the community centre.

"He has never been political — unless you can say that caring for the less fortunate is being political," his mother said.

She said he regularly gave "every cent he had" to the poverty-stricken of The Strand area. — DDC.

Political set-up blamed

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The death in detention of Mr Steve Biko would go down in history as the upshot of the political system of the South African Government, Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe said here 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 Mainstay League soccer match scheduled to be played in Pretoria on Sunday had been postponed to the following day because of Mr Biko's funeral in King William's Town on Sunday.

A spokesman for the organisers said the Pretoria Callies-Cape Town Strikers match would be played on Monday night in view of the funeral. — DDR-SAPA.

Detention: Put an end to apathy

C.T. 21/9/77 (325 - Detention)

From Mr H H ESSLINGER (Navarre, Firgrove, 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 anachronistic 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. We therefore 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.

letters

Silenced even in death

From Ms A BYRNE (Seaforth):

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 law still stands, so even in death his voice is silenced in his own country.

Biko funeral service at Victoria grounds?

Daily Dispatch 21/9/77 325-delete

EAST LONDON — Top executive members of the Black People's Convention in Johannesburg, Durban and other parts of the country have started arriving in King William's Town to help with funeral arrangements for the late Mr Steve Biko.

The Biko family have asked the committee of the Victoria Grounds in the centre of King for permission to hold the funeral service there.

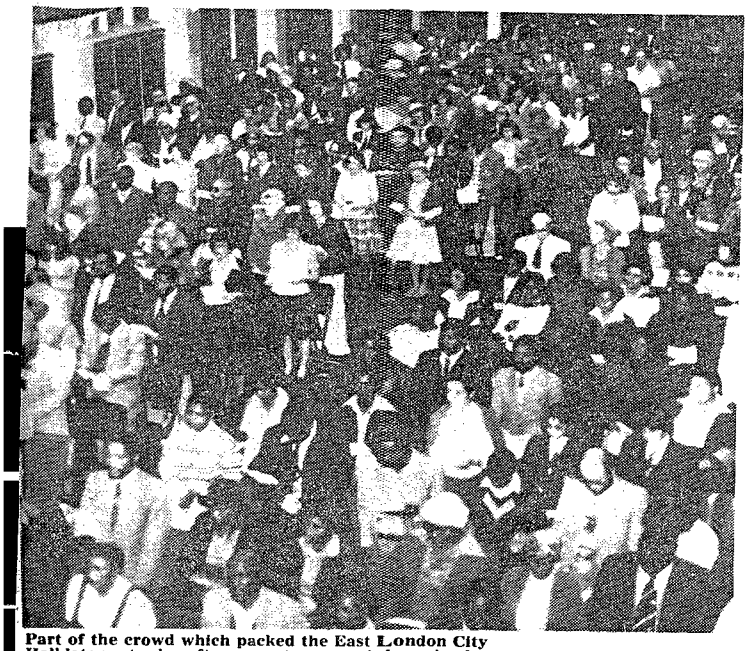
Mrs Ntsiki Biko, wife of the black consciousness leader, said yesterday the family hoped permission would be granted.

Meanwhile the family, members of the BPC in King and the executive members already in the town have started preparing the funeral service programme for Sunday.

Mrs Biko said the priest of the Ginsberg township Anglican Church, the Rev P. Ncaca, would conduct the service, assisted by another churchman.

No decision has been reached by the family as to who this will be, but it is expected that today the offices of the BPC in King will issue a statement on the finalised funeral arrangements.

The family have decided Mr Biko will be buried in the Ginsberg township cemetery alongside the grave of another member of his family. — DDR.



Part of the crowd which packed the East London City Hall late yesterday afternoon at a memorial service for Mr Steve Biko.

900 at service

EAST LONDON — More than 900 blacks, Coloureds, Indians and whites filled the City Hall yesterday for the inter-denominational service for Mr Steve Biko.

After a member of the East London Black Sash, Mrs S. Smith, placed a wreath at the foot of the stage, Fr Ronald Abdo, of the Catholic Church, led the service.

Fr Abdo said: "We

Fr Abdo said the respect and tributes expressed by the people who knew Mr Biko was proof he was no paper-made god or manufactured idol.

The Rev Peter Campbell, of the Anglican Church, who conducted the service, called on the people to recognise that God was for all and that His love was for all.

"I can't pretend I knew Steve Biko, but if by all accounts are accurate then

Call for day of mourning

JOHANNESBURG — The vice-president of the Black People's Convention, the Rev Drake Tshenkeng, yesterday appealed to all people to refrain from merry-making on Sunday, the day of Mr Biko's funeral.

Mr Tshenkeng a to

This death could have been avoided says Sebe

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The Ciskei Government has joined the expressions of sympathy to the Biko family "and also to the political students whose ideas Mr Biko expounded so accurately."

The Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, said the Ciskei and its citizens could not be expected to accept with complacency the death "of another of the sons of its soil in circumstances which could have been avoided.

"I am personally grieved at this because at the expense of my reputation and that of the Ciskei I have always tried to improve the image of South Africa overseas, particularly in America."

Chief Sebe said although at times he opposed Mr Biko, they shared many ideals and beliefs.

"It is unfortunate that in our striving for a future for the black people of this country we should have disagreed so radically over the methods to be used."

Chief Sebe did not believe the Black Power organisations were expressing the will of the people.

"We believe the leaders of those organisations are often sincere, but that these organisations have been infiltrated with communistic and imperialistic elements bent on achieving an end other than that chosen by responsible black people."

He directed an appeal to Mr Biko's successors to make their politics the politics of the people and express their ideologies to the masses "in a language they will understand to be clear of the goals and targets."

In London, the British Foreign Secretary, Dr Owen, was one of the chief mourners at a memorial service for Steve Biko in the ancient crypt of St Paul's.

"This is my way of expressing my sadness for the death of Steve Biko — a fine man," Dr Owen said.

Meanwhile, an East Rand Administration Board policeman was taken to Tembisa Hospital yesterday morning after being assaulted by pupils at a memorial service for Mr Biko.

The man, Mr D. Moremi, was stoned in the yard of Tembisa High School at Kempton Park. He entered the yard while pupils of the school were holding the memorial service.

Mr Moremo who was wearing civilian clothes, was wounded on the head and knocked unconscious. — DDR-DDC.

21/9/77 SD

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gather this evening in shame and in sorrow. In sadness we must face the terrible fact of the death of a young man — and the question why?

"We have allowed a system to grow and continue which judges in the dark."

I'm sure he would be with me in this message and just not for any one race in particular," Mr Campbell said.

Following the singing of two hymns, Rev Campbell asked all people to join hands as a symbol of unity of God. — DDR.

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 atone 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 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?

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."

Mr Woods also replied to the Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem who criticised him for wanting to "exploit" Mr Biko's death.

Rabbi I. Rabinowitz was reported as saying Mr Woods should never have used the word "exploit."

Mr Woods said it was a pity the rabbi focussed 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.

appealed to all organisations working for meaningful change in South Africa to observe Friday as a day of mourning.

The Catholic Archbishop of Johannesburg Archbishop Joseph Fitzgerald, said yesterday he associated himself with the BPC's appeal to observe Friday as a day of mourning.

"I invite all those similarly disposed to mark the day by times of special prayer and reflection, individually or collectively and by other practices appropriate to the occasion."

"I take this opportunity of issuing a 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," he said.

The Soweto Students' Representative Council called on Soweto shebeens and places of entertainment to close from Friday until Monday as a sign of respect for Mr Biko.

The council also called on primary school pupils to stay away from their classes until Monday. — DDC.

Blacks will observe Friday as Biko day

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — All black consciousness organisations in South Africa are to observe Friday as a day of mourning in memory of Mr Steve Biko while many churches are expected to hold memorial services on Sunday.

The Rev Pule Tshenkeng, vice president of the Black People's Convention, said the two days had been declared days of mourning in remembrance of Mr Biko, the dead 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.

But being involved in preparations for tomorrow's 'Big Five' meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, on South West Africa, the majority of missions have not yet made a final announcement on the matter.

Two missions that will be represented are the Australians and the Canadians.

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grass ... isons, but also on its use

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Evaluc ... isions from the study, be based ... quantitative basis, and that different patterns

Il rampait à p ... se tordait, glissai ... ou la cartouchière ... De la barricade ... de peur d'appeler ... Sur un cadavre ... - Pour la soif ... A force d'aller ... devenaient transparent ... Si bien que les ... de pavés, et les tir ... soudainement quelque chose qui claboussa ... Au moment où Gavroche débarrassait de ses cartouches un sergent gisant près d'une borne, une balle frappa le cadavre.

... illard de la fusillade ... fusillés leur leçon ... à poudre.

Puis il ramassa son panier, y remit sans se presser une douzaine de cartouches, qui en étaient tombées, et, avançant vers la fusillade, alla dépouiller une autre giberne. Là une quatrième balle ne manqua encore pas son but. Gavroche venait de dépouiller un quatrième couplet.

Une cinquième balle ne fut pas plus heureuse que ses quatre sœurs. Il venait de dépouiller un cinquième couplet.

Il se baissait, se relevait, se dérobait, revenait, disparaissait, puis reparaissait, se sauvait, revenait, ripostait à la mitraille par des pieds de nez, et chantait sans relâche. Il était la gibecière et le tambour battant de la fusillade. Il était gai de s'amuser beaucoup. C'était le moineau bondissant les chasseurs. Il répondait à chaque décharge par un couplet. On le visait sans cesse, on le manquait toujours. Il se couchait, puis se redressait, s'effaçait dans un coin de porte, puis bondissait, un étrange gamin rôdeur. On eût dit le hanneton invulnérable de la mêlée. Les balles couraient après lui, il tenait plus leste qu'elles. Il jouait avec la mort, il paraissait jeu de cache-cache avec la mort, chaque fois que la face camarde du spectre s'approchait, le gamin lui donnait une pichenette.

Dear ...

Thank you for your application for admission to the University of Cape Town in 1978 where a number of courses would be open to you, varying in degree of ... accurate, (e.g. ten point scale of Domin (Beckking, 1957), six-point scale of ...). I am pleased to accept you for this course of study and if you wish to accept this offer you must return the attached slip immediately. Une deuxième balle ne manqua pas son but. Gavroche venait de dépouiller un deuxième couplet. Il se redressa, et tout en chantant, il fouilla dans le panier. Cartouches épuisées, il se retourna, et, le panier sous le bras, il battit la charge, il battit la charge, il battit la charge

(325 - Detention)

The Cape Times, Wednesday, September 21, 1977 5

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-Reuter

(CAPE TIMES 21/9/77)

(325 - Detention)

Minister criticizes Kruger's 'indifference'

NED GEREF minister om Parow North has iticized the Minister of ice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, for statement that the death of k student leader, Mr Steve left him cold.

The Rev H J D Brand said a letter to the Burger yesterday he did not want to debate Mr Biko's political beliefs nor 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, is it then unusual for the ordinary citizen to do the same?" Mr 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 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.

"Can we not be more careful in our use of words, especially when attitudes are being formed?" Mr Brand asked.

Bisschoff: I won't allow violence to rule

MAJOR-GENERAL T M Bisschoff, Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, said yesterday that South Africa was still a democratic country, and "I'll not allow anarchy to take over".

Reacting to a teargas attack on the Rondebosch Town Hall on Monday night where a protest meeting was held against the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko, General Bisschoff said:



Major-General Bisschoff

"I'm not going to let them get away with it. If people want to hold a meeting they are quite entitled to do so and I won't allow violence to rule here.

"If we catch the guilty party or parties – and let me assure you we are going full out to catch them – they will go to jail.

"I'm fed up with the whole business, and I'm sure it's the work of some crackpot again, but we'll do our best to catch him."

Asked whether he would provide police protection for future meetings, General Bisschoff said it was not his responsibility.

"I was not asked to provide police protection at the Rondebosch Town Hall, and indeed if I was asked I would have refused. The control and good conduct of the meeting rests on the shoulders of the organizers," he replied.

"In my 38 years of service I have never supplied police protection for a political meeting. If I have policemen at the meeting and trouble starts the police will be accused of not being impartial by one side or the other.

"But let me add that I believe that everyone has the right to hold meetings in peace, and I will do my best to see that they can do so."

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 white 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 he ran into me," said Mr Matthews, who works on the night shift at the Sasko 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 Mr Matthews, 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 yesterday.

Yesterday a spokesman for the Mowbray CID, which is handling the case, said the investigation team had "some suspects in mind, but as yet nothing positive has turned up".

Brigadier C J F Pienaar, Divisional Criminal Investigation Officer for the Western Cape, said no effort was being spared to track down the person or people responsible for the attack.

A Cape Town City Council spokesman said the damage to the hall had not been assessed, but was expected to be about R300.

"The damage is mostly window glass breakage. A table was also damaged but we are relieved to find the damage was not more serious."

The incident was the second of its kind in Cape Town in the past few months. In March this year a meeting in the Weizmann Hall, Sea Point, was disrupted when a teargas canister was lobbed into the hall during an address by PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin.

No arrests have been made following that incident.

SA again likely to be key issue at UN

NEW YORK. – Mr Steve Biko's death in detention last week could reverberate through the United Nation's 32nd general assembly session which began here yesterday, Western sources said.

The African group here have discussed a call by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) for a memorial meeting for Mr Biko. The PAC, like another South African black nationalist organization, the African National Congress (ANC), enjoys observer status here.

Sources said the memorial meeting, with speeches by some of the 139 visiting statesmen here for the Assembly, would be held either on Friday or next Monday.

References to Mr Biko were expected from most of the participants in the Assembly's world affairs debate which is to last a fortnight from Monday.

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 Mojsov.

South Africa is certain not to participate this year. The Republic has stayed away from the Assembly since she 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 R F 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 pitch 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, by-passing 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 then. 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 this week's Pretoria talks between the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and representatives of the five. The talks start in Pretoria tomorrow.

RC Church supports day of mourning

PRETORIA. – The Roman Catholic church in South Africa has given its support to a day of mourning for Mr Steve Biko who died in detention last week, Archbishop Joseph Fitzgerald, Archbishop of Johannesburg, said yesterday.

"As chairman of the Catholic Bishops Conference, I associate myself with a day of mourning and invite all those similarly disposed to mark the day by times of special prayer and reflection, individually or collectively, and by other practices appropriate to the occasion.

"I take this opportunity of issuing a 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," the archishop said.

● In Soweto meanwhile, the Soweto Students' Representative Council called for shebeens and places of entertainment to close from Friday till Monday as a sign of respect for Mr Biko.

The SSRC also called on primary school pupils to stay away from classes till Monday.

"This is to pledge solidarity and show a deep sense of respect and sadness for the death of our hero," said the SSRC.

"We do not expect harassment from the police because there will be no hijacking of buses or stone-throwing."

Mr Biko's death in detention has caused the SSRC concern as their leader, Mr Sechaba Montsitsi, is in detention. – Sapa and Own Correspondents

Stoning: youths held

RDM 22/9/77 (325) deletions

Staff Reporter

A NUMBER of Sharpeville High School students were held by police and Security Police in early morning raids yesterday.

The arrests are 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 Tlakula and Lebohang at the George Thabe Stadium in Sharpeville. At the time the youths involved were thought to have come from the black township of Evaton and to have stoned 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 arrests but senior police officials did not know about them. Security Police said that the uniformed branch would have all the details today.

Some of the parents said 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.

READERS' VIEWS Write to:

Biko's first days in student politics recalled

(325) Sta. 22/9/77.

I have just learned, with immense sadness and some guilt, of Steve Biko's death. Sadness because it is always sad that someone so young and 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 unease. It is easy to recognise, this South Africanness — a restlessness, a lack of decision, like birds of passage waiting for a sign that will tell them it is time to be moving on.

News of Biko's death makes one remember. I remember his first days in student politics, some few years ago, NUSAS then, disillusion later, 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 in the end led to Black Consciousness. It is evident now (I hope) that real change will only come when blacks ask for it themselves, rather than have whites doing the asking.

Now at the age of 30, Steve is dead. As Mr Vance says, a victim of apartheid. There have been other victims of apartheid of course, and truth to tell, there will be more. But somehow this one is different. All around the world today, I think, there must be young South Africans remembering the duty that we have left to others.

Philip Middleton
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.

September 16-18, 1977 : S.A.H.U. Coaching Congress
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 : Administrators Course (S.A.H.U)
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

...../4

Star 22/9/77

Biko's fate in hands of police, Kruger—law man

(325 Detainees)

If the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, had been told of detainee 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 Potchefstroom, was commenting on Section 6 of the Terrorism Act 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 competencies 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 would 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 only on Tuesday morning — hours after it had occurred on Monday night.

"I will go into the whole matter and it will be dealt with by men of my department. I will wait for the report and then consider what steps should be taken. Heads may roll," the Minister reportedly said.

EDITORIAL OPINION

325-detention

The November election

South Africa's white voters — and those of Prinshof in particular — have been given a golden opportunity. Mr Vorster's announcement that there will be a general election on November 30 means that on that day the electorate can tell the Government exactly what it thinks of it. In the Transvaal constituency of Prinshof the voters can tell the Minister of Police and Prisons, Mr Kruger, personally what their opinion is of a supposed Christian who says the death of a fellow human being leaves him cold.

This is the great divide election. No single member of the electorate wherever he or she is can plead ignorance. The November 30 election is a choice between supporting a repressive system of racial discrimination that has abandoned the Rule of Law and a potential alternative that will allow every person a place in the sun. A vote for the National Party is a vote for repression and hatred. It is as simple as that.

The electorate should not be fooled into thinking there is no alternative to Mr Vorster. There are alternatives and ones that will be far better than the Nationalist Government. A vote for the alternative is a vote that says to South Africa's millions of disfranchised people that not all whites are racists, that not all whites support the atrocity of detention without trial and deaths in detention, that there are an increasing number of whites who want to work with all the citizens of this country for a better South Africa.

Nearly three decades of Nationalist rule have landed South Africa in a critical situation. Ninety-five per cent of the problems are of the National Party's own making. And now it has the gall to appeal for more support! The Government must be shown that its rule, in fact, is based on minority backing. The white electorate, if it votes against the Nationalists, has the choice between the HNP, the SAP, the NRP and the PFP. The first two ultra-conservative parties can be written off straight away. The NRP has a little more to commend it now that it has shed a few of its ultra-Rightists, but it still lacks clear thrust and direction.

So the obvious alternative to the National Party is the Progressive Federal Party. It has a clear commitment to the abolition of racial discrimination and a return to the Rule of Law. Its ranks include the likes of Helen Suzman and Colin Eglin. The electorate should ask itself this question: Who will produce a better South Africa — Mr Vorster or Mrs Suzman and Mr Eglin? Whose ideas will command more loyalty from all in South Africa? The Progressive Federal Party wins every time.



Mrs Ntsiki Biko (centre), widow of Mr Steve Biko, with the two women who have given her courage in her bereavement. On her right is Mrs Nellan Biko, 83, the late consciousness leader's paternal grandmother, while Mrs Alice Biko, her mother-in-law is on her left. On his mother's lap is Samora, 2. Nkosinati, 6, is in front.

Saso's heavy toll and its message of peace

27/9/77 (325)

PATRICK LAURENCE looks back to a meeting five years ago and what has happened since.



STEVE BIKO

Five years have passed since the key Saso conference at Hammanskraal in 1972. In those five years, the toll of death, bannings, imprisonment and exile has been heavy.

I was the only white journalist to cover the full proceedings of the conference. Since then I have seen its leaders fall one by one.

September 12, 1977, Steve Biko, founding president of Saso, big and gentle but politically tough and uncompromising. Dead. Of causes as yet unknown.

February 1, 1974, Abraham Tiro, former president of the University of the North SRC, smiling and deceptively easy-going. Dead. From a parcel bomb of unknown origin. Blown to pieces in exile in Botswana.

December 12, 1972, Nicodemus Shezi, vice-president of the Black People's Convention, ebullient but serious beyond his years. Dead. Of a fractured pelvis and ruptured bladder after an incident at Germiston station. He told his mother before he died that he had been pushed by a railway official. The railwayman denied the allegation. The inquest hearing was postponed indefinitely.

December 21, 1976, Strini Moodley, student and dramatist, intense and brooding. Imprisoned. Sent to Robben Island for five years, having been found guilty under the Terrorism Act in the "black consciousness trial", Pretoria.

The names of their colleagues — comrades, they might say without the Marxist connotation — filter across the years.

Harry Nengwekhulu, the pipe-smoking survivor, fled into exile in Botswana in July/August 1973.

Jerry Modisane, Saso president for less than a year before a banning in February, 1973 order removed him from office. Went into exile in Lesotho in March/April 1973.

Jefy Baqwa, pipped by a few votes in the election of 1972 which saw Modisane elected as president, under restriction orders since October 12, 1973.

But, in a way, the names mean less than the aspirations of the young men who sought to fill the political vacuum in the post-Sharpeville years without "compromising" themselves by acceptance of the Bantustan policy.

They were the pioneers of the black consciousness movement, leaders in the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) and formative influences in the establishment of the Black People's Convention.

I watched them closely in July, 1972, in an attempt to get inside their skins and see through their eyes.

Black conciousness is a race conciousness philosophy akin to Zionism at its best, seeking to inculcate pride of self without hatred for outsiders. Like Zionism it is a response to denigrating racism.

But black consciousness — like any race consciousness philosophy, including the Afrikaner revival after the Anglo-Boer War — had to move along a knive-edge.

On either side of the edge were the swirling passions of racism, the hate which has its genesis in rejection, defeat and subjugation.

A sage might be able to negotiate his way along the perilous route without once toppling over, but a political movement cannot hope for that kind of success.

It will topple over from time to time. The route is not only perilous. It is lined with detractors who hurl, abuse and provocation.

But the critical test is whether the movement has the leadership to lead it back on to the knife-edge when it slips and falls into the racist abyss on either side.

In my view the conference of 1972 had that leadership, personified above all by Steve Biko but demonstrated in various degrees by his fellow leaders.

I remember one day particularly well. A concerted move was made to expel me from the conference on the grounds that I was a white.

Whitey, asserted militants in the rank-and-file who had not understood black consciousness fully, was the ideological enemy. He must have hostile intentions. Protestations about professional integrity were a fraud and a bluff.

I was covering the conference with a black colleague. But that made matters worse.

In the eyes of the militants it was proof that I, big boss whitey, had come to oversee the work of my colleague, to guarantee the injection of pernicious bias.

But then Steve got up and spoke. I cannot quote his words. Even dead men cannot be quoted until their banning orders have lapsed. But he spoke against the militants. It swung the balance.

The conference accepted that men should be judged as men, reporters as reporters — and not by the colour of their skin. It was a relatively small issue, but black consciousness had remained true to its own tenets.

Time has passed since then. It has taken its toll. Its impact has been to stir the anger which black consciousness sought to control and channel in constructive directions.

Many have slipped from the knive-edge as the politics of polarisation increased its grip on our unhappy land. New leaders have risen, not all of them with the clarity of vision of the men of 1972.

But Steve retained it to the end. King William's Town, to which he was restricted, became a major centre of the black consciousness movement — in the best sense of the philosophy.

I, like many whites, visited its headquarters there on several occasions. Pride in blackness was there in abundance. But never once was I made to feel awkward merely because I was white.

Whitey was welcome — to eat and drink but perhaps above all to participate in rational debate about the future.



ABRAHAM TIRO

CAPE TIMES 22/9/77

325-Detention

Tucsa wants detainee deaths inquiry

DURBAN.— Delegates at the annual conference of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) being held here yesterday passed a special resolution deploring the number of deaths of political detainees.

The resolution, was, however, not supported by delegates of the Mine Surface Officials' Association who only recently joined Tucsa. Mr Robert Botha, general secretary of the association, accused Tucsa of being a platform for airing political views and he said the conference would do itself irreparable harm if it associated itself with politics.

Tucsa's resolution said delegates were "extremely perturbed at the deaths of a number of persons whilst in detention and the organization believed the matter was of sufficient concern to warrant the setting up of a judicial inquiry to investigate the controversial death of detainees over the last 18 months".

- A speaker at the conference also warned that many existing pension funds did not provide security for the members.

The claim was made by Mr A Malherbe, general secretary of the South African Society of Bank Officials, during a panel discussion on the proposed national contributory pension scheme suggested by the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions.

Cough up

Mr Malherbe said: "Every year many pension funds run into trouble and contributors are forced to

3. Higher Diploma in Libra

(a) A candidate for th ... t hold a Bachelor's degree from a university ... ccepted by Senate as an equivalent thereof

(b) Acceptance of such ... Higher Diploma, however, shall be at the discreti ... f the School of Librarianship;

(c) Preference in acce ... l be given to those with some experience of work ... hose without previous experience are asked to obta ... a total period of not less than one month, e.g. d ... re beginning the course in February. This ... voluntary work, but the arrangements for this are the ... nsibility.

If you are currently regi ... y and you become eligible for entrance to the Faculty of Arts, w ... d examination results are made available in mid-December ... be sent to me immediately. In order to finalise admissi ... n as possible, all applicants must submit the following docu ... th January, 1978:-

(a) a certified copy ... rd which clearly indicates the courses compl ... f pass,

keep them going.

Insurance companies merely passed on the deficit to employers. There were some 8 086 pension funds in South Africa and the average number of contributors in each fund was only 289. Such schemes were hopelessly uneconomic.

- Tucsa's general secretary, Mr Arthur Grobbelaar, said Tucsa fully supported the five-point code of conduct adopted by nine Common Market governments for their busnessmen in South Africa to follow to improve wages and working conditions for blacks. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

... ate of ... ply to UCT students).

... r resul ... forementioned certificates will ... licati ... d it will only be reinstated at ... 0. I ... your results will be delayed, ... Unive ... 15th January, 1978 to obviate ... possi ... statement of your application.

... gn app ... ed to communicate direct with the ... atricu ... x 3854, Pretoria 0001 regarding the ... ricula ... r admission as a foreign student ... ct to ... dy Permit by the Department of the ... u fall ... cation, kindly contact Mr. ... lomati ... y, if you are Rhodesian, in order ... inform ... are required by him in order to issue ... ermit ... 3/4) OR if you are an overseas ... your ... Embassy in order to make application ...

Acceptance to a course ... ly automatic admission to a University residence. If you have ... n to a University residence, you will be informed of the resu ... n in due course.

Your student number, as ... erence, must be clearly stated in all communications in c ... pplication, which should be addressed to the Registrar, Unive ... rivate Bag, Rondebosch, 7700.

Yours sincerely,

O. METCALF
Arts Faculty Officer,
for REGISTRAR.

HOM:gm

Daily Disp. 22/9/77 (325-detention)

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-SAPA.

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 Sterksruit 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 Hershel people is that they are still mourning the death of Mr Mapetla Mohapi, the political detainee who died while 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 1976 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 1 pm and will be conducted by the Presbyterian Church of Africa minister, Rev A. Bottoman.

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 5.30 pm.

The mass will be conducted by Rev L. Makasi and the Anglican Church chaplain at the University of Fort Hare.

In Grahamstown, a memorial service will be held in St Phillip's Church at 7.30 pm tonight and will be conducted by Canon Ndvantyi.

Meanwhile it was reported pupils of the Themba 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 men students when they appear in court on September 26 and the

22/9/77
(33) SD

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, Asian 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

UMTATA — Mr Steve Biko had played an important part in fostering black consciousness and it was for others to take over where 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 scars or even the loss of his life. This he experienced. He had accounted for the cost even before he engaged in this 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 Tsepo Leflaka.

Meanwhile, the former PRO of the Labour Party, Dr L. K. Sharpley, 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.

Uns

Envoys to attend funeral

325

Sapa 23/9/77

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 massive demonstration of Western government sentiments on the black consciousness leader's death in detention.

The diplomats will start leaving for King William's Town tomorrow. About 20 000 mourners are expected at the funeral.

In Johannesburg the British ambassador, Sir David Scott, and local heads of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches are to attend a requiem service for Mr Biko at 11.30 am tomorrow in St Mary's Cathedral.

A requiem mass in the Catholic Cathedral in Berea was also planned for 5.30 today for Mr Biko and all others who had died in detention or in the unrest.

Meanwhile, the president of the Black People's Convention, Mr Hlaku Kenneth Rachidi, 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 "Azanian" who wished to attend.

1. ...em meum ...odit, ...vabit, si ..." ...cium ...l patruum ...m nocte ...a plena ..." ...um tuum ...is, roga eum de his rebus et haec verba dic: Caesar, populi Romani imperator, eos qui fratrem tuum interfecerunt puniet, si tu eum adiuvabis." Et ad legatos versus, "Iubete" inquit "milites vestros cibum capere et corpora curare. Adhuc satis temporis ad quietem est. Nemo ex castris excedet donec Vercobrix redierit."

patruus = uncle
advena c. Gender = a foreigner, stranger.

2. Haud multo post Marcus Rubriusque, similiter ac puer vestiti, castris summo silentio sicis tantum armati excesserunt. 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. Arbores undique densae erant, neque ulla semita Marco et Rubrio esse videbatur: Vercobrix tamen lente sed haud cunctanter ire pergebat, donec ad extremam silvam venit. Hic constitit, et brevi murmure amicis rem explicavit. "Patruus meus" inquit, "haud procul hinc in caverna celatus est; sed haec caverna virgultis densissimis tecta est, nec quisquam - nisi locum bene exploratum habet - eam videre potest. Ego igitur inter arbores procedam solus; vos admodum taciti pone sequimini."

sica f. = a dagger
similiter ac = in the same way as
semita = a path
pergo = to continue, proceed
virgultum = shrubbery
pone = behind

3. Nostri in insidias incederant. In tenebris autem nullus erat usus oculorum; nec imperia in tanto tumultu audiri vel accipi poterant. Ordines igitur nostri perturbati et confusi sunt; arma virique, alius super alium, praecipitabantur. Non proelium sed trucidatio fuit. Nostri ex loco mortifero, ut poterant, se receperunt, vel iam per medios hostes facere contenderunt. Plus quam septingentos viros ex quattuor cohortibus amisimus.

2. .../

Biko ready to negotiate rather than confront

CAPE TIMES 23/9/77

325 = detention

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 party could damn as seditious and dangerous.

I first met Steve Biko early in 1969. 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' Organization, Saso, 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 organizations 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 Southern 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 further 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 initialled that particular document on its own.

325 - Detention

Cape Times, Friday, September 23, 1977 3

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 reforms to 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 F 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 insited that circumstances necessitate its retention on the statute book.

"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 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 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, 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."

Biko: questions for Minister of Justice

385 detention

N Mercury 23/9/77

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 inciting 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 or resign.

V. C. ORAM
R. V. TAYLOR
Rhodes University,
Grahamstown.

COURAGE NOT IN DOUBT

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. Konigkramer'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 noms 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 his remark and I invite him to knock on my door any time and I will leave him in no doubt as to my courage.

R. D. McKINLAY
3 Msinga,
236 Clark Road,
Durban, 4001.

- Letter shortened. – Editor.

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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.

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"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. — 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. S. Xobololo, an executive member of the Democratic Party, said no matter how Mr Biko died, the blame would lie with th people who put him in the cell.

He called the South African Government cowardly because they fought day and night against defenceless 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, Umtata.

There will be a night vigil for Mr Biko tomorrow from 8.30 p.m. to midnight in the Ncambedlana 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 passengers must have the correct travel documents or else they would be turned back at Kei Bridge. — DDR.



DR NAUDE

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 8½ 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 8½ 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 said yesterday: "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 has been forced to compromise by eating one meal a day. DDR

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23/9/77 DAILY DISPATCH

Naude praises memorial notice

EAST LONDON — Dr Beyers Naude, head of the Christian Institute, said yesterday he regarded it as a privilege to be associated with the memorial notice to Mr Steve Biko, which appears in today's Daily Dispatch.

"The persons who have signed this In Memoriam have all been persons who have lived in South Africa, or have visited the country during the past three to four years and who, in the course of their visit or stay, came to know Steve Biko.

"The majority of them are pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany, and all of them have been deeply concerned about the trend of events in South Africa.

"The tribute which they express is an indication of the deep respect which they had for Steve as a person and as a leader.

"I regard it to be a privilege to be associated with this expression of condolence and support," he said. — DDR.

Meeting at UN

UNITED NATIONS — The African group here, at the request of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), have called a memorial meeting today for Steve Biko.

Sources said the meeting would be addressed by the PAC representative, Mr David Sibeko, the representative from the African National Congress, the Sudanese Ambassador, Mr Mustafa Medani as this month's chairman of the 49-nation Africa group and Nigeria's Ambassador, Mr Leslie Harriman, as chairman of the UN special committee against apartheid. — SAPA.

Catholic memorial

EAST LONDON — A memorial service for black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, will be held in the Norwood Catholic Church in Umtata at 6.30 pm today.

The service, which is inter-denominational, will be conducted by Rev O. Ngcatshe. — DDR

Pamphlet banned

CAPE TOWN — A pamphlet by the Young Men's Muslim Association — Detentions, Tortures, Deaths — has been banned by the Directorate of Publications. — DDC.

BPC appeal for calm

Daily Disp. 23/9/77

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Detainee's mother tells of fears

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Mrs Anne Samboer, 53, Mr Peter Jones's mother, spends sleepless nights in fear of her son's life. He has been in detention since he was arrested on August 19 with Mr Steve Biko.

Peter, her mother said yesterday, turned 27 on September 7, "but this time I could not send him my customary birthday wishes."

She is in King William's Town for Mr Biko's funeral.

She said she was informed officially about Peter's arrest five days after his arrest and has hitherto heard nothing as to her son's condition while in detention.

"I am certain Peter would never take his life and if anything untoward happens to him, I will know it will not because of his doing," she said.

Mrs Samboer said the news of Mr Biko's death was shocking and she felt, although she did not know either Mr Biko or his family, she had a duty to come and identify with them "in their terrible loss." — DDR.

accord this occasion the solemn respect it deserves.

"Let us live above all forms of emotional and physical provocation," he said.

Mr Rachidi said the BPC acknowledged the assurance by police in the King William's Town area that they would keep away from the funeral.

"All necessary preparations have been undertaken to see to it that Steve's historic occa-

Post-mortem progress

PRETORIA — Progress is being made with the compilation of the results of the post-mortem into the death in detention on September 12 of Mr Steve Biko, the chief State pathologist, Prof J. D. Loubser, said here yesterday.

Asked when the results would be completed, he said he could be no more specific than to say "within a month." — DDC.

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The national president of the Black People's Convention, Mr Hlaku Kenneth Rachidi, has issued an appeal for calm and discipline on the eve of the funeral of the honorary president of BPC, Mr Steve Biko, here on Sunday.

He also emphasised that in accordance with the BPC policy of non-racism all mourners at the funeral will be welcomed, regardless of race.

Mr Rachidi arrived here from Johannesburg yesterday and, after meeting the Eastern Cape executive committee of BPC, issued his appeal for calm.

This assurance is specifically aimed at those whites who have inquired about their acceptance.

"Steve Biko worked and died for a betterment of all inhabitants of this country and it is only proper that those who are positively identifying themselves with the black man's struggle should have the chance to bury this great son," Mr Rachidi said.

He emphasised BPC was not anti-white but pro-black.

"Our ultimate goal is an egalitarian society in Azania. I am appealing to my people, blacks, to restrain themselves and sion runs smoothly," he said.

Mr Rachidi said the service would begin at 9 a.m. at the Victoria grounds.

"On behalf of the BPC I thank the international community as well as the local populace for their unreserved support on this issue," he said.

Mr Rachidi said he had learnt with regret that people in some parts of the country were having problems in obtaining petrol permits to attend the funeral.

"This is very unfortunate and we feel upset about it.

"I must also state that official co-operation in King William's Town has been fair and we appreciate this," he said.

"Lastly, I must emphasise that people must be calm and please restrain themselves.

"The success of this solemn and revered occasion of burying our brother depends entirely on the behaviour of those attending.

"I have no shadow of a doubt the black people are naturally peace loving and traditionally respect an occasion like this one.

"Let us bury Steve Biko with the respect he deserves," Mr Rachidi said.

Meanwhile, the BPC secretary, Mr Thandisizwe Mazibuko, said in Johannesburg yesterday that more than 1 500 mourners from all parts of the Transvaal were expected to leave for King William's Town last night for the funeral.

The mourners would be transported in 17 buses, though Mr Mazibuko said the authorities appeared reluctant to issue travel permits.

BPC offices in Durban were refused permission by the local transportation board for four buses.

Mr Mazibuko said arrangements were in hand for the former Bishop of Zululand, the Rt Rev Alpheus Zulu, to officiate at the service. — DDR-DDC.

EDITORIAL OPINION

3.25 - detention

The political cop-outs

Just what is "political" in South Africa? The answer must be everything. And for that reason people, particularly members of the white electorate, cannot opt out of difficult decisions on the grounds that an issue is "political" and therefore not to be touched with a bargepole. That is the ultimate cop-out and it pretends that white privilege is not "political."

We have seen two examples this week. In East London, the council of the Trinity Methodist Church decided to bar members of the Black Sash protesting against the death in detention of Steve Biko from holding any demonstration on church property because it was "political". In Durban, the Mine Surface Officials Association declined to support a Tucsa special resolution deploring the deaths of detainees because the motion was "political".

The kindest thing to say about these two sets of people is that they are confusing the term "party political" with "political". Party political means taking a stand in favour of a particular political party. And few would expect either the Methodist Church or Tucsa to come out in favour of the National Party, the HNP, the SAP, the NRP or the PFP.

That is the kind interpretation.

More accurate, perhaps, is that people who decline to take decisions on issues that transcend party politics are just plain scared. Their fright is at least part the result of Nationalist indoctrination: any thinking or action outside the framework of the National Party has been portrayed as "political" to scare people from exercising their democratic rights. The other part of people's reluctance to take "political" decisions is that they fondly, but mistakenly, believe their own positions are not "political". They are: the fact that the Trinity Methodist Church occupies a site in Oxford Street is political; the fact that the Mine Surface Officials Association is recognised and belongs to Tucsa is political. The fact that there is not a "black" church in a "white" area is political; the fact that the church council is largely or wholly white is political; the fact that trade unions generally do not have black members is political.

And, for heaven's sake, what sort of state has South Africa reached when professing Christians can decline to give full support to protests against deaths in detention? Have we become a nation of cowards, a society of political drop-outs? Refusing to make political stands may be the easiest way out for the moment, but in the long-term it is hard on the conscience.



The ten per cent election

If Pres Carter called a general election in which votes were limited to the citizens of California, excluding thereby the votes of dwellers in all the other 49 states, the world would hardly be impressed with the result as a demonstration of American support for Carter policies.

Naturally enough, because 10 per cent support does not add up to even a 51 per cent mandate. Anybody can work that out.

What, then, makes Mr Vorster believe anyone significant will be impressed with the result of a South African election in which only a small percentage of the people have the vote?

Once again the nation is plunged into a whites-only ingroup sideshow while the major issues of black-white reconciliation are avoided. And once again the main idea is related more to the special needs of internal Afrikaner Nationalist politics than to statecraft relevant to the entire nation.

Superficially it will appear that Mr Vorster is wanting to catch the fragmented opposition groups on the wrong foot, but his real aim is to solidify support within his own party for what he regards as new policy directions.

In short, he wants more than anything else a mandate from Afrikaners to lay the ghost of the right-wing threat, to cut the ground away from under the feet of the Treurnichts and their fellow travellers and to bury the Herstigte Nasionale Party once and for all.

And, true to the traditional style of Afrikaner Nationalist internal politics, the whole thing will be done in code language as far as the general public is concerned. The real lobbying will be behind closed doors and in huisbesoek meetings.

You see, contrary to the strange myth that the Nationalist dissident is a fiercely outspoken, forthright, bluntly independent fellow with whom you always know where you stand, he is actually a timid customer who shields behind the technique of the oblique hint.

Take Dr Treurnicht, for example. The whole country knows that Dr Treurnicht is a Herstigte by conviction. But does he openly stand up and say it? Not on your kruithoring.

He would never dream of getting up at a party congress, pointing an indignant finger at Mr Vorster and accusing him of straying from the one true path of Dr Verwoerd. Yet that's what he believes. He knows it, Mr Vorster knows it, and the whole country knows it.

But what does he do? He smiles his way around like a Cheshire cat, paying just sufficient obeisance to the Volksleier to gloss the fact that his goal is actually to put the brakes on any



DONALD WOODS

verligte directions the party may contemplate.

He is an ankle-nipper, not a full frontal attacker, and when he does get near sounding like a definite stand he chickens out of the follow-through.

He once said he would leave the party if blacks were allowed on the same sportsfield as whites. But this has happened several times and he hasn't done what he said he would do.

He once said he would leave the party if there was any possibility of "non-whites" being brought into high levels of joint decision-making. Yet now we have had several National Party congresses okaying the idea of a national cabinet on which Coloureds and Indians can sit — and again Dr Treurnicht hasn't followed through his threat.

He has chickened out politically on several occasions — the most marked being the time he helped encourage the Hertzogites to oppose the Vorster line then sat tight while they followed their convictions out of the National Party.

If he had been true to his political beliefs then he would have marched with them into the wilderness instead of remaining to smile at Mr Vorster while nodding to Albert Hertzog.

In a party that professes to despise the political tweegat-jakkals still sits the biggest tweegat-jakkals of them all.

And the main reason why we are going to have a general election is so that Mr Vorster can close up at least one of those gats, if you accept the pluralisation in anglicised form.

You see, Mr Vorster probably feels he cannot publicly kick the man out of the party while he remains in smiling range of official policy, so the only alternative is a rejigging of that policy with the claimed accolade of an election mandate.

It is all so tedious and so trifling when viewed against the larger realities of South African politics. It highlights the gulf of isolation which separates the Nationalist 10 per cent of our people from the real attitudes of the majority.

It explains how Mr Vorster can make the incredible statement that "if you asked one black in 100 before Steve Biko's death who he was, he probably couldn't have told you".

Can Mr Vorster really be that unaware of his black fellow-citizens and how the majority really think? What sort of information do the security police feed back, if that is Mr Vorster's thinking? Does he really subscribe to the white myth that blacks are only aware of homeland leaders? How many "ordinary" blacks does Mr Vorster ever speak to? More to the point — how many "ordinary" blacks would ever tell any white Nationalist what they are really thinking?

The other night I compiled a list of more than 30 names of the most politically significant black men in this country, and I truly doubt whether Mr Vorster would recognise more than a couple of these names.

The greater tragedy is that this goes for most whites as well. Thus we go into yet another general electrion in which the white minority will act out yet again the careful ritual they regard as so important while the masses look aside and suppress a yawn.

Of course the general election will temporarily divert some attention away from more pressing matters — but one matter that will not be obscured thereby is the growing call for a full inquest into the death of the man regarded by most South Africans as several times more important to them than Mr Vorster himself.

And if there is any doubt about that, let a top market research agency conduct a poll among all adult South Africans to determine the issue.

That would be the most significant "election" of all.

Steve the man

The Leslie Xinwa column



Steve Biko is dead and beause of his stature in life and in death and the tributes paid him by statesmen throughout the world, no single man can hope to say enough about him.

When the news of his death was announced all people who knew him closely must have felt great loss but on second thoughts one hopes his death may herald a new thinking on the effects of detention without trial and the subsequent deaths following this ominous practice.

A lawyer friend asked him what type of man Steve was when he was appearing in court in East London on one of many charges he had to face in his short life. Fortunately even in death he remains vindicated in that when the test of justice came he won through every time.

My answer to my friend was: "Exceptionally brilliant. He is a rare species. I have never met anyone like him."

My mind went back to my closest meeting with the man who made many young blacks in South Africa refuse to regard themselves an 'non-persons' but to keep their themselves of what they had been created to be.

I had seen Steve several times but on January 2, 1976, I went to see him at his home in Ginsberg by appointment.

During the previous year, one of many black self-help organisations founded by him, had started a clinic (I have always regarded it as a mini-hospital) at Zinyoka just outside King William's Town.

Because the clinic was not built by the Ciskei Government the headman at Zinyoka, Mr M. Kekeni, would not recognise it.

Whether Mr Kekeni had done this on his own or other government circles I was never able to establish, but when I spoke to Mr Kekeni, he did intimate one of the reasons he did not approve of the clinic was the utter disregard people working at the clinic had for government officials like policemen.

I found Steve home and as we drove past the King William's Town police station he told me, in a typically humorous way, of some of his brushes with the men inside.

We spent a good part of the day and night together and I came to know a good lot about him.

For a long time black consciousness had been another of those theories that were conceived in misunderstanding and hate, I had thought for many years, but by the time I met the man who gave this thought meaning in the South Afrian context I was partly converted to this faith.

Steve was not a man to impose his theories and ideas on one and I think this is where some of the [illegible] who have said some horrible things about him have missed the point about him.

He was a great listener but never failed to express an opinion in the most lucid manner.

His sense of humour backed by his intelligence was a joy to ponder over.

I had not planned to spend the night at the Zanempilo clinic at Zinyoka and we were still chatting in the early hours of the next morning.

He was enjoying a drink and the more he sipped the more his faculties seemed to get sharp and the softer he spoke.

Which was perhaps why I cannot remember having met anyone like him.

But in his death his personality and teachings live on. Some people believe great men do not die, they just pass on and continue with their great deeds in another world

Others believe evil can never triumph over good intentions and that the death of people like Steve, especially in the circumstances under which he died, fulfil the old Xhosa idiom: Kakade kubingwa ngezityebileyo (Only the best are good enough for sacrifice).

Biko the leader



By Prof David Welsh of the University of Cape Town.

Without doubt Steve Biko was one of the most magnetic people I have ever met. Not that I can claim to know him well; but the brief experience of close discussion, lasting over three days, with him and others at UCT left a vivid expression on my mind. It was a conference convened by the Institute for Inter-group Studies to discuss student movements in South Africa.

Steve Biko and Barney Pityana were representing Saso, others represented Nusas and even the ASB, whose delegate was quite staggered at Steve's articulateness, brightness and reasonableness. The papers which had the two Saso people delivered caused great interest in the press at the time, as did their subsequsnt publication in a book (which was banned when Biko and Pityana along with Neville Curtis and Clive Keegan were restricted under the Suppression of Communism Act.)

In those days Steve took a tough, uncompromising line, but it was never the kind of simple, crude anti-white racism which superficial observers have imputed to the black consciousness idea. It was tough, but reasoned, and in its essence not an unreasonable set of views to hold. He spelled out how the impact of white domination had been felt socially, psychologically, economically and politically, and how it was necessary, if blacks were to regain their dignity and obtain human rights, a black solidarity based on the consciousness of a common oppression, would have to be forged.

It struck me then just how comparable of all this was to the drive made by Afrikaners for their own nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s. Afrikaners too, saw themselves as a conquered, humiliated, colonised people, and they recognised their own solidarity — or Afrikaner consciousness — would be their instrument of liberation. It is perhaps this recognition of how potent an instrument was being formed that has led the Government to the ferocious attack on black consciousness.

The tragedy of Steve Biko's death is that he was an authentic leader of the black people. Even in the civil death of restriction under the Internal Security Act, he was, for hundreds of thousands of young blacks, the symbol of a new black man who refused to take it lying down.

For all his militance — and the occasional crudities of expression — Steve Biko was ultimately, I believe, a man who stood for reconciliation in South Africa. His hatred of racism was so profound that to bring himself to accept a "racism in reverse" was an impossibility.

Another aspect of this tragedy is that white South Africans have been deprived of the chance of listening to the voice of black consciousness through the words of one its most forceful and eloquent exponents. I sincrely believe that if Steve Biko had been allowed freely to address conservative groups of whites, the sheer force of his personality would have exerted great powers of persuasion on his audiences.

In times when South Africa is more vulnerable than in any previous times in its history, and when the need for real negotiation and bargaining with genuinely representative black leaders has never been more urgent, its Government is arresting the very people to whom it should be talking.

Ultimately the tragedy will not be the death of Steve Biko (and the 45 other who have also died in detention): it will be the tragedy of a group whose stupidity and folly blinded it to reality and who followed its leaders over the abyss.

Evidence of wide concern 27/9/77

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 about 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 Mvovo's poetic tribute to her brother with shock and horror.

There is only one Son of God, Mrs Mvovo. Steve Biko is not He, nor ever was.

G. R. Morgan,
53 Market St., Elliot.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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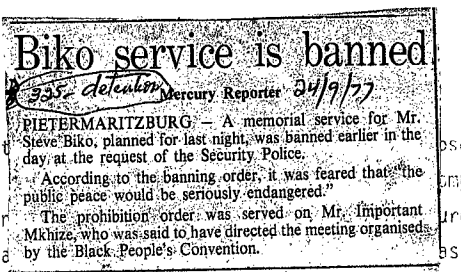
Important

Mr Vorster will have to agree with Mr Vance that Mr Biko is very important, and very important are those on whose behalf he stood and died.

Steve Biko is not only important to the world but also to God whose hand created him out of this soil of Africa. Beyond death his life continues as does those who died like him in detention without trial.

D. L. Diovane,
4833 NU8 Mdantsane.



Biko service is banned

335 detainees Mercury Reporter 24/9/77

PIETERMARITZBURG — A memorial service for Mr. Steve Biko, planned for last night, was banned earlier in the day at the request of the Security Police.

"According to the banning order, it was feared that the public peace would be seriously endangered."

The prohibition order was served on Mr. Important Mkhize, who was said to have directed the meeting organised by the Black People's Convention.

The t stat[illegible] observed proportions could have come [illegible] computed t values are significar[illegible] ure patterns hold in Hanover Pa[illegible]s 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

	FOOD	CLEANING AND WASHING	TOBACCO AND ALCOHOL	FUEL	TOTAL	PROPORTION (excl. 'Other')
Sunday	26-51	-80	2-28	-39	29-98	0,05
Monday	36-37½	1-59½	1-76	2-13½	41-86½	0,06
Tuesday	43-31½	2-35	2-53½	-65	48-85	0,08
Wednesday	46-52½	1-34	3-14	1-35	52-35½	0,08
Thursday	51-65½	-92	5-41½	1-66	59-65	0,09
Friday	130-10	4-61	4-25	3-00	141-96	0,22
Saturday	254-20	10-53½	4-32½	7-52	276-58	0,43
Other	66-19½	6-70½	-	-23	73-13	
TOTAL	654-87½	28-85½	23-70½	16-93½	724-37	
PROPORTION	0,90	0,04	0,03	0,02		

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).

Photographer beaten



A photographer of The Star, Mr Moroe Mosimane, with his broken glasses after being assaulted by police outside Dube YWCA last night. He said two bullets whizzed past his head during the assault. A senior Soweto police officer denied knowledge of the incident.

Call by congressmen

Star 24/9/77

Biko — envoys critical

325 - detentions

Eugene Hugo

Washington

South Africa's Ambassador to the US, Mr Donald Sole, has made it clear to a deputation of 12 congressmen that he is unhappy with the Government's handling of the Steve Biko death.

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."

Also 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.

Mr Beukes

Teargas at Soweto hall

Police threw teargas in Soweto early today when about 300 people tried to force their way into Dube YWCA and claim possessions they had abandoned while fleeing from police last night.

force at the YWCA. Calm later returned to the complex.

A photographer of The Star, Mr Moroe Mosimane, alleged that riot police last night beat him with rifle butts and smashed his camera and glasses outside

Hundreds of wires pour in

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Hundreds of telegrams of condolence and sympathy from foreign governments and organisations and leading international figures are pouring into the Biko family home here on the eve of the funeral for Mr Steve Biko.

At the same time, streams of cars and buses bearing mourners from all over South Africa are converging on King William's Town for tomorrow's funeral service, at the town's main sporting ground. At least 20 000 mourners are expected.

Many foreign embassies in South Africa and a large overseas Press contingent, including TV crews, will attend the service.

It is understood that Mr Don McHenry, United States deputy ambassador at the United Nations will accompany the American delegation. Mr McHenry is the leader of the Western delegations which met the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, earlier this week.

SUZMAN

Also expected are the Progressive Federal Party MP, Mrs Helen Suzman and Dr Alex Borain, as well as Dr Zac de Beer, the Southern Transvaal vice-chairman of the party.

The Bishop of Lesotho, the Right Rev Desmond Tutu, will officiate at the service. More than 100 church leaders also will be present.

Black leaders from the major centres in South Africa already have begun arriving.

The funeral starts at 8 am tomorrow at the Biko home in Ginsberg.

OX WAGON

After prayers the coffin will be borne to the Victoria sporting ground on an ox wagon. Members of the family and representatives of the Black Con-

'Police turned bus back'

Pretoria Bureau

A bus carrying Black People's Convention members from Mamelodi, bound for Steve Biko's funeral, was stopped at the Vaal last night and escorted back to Pretoria by four policemen armed with machineguns.

Back in Pretoria police detained the chairman of the Mamelodi BPC branch, Mr Kanakana Matsena, and ordered the driver of the bus to take the 70 occupants home.

A spokesman said attempts by the local BPC to get buses from African Bus Service, Putco and Bophuthatswana proved unsuccessful.

They managed to get one buus from Mr Pitje, a cinema owner.

Of the 304 people that hoped to go to King William's Town for the funeral only 71 set off at 9 last night.

The bus was stopped at three police roadblocks, the spokesman said.

Passengers and their [illegible] searched.

At the Vaal River they were kept waiting for three hours and were finally escorted back to Pretoria by police.

Spokesmen for the Security Police and the CIB said they knew nothing about the alleged incident.

The Star's Africa News Service reports from Maseru that South African police at the Caledo

24/9/77 Star

Pandemonium broke out at the institution last night when police fired birdshot above the heads of about 1 000 mourners about to leave for the funeral of black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko.

Police said they fired after the crowd had thrown stones and broken windows in the hall. Four policemen were slightly hurt.

Shots came after a refusal by the local Road Transportation Board to issue permits to private bus companies to carry mourners to King William's Town.

CONFIRMED

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 mourners last night, threw four 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 items would be stolen overnight and we were doing our best to safekeep them."

Police, armed with automatic weapons, rifles and sjamboks were out in

the YWCA.

"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 Mosimane said he took refuge in a nearby house.

MP fasts to prove point

DURBAN — With the effects of six days of fasting beginning to show, the Pinetown MP, Mr Graham McIntosh, and his wife, Santie, said yesterday: "We're not dead, that's the important thing."

The McIntoshes have been fasting since Sunday to show that Mr Steve Biko could not have died of the effects of a hunger strike.

Mr McIntosh said he had lost 5½ kg and his wife 4 kg in weight.

"You become more and more tired as the days go on but we usually try and drink a glass of water every hour or so."

Mr McIntosh said he and his wife were determined to fast until Sunday at 7 pm "whatever happened." —Sapa.

Mr Sole 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 emphasise 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 emphasised 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 Kruger for his "cruel and tasteless" comment that Biko had the "democratic right" to starve himself to death.

● It has emerged as the world's top financiers gather 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."

sciousness movement Mr Biko helped found, will be pall bearers.

The actual service at the Victoria ground starts at 9 am. It probably will end late in the afternoon.

border post today refused permission for a group of 25 Lesotho blacks to travel by bus to King William's Town for the Biko funeral, according to a spokesman for the delegation.

RDM 24/9/77 (325) detentions

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 Mr 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.

MARITZBURG. — 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 reports 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 d[illegible]

Paraffin	16	34,8
Gas	-	-
Coal	-	-
Wood	-	-
None	20	43,5

YES	46	100
NO	-	-

TABLE A.7 RUNNING WATER?

	Number	% (of 46)
Cold	40	87,0
Hot + cold	6	13,0

Biko bus ban strands mourners

RDM 24/9/77 (325) detentions.

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.

Mourners who had booked their seats earlier in the week with about five private bus companies turned up last night at 9 pm at the DOCC Hall in Orlando, at the YMCA Hall in Dube and the Roman Catholic Church, Kagiso, to be told the trip was cancelled.

Eleven buses, each capable of carrying about 60 passengers had been hired.

The permits which were refused were those allowing the companies to operate beyond their allotted local areas. One of the companies is Greyhound Bus Lines, which was to transport 120 passengers.

The national secretary of the BPC, Mr Thandisizwe Mazibuko, said he had hired two buses earlier in the week and tried to hire another from Greyhound on Thursday.

"We were told they were having difficulty getting permits," Mr Mazibuko said.

Meanwhile, thousands of people are arriving in King William's Town for the funeral.

At least eight Western embassies in South Africa will be sending representatives.

All of the Big Five nations — the United States, Britain, Canada, France and West Germany — who have been involved in talks about South West Africa with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, in Pretoria, will be represented at the funeral.

Australia, Belgium and Italy will also be represented.

A spokesman 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 be laying 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.

BALZAC - LE PERE GORIOT

XIXe SIECLE

FRANÇAIS I

20 000 may be at funeral

Daily Disp. 24/9/77 325-detention

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 Monsignor 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 Nthato Motlana, of the Black Community Programme's offices in Johannesburg, Dr Farouk Meer, vice president of the Natal Indian Congress Mr Fikile Bam, of the Zinele 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 Mazibuko.

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 Hlaku Kenneth Rachidi, 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 Rachidi said he had heard that 18 buses had passed through Queenstown at 9pm 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 Ginsberg township, near King, he said, while many of the expected 20 000 may have to camp and sleep in their transport.

Mr Rachidi 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 Ginsberg with a prayer by Rev P. Ncaca, of the Anglican Church in King," he said.

Mr Rachidi said Rev Ncaca, together with the Rev Leo Rakale, of St [illegible] mourners will be asked to stand and sing the national anthem, N'kosi Sikilele i'Africa.

Mr Rachidi said other priests who would assist in the requiem mass will be the Rev Drake Tshekeng, the Rev Geoffrey Moseland and Rev M[illegible] 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 embassy and international messages of sympathy received by the family, and the hundreds of telegrams and letters of condolence sent from all corners of South Africa.

Mr Rachidi will be the speaker for the BPC, the King William's Town community will be represented by Mr F. Mabombo and Mr B. Gqaliwe will speak on behalf of the family.

Mr Madikwe Manthata, the BPC Secretary for Labour, will be MC.

The requiem mass will last until 4pm tomorrow and then pall bearers chosen by the Biko family will carry the coffin from the grounds to Leighton-ville, near Ginsberg, [illegible]

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 render public tribute to his memory in a spirit of that strict self-discipline and brotherhood among all men, of 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

(325) 24/9/77

mourners from Cape Town are on their way by bus and tomorrow about 70 students and staff members of Rhodes University in Grahamstown will arrive in two buses.

The chief organiser of transport for the BPC in Port Elizabeth, Mr J. Miya, said yesterday the lists of people wanting transport on the buses had become so long that there had been an overflow.

Pupils at all schools in the Ciskei, as well as at schools throughout the co-celebrants to Bishop Tutu.

The funeral cortege would then leave immediately for the Victoria East grounds where the funeral service will take place.

The coffin will be placed on an ox-wagon drawn by oxen to the Victoria East grounds with some members of the Biko family, Saso, Zimele Trust Fund, BCP and BPC members, in that order, serving as pall bearers.

The service will take the form of a requiem mass and at the start all

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 reverred occasion of burying our brother depends entirely on the behaviour of those attending.

"Let us 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 4 pm to 7 pm for mourners who wanted pterol to return home. — DDR

US protest over Biko

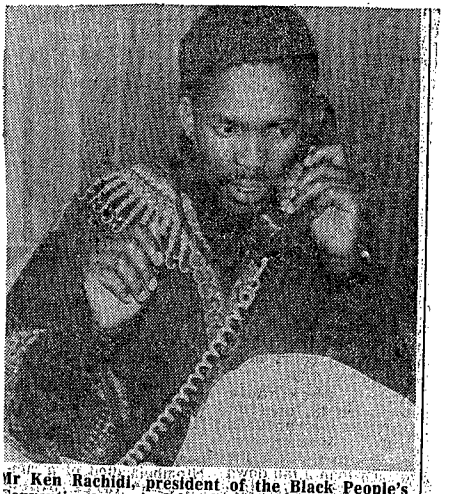
WASHINGTON — Eleven members of Congress yesterday expressed their concern to the South African Ambassador here, Mr David Sole, over the death of Mr Biko.

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 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

We spoke of him as one we knew would lead us
And said, remember this name,
Recognise it when the comet rises.

We speak of him as one that would have lead us
And say, remember this name,
Recognise it when the comet rises.

He knew; Mapetla died before him
Holding out; trousers, towels,
Chairs, walls, doors, floors, bars.
Tools of a dirty trade.

He knew of the others of course,
But he knew Mapetla's hands
The texture of his skin at neck and forehead
His beard, the pitch of his laugh.
Indeed, he heard Mapetla's laughter
The night after he died, when with
Mapetla's wife and all the others
He planned the public use of that death.
There was work to be done, he spoke
Few words of comfort to Mapetla's widow.
How many words will she now say to his?

Now look, an act of the imagination is required
To get at this reality, an act of silence
To hear the pain, an act of fiercest courage
To comprehend the fear.

Try to remember your own death.

Rob Amato, Gosfields, Bromaert Ave, Constantia

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

D. Disp. 24/9/77

A song (325-det)

The following are the words of a song written just after the murder of black civil rights leader Martin Luther King. Nothing more need be said.

Once upon this planet earth
Lived a man of humble birth
Preaching love and freedom for his fellow man
He was dreaming of the day
Peace would come to earth to stay
And he spread this message all across the land
Turn the other cheek he'd plead
Love thy neighbour was his creed
Pain, humiliation, death he did not dread
With his Bible at his side
From his foes he did not hide
It's hard to think that this great man is dead
Oh the murders never cease
Are they men or are they beasts
What do they hope, ever hope to gain
Will my country fall, stand or fall?
Is it too late for us all
And did Martin Luther King just die in vain?
Cause he'd seen the man on top
And he knew he could not stop
Always living with the threat of death ahead
Folks, 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
Full of love and goodwill
Hate was not his way
He was not a violent man
Tell me folks if you can
Just why, why was he shot down the other day?

Jon D. Maytham, Flat 4, 7 Worcester Street, Grahamstown

Who next?

At the Transvaal National Party congress the Minister of Justice regarding the death of Steve Biko stated, "I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. He leaves me cold."

Believe me, the death of Mr J. Kruger would leave me cold. I would not be sorry, but I would not be glad, primarily because I could be almost certain that he would be replaced by another Nationalist equally or more cynical, callous and insensitive. Insensitive above all to the realisation that he and his party are rapidly generating a whirlwind of hatred, violence and misery that is going to engulf all of us, regardless of our colour or political views.

The Minister's explanation regarding the death of Steve Biko, and his subsequent condemnation of the English-language press for making capital of it will have little or no credibility with many South Africans like me who have read with incredulity and disgust the explanations concerning the deaths of too many detainees. "Slipped in the shower", "fell downstairs", "fell over a chair", or "threw himself out of a window", are explanations that can only generate contempt for those who are so stupid as to imagine the public is going to buy them.

Steve Biko! Who next?

And, now at a time when we face increasing world hostility — caused primarily by apartheid — South Africans of all races are called upon by the Nationalist Government to brace themselves against the onslaught and to make sacrifices.

For what? To ensure the survival of a system that perpetrates detentions without trial, and permits the death in questionable circumstances of detainees? To ensure the continuance of a policy in which many of us have no faith, and never had? To ensure the survival of Afrikaner identity? Dit sal die dag wees!

Sacrifices for a worthy cause I am prepared to make. But for an ideology based upon a multitude of lies? Not on your life!

R.J. Porter, 20 Varietas, Matopo Rd, Mowbray

Nation denied

That nightmare vision — the plaited thorns, the scourging,
The agony of impalement, the lungs constricted
By the wrenched arms — has this too often depicted
Horror lost all significance? I see emerging
A [illegible] more bestial, the abuse of privilege verging
On the satanic: imprisonment unconvicted
Dealing swift death, all safeguards interdicted
And very quelled
A nation denied the purging
Of rage at outrage dooms itself. Do not call
It Christian, Western and civilised. These are just names.
Where the kerk squats toad-like with blunted tower
Blot out the text — for love HAS died for all!
Ban the beatitudes! Fling them into the flames!
They spell subversion for the creed of power!

R. Godden, 20 Silver Oaks, King Street, EL

Donne's words

Mr Kruger was reported as saying at the Transvaal Nationalist congress: "Steve Biko's death leaves me cold." He followed this with a piece of typical Nationalist crudity, a form of "humour" which trademarks their insensitivity. The audience laughed.

For his and their benefit I quote the lines of John Donne.

No man is a Island, entire of itself;
every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the main.
Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankind;
And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

Detain John Donne? Maybe they'll try. They cannot. He died in 1631.

C.J. Blumenthal, 167 Main Transkei Rd, EL.

Champion

Steve Biko championed the cause of freedom and self-expression in South Africa although banned and gagged by legal machinery. However his brilliant and outstanding reflections on black consciousness are immortal and permanently inscribed in our hearts, urging and generating us to more and more relentless and sacrificial deeds in our fight for liberation. His ideas and visions of a great and promising future are ours. The struggle for which he died must continue.

He was the man admired in South Africa and abroad for the contribution he made for the cause of justice and freedom in South Africa.

Mr Kruger's reaction to this death has only deepened the miasma of suspicion surrounding the whole subject. He owes South Africa some explanation.

A judicial investigation is needed into the causes of and circumstances surrounding Mr Biko's death and the death of others who died in detention.

Wellington Matiwane, 445 Ndubela St, Duncan Village Ext No 1, EL

Scrap it!

People of the world over are aware of the horror of the policy of apartheid. The deaths of untried men in detention and now the untimely death of Steve Biko, a man of many parts a born leader, an idealist has brought things to a head.

There is one reasonable way for South Africa — a united country where every man is equal and treated with dignity and respect. The barriers must go, and a brotherhood of all men created. White arrogance and official bullying must be scrapped. In a word, end APARTHEID!

D.J. Hatton, 395 Bosman St, Pretoria.

Leader

Steve Biko, who died in Pretoria on September 12 was the leader of the black nation.

Only his flesh is dead. His spirit is still with us. The government is still to tell the whole world the truth.

D.M. Makaula, F103 NU 10, Mdantsane.

We should remember them

Destructive

The Veld and Vlei Leadership Course (DD, August 11 1977) may teach boys many things but it fails to teach them the most important lesson of all that is needed today. That is to love and preserve wildlife and the enviroment in which it lives.

Instead, the boys are dumped in the bush to live off the land for a few days, during which time they are expected, and encouraged to kill and eat anything they see. I wonder just in what manner the poor tortoises and other animals are killed. Some species of tortoises and other creatures are heading for extinction too!

I also hope that they are taught not to destroy or set alight the bush if making a fire.

This aspect of the course is thoroughly disgusting! What sort of leaders are they trying to turn the boys into, one wonders?

(Miss) L.D. D'Ewes

82 Vincent Road East London.

If you were a disabled soldier and had had both legs shot away, how would you fare getting in and out of a bath? I know of several cases.

This is just an example of a nerve-shattering experience which an ex-soldier is obliged to face.

Why is there such a vast discrepancy between the pensions paid to physically disabled men of World War II and those since mid-1975? Why discriminate between the two?

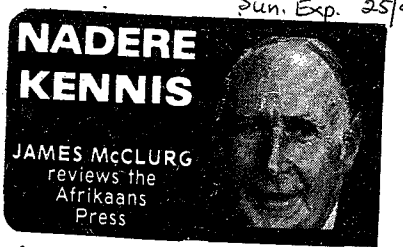
A man spent a year in hospital, underwent 12 operations and was then discharged with a 60 per cent disability rating. Today he receives a pension which, with all allowances, totals R83,54 a month, and wears a corset which is supplied by the government. The reason for the corset is a hernia caused, so his doctor told him, by the extra daily physical exertion caused by his disability.

How can we abandon a man like this and many others similarly disabled? And don't say we haven't got the money to square our conscience! Because we have.

K. Ueckermann, Longvale, Meent St, George.

Soul-searching over Biko

Sun. Exp. 25/9/77 (325-detention)



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, Oggendblad 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 luke warm initial comment, has gone so far as to say that Mr Kruger's statements were sometines 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 "Biko".

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:

Rykie 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 just 30 — was basically not a destroyer but a builder: and, unless I am grievously mistaken, no ideologist.

"It is depressing, therefore — and I choose my word — that a voice like his has vanished from the critical dialogue of our country."

Ds 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 attitudes revealed by delegates to the four National Party congresses. These conclusions, it seems to me, gain additional interest 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 idealism and tasks of renewal", Mr Richard saw reason for apprehension.

"A government," he wrote, "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 dare go, 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."

PROFESSOR Johan Boshoff, former rector of the University of the North, continues to make his trenchant comments on the issues of the day. In his latest letter to Die Transvaler he strongly condemns the action of the Bantu Administration Board in demolishing squatters' houses.

"No Afrikaner worthy of the name," he says, "can justify this action. Let us beware that we do not follow the example of the German people, who remained silent when they should have protested, and later wept copiously over the atrocities that had been committed in their name."

WITH a daring appropriate to his youthful years Professor Nikolaas van der Merwe, a 37-year-old archaeologist of note, has challenged South Africa's cherished historical myth of the unpopulated hinterland.

Research, he told Rapport readers, has shown that the forefathers of Black South Africans were in the country by 300 AD. They occupied the areas that were suitable for cattle and dryland cultivation of sorghum (kaffircorn), that is to say the Ciskei, Transkei, Natal, Transvaal and most probably the Orange Free State north of the dry Karoo region.

This revelation, observes Rapport cautiously, has "strong emotional implications".

Police harass Biko mourners

325- detention

Tribune Reporters 25/9/77

COUNTRYWIDE harassment of thousands of mourners heading for the King William's Town funeral of Mr Steve Biko has offset 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 a large number of mourners travelling in buses and cars have been harassed and turned back by a grid of police road blocks 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 banned people allowed to attend are Mr Mxolisi Myovo, Mr Biko's brother-in-law, Mr Malusi Mpumulwana and his wife and Mr Silumko Sokhupa, a former SASO leader.

Reporters from Johannesburg who arrived in the town last night said they encountered seven road blocks on their way to the funeral. On Friday afternoon a road block was already in operation outside Queenstown.

Mr Kenneth Rachidi, Black People's Convention national president, said last night that he had confirmation that a car carrying Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, an executive member of the Soweto Black Parents' Association, and others had been turned back by police outside Bloemfontein yesterday.

Dr Motlana was to have been one of the speakers at Mr Biko's funeral today.

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 is made of imbuia 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.

Inscribed on the coffin are the words: "One Azania, one nation."

Television crews and Pressmen from around the world have converged on the town for the funeral 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 bannings caused a clash in Soweto on Friday night in which police opened fire with shotguns and 9 mm pistols and threw tear-gas. Nearly 100 people were arrested.

Bishop's wife beaten: Page 3

000 . . . TRY THE TELLYPOT, BAC

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was therefore ex… …can be made of the colour
prints is that the … …f photos, even within the
same run, varied … …me photos is a bright yellow
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providing a great… …ge number of units.
The second is int… …lours with certain objects.
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colour which was … …image.

BISHOP'S WIFE SAYS: POLICE BEAT ME

Tribune 25/9/77

MRS Leah Tutu, wife of the Bishop of Lesotho, who is the preacher at today's funeral of dead police detainee Mr Steve Biko, was among those sjambokked by police at the Dube YWCA on Friday night.

Mrs Tutu said yesterday that her ankle was sprained in the assault. She said: "We were in one of the buses ready to leave when suddenly policemen in camouflage uniform entered the bus, armed with sjamboks.

"I got up and suddenly felt someone hitting me on the arm with a sjambok. It was a black policeman.

"He then pushed me outside while his colleague hit other passengers with sjamboks for no apparent reason.

"I fell and sprained my ankle. The policeman told me to get up, using foul language. As I was in pain I could not get up immediately and the policeman pointed his gun at me and swore again."

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 association types are:-

Hue (ISCC-NBS)	Species or species group
grey-Brown or brown-Grey	Elionurus argenteus - Themeda triandra / Heteropogon contortus - Eragrostis chloromelas
Grey	Eragrostis chloromelas
Brown	Elionurus argenteus - Themeda triandra
Olive	Eragrostis plana
Purple	Eragrostis gummiflua
yellow-Grey	Eragrostis lehmanniana - Eragrostis chloromelas - Cynodon hirsutus



Express reveals early PM report

BIKO'S BRAIN INJURED

Sun. Exp. 25/9/77

325 - detention

'Very long document' completed —and more tests are to come

PRELIMINARY results of the autopsy on Black consciousness leader Steve Biko show he died of severe brain damage.

This was disclosed to the Sunday Express yesterday by sources involved in forensic investigations after Mr Biko's death in detention 12 days ago.

According to one of the sources the damage was consistent with force having been applied to the top left forehead.

Earlier the State pathologist, Professor Johann Loubser, refused to comment on facts put to him by the Express.

He said his final investigation was nearing its end but was still continuing. However, he added that the possibility that the final findings would conflict with the initial ones was "extremely remote".

By HUGH MURRAY
Political Editor

It was alleged by the Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, that Mr Biko went on a hunger strike. The Minister claims, however, that he never said Mr Biko died of starvation.

One source said: "Prima facie indications are that Biko died of severe brain injuries. But of course the actual finding will have to be made by the inquest court."

Meanwhile, senior counsel are being briefed to represent Mr Biko's family at the inquest, and I understand civil proceedings almost certainly will be instituted against the Minister of Police.

Various distinguished lawyers such as Mr Sidney Kentridge and Dr Wilfed Cooper are being mentioned as probable members of the Biko legal team, although I understand negotiations on this matter are not complete.

At the same time, there has been considerable criticism of Mr Kruger for not releasing the preliminary findings of the autopsy.

He is on record as having promised to release the facts as soon as they became available. It is also widely felt that the State Pathologist's interim report should have been published by now.

The lawyer representing Mr Biko's family, Mr Shun Chetty, confirmed there had been "prima facie findings". But he said he was not prepared to comment on what they were.

"There are still histological and other microscopical examinations to complete, and it would not be in the interest of my clients if I was to comment at this stage," he told me.

Professor Loubser told me from his home in Pretoria that he could not comment on the facts uncovered by the Express.

"I am conducting an official investigation. I have no comment on any of the facts you have put," he said.

He confirmed, nevertheless, that a "preliminary report" on the autopsy had been completed, and that the private pathologist representing the Biko family, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, had a written copy.

Prof Loubser said that while he was nearing the end of his final investigation,

To Page 3

Biko's brain was injured — report

● From Page 1

before the November 30 election.

"The moment I have completed my work, the whole thing is out of my hands," he said.

Dr Gluckman told the Express yesterday that the report was "a very big document" running to about 16 pages.

He said he could not comment on the Express investigation, but confirmed he would be spending the weekend at his laboratory working on forensic specimens related to the Biko post mortem examination.

"I'm duplicating all of Professor Loubser's work at the moment," he explained.

Mr Kruger was not available yesterday to comment on the Express's information.

Meanwhile, Mr Kruger has received a tacit rebuke from two top South African diplomats stationed in America.

The South African Ambassador, Mr Donald Sole, and Counsellor Mr Herbert Beukes, make it clear to a deputation of 12 congressmen that they were unhappy about the Government's handling of the affair.

Mr Sole said the matter had been "shrouded with questions", while Mr Beukes told the congressmen it had been handled in an "unfortunate way", characterising it as a part of a "painful affair".



● Mr Shun Chetty
... Biko family lawyer

The criticism was disclosed by the congressmen to Washington reporters after the meeting. Significantly, however, Mr Sole and Mr Beukes 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 to attend Mr Biko's funeral 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.

MP to end 'Biko fast' today

Sun. Exp. 25/9/77

325-detention

BY JOAN TAYLOR

TONIGHT a celebration will be held in Pinetown, Natal, and guests at the "party" will be served only a few drops of orange juice.

It will be the end of a week-long fast by local MP, Mr Graham McIntosh, and his wife Santie. They have invited other people around Natal who also have been abstaining from any food in memory of Black People's Convention leader Steve Biko, who died in detention last week.

Mr Biko, according to the Justice Minister, Mr Kruger, had been on a hunger strike.

Yesterday, the McIntoshes were feeling tired — but had "no craving for food".

They have been taking water to prevent dehydration. According to Minister Kruger, Mr Biko was administered fluids by means

of a "drip".

Mr McIntosh told the Express he wanted to prove



● Mr McIntosh ... no craving for food.

that a person could not die in eight days of fasting, provided he took water.

Mrs McIntosh said she and her husband had lost about 4,5 kg each since they started their fast last Sunday.

She said neither of them felt sick enough to call in a doctor although at times they felt light-headed and went through bad patches of listlessness and apathy.

They have gone about their normal duties, however; Santie as a housewife, and Mr McIntosh getting himself into election fever after this week's surprise election announcement.

The couple, who last month housed 23 squatters from Cleremont after their homes had been bulldozed by the Department of Bantu Administration, have received a number of abusive phone calls and some supporting ones.

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Histerie koel af oor Biko

Rapport 25/9/77

325 detentions

Van KOBUS TERBLANCHE
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.

DIE wêreld-opwinding oor die dood van mnr. Steve Biko, 30, sal nie vandag op King William's Town 'n gewelddadige uitbarsting as nasleep hê nie. Dis die algemene verwagting.

RAPPORT het gister dié afleiding gemaak ná 'n week waarin vele grusame berigte die wêreld ingestuur is soos die een dat 2 000 wittes vandag hier moet sterf om die dood van Biko te wreek. Veel eerder het dit aan die vooraand van die begrafnis op die dorpie gelyk asof die histerie (in gietende reën) hier kom afkoel het.

Polisiemanne, wat uit 'n wye gebied na King William's Town gebring is, het Vrydagnag en gister nie nodig gehad om in te gryp nie, in weerwil van gerugte dat brandstigting en ander voorvalle vir Vrydagaand beplan was. Vroeër in die week was daar wel sporadiese oproerigheid.

Steek daar dalk meer in gerugte wat onder swartes in die gebied vertel word dat die storm môre kan uitbars?

Tradisie

Redes vir die beplande stilswye en kalmte by die teraardbestelling is:

*Die swartes vrees dat hulle heeltemal weggehou sal word; en

*Net familie sal by die graf toegelaat word.

Party het ook gevrees dat hulle aangehou kan word indien dinge sou ontaard en dat hulle gevolglik ook nie by die graf sou uitkom nie.

Ander voel dit sou 'n verbreking van Xhosa-tradisie wees omdat hulle nie eerbied aan 'n dooie sou betoon as daar oproerigheid by die graf is nie.

Gerugte ... 100 000 verloop. Die sukses van die geleentheid hang af van die gedrag van die begrafnisgangers."

Die polisie gaan nie beskerming bied aan mense wat die begrafnis bywoon nie, hoewel hulle teenwoordig sal wees by die roudiens in die Victoria-Stadion op die dorp. 'n Woordvoerder het aan RAPPORT gesê dat mense die begrafnis op eie risiko bywoon.

Die diens begin vanoggend om nege-uur ná 'n biduur om agtuur by mev. Biko se huis. Die diens sal die hele dag duur.

Baie blanke inwoners van die dorp het te kenne gegee dat hulle vir die naweek elders gaan kuier, veral nadat die gerug versprei was dat blankes vandag moet sterf om Biko se dood te wreek. Die polisie het die gerug as belaglik bestempel, maar stem saam dat dit 'n „onvoorspelbare situasie" is.

mense die diens sal bywoon, is buitensporig. Dit lyk eerder of dit sowat 20 000 kan wees. Deurdringende reën val sedert Vrydag en sal vandag 'n demper wees.

Voor die rustigheid wat Vrydag begin het, was daar 'n opgewondenheid toe die dorp se grootste swart lykbesorger, mnr. S. Damene, vir die Biko-familie en die Black People's Convention, die organiseerders van die begrafnis, van dubbele standaarde beskuldig het.

LV's daar

Dit was nadat vasgestel was dat Biko se lyk aan 'n wit ondernemer besorg is. Die organiseerders van die begrafnis het aangevoer dat die wit ondernemer beter geriewe het.

Teen laat gister kon nog nie bevestig word of verteenwoordigers van die vyf groot Westerse moonhede wel die begrafnis sou bywoon, soos vroeër gesê is nie. Suid-Afrikaanse politici en sowat 100 kerkleiers en tientalle oorsese nuusmanne sal wel daar wees.

Onder hulle is nie Volksraadslede mev. Helen Suzman en Dr. Alex Boraine. Gister het eerw. Desmond Tutu, Biskop van Lesotho, per vliegtuig in Oos-Londen aangekom om die begrafnis by te woon. Hy is een van die sprekers.

Verskeie busse en ander voertuie het teen gisteroggend in lang toue op die dorp aangekom en RAPPORT het verneem dat daar lang waglyste is van mense wat nog vervoer soek.

Intussen het mnr. Ken Rachidi, voorsitter van die Black People's Convention, 'n dringende beroep op alle begrafnisgangers gedoen om vandag kalm te bly. Hy het aangevoer dat alle rasse by die begrafnis welkom is, aangesien dit BPC-beleid is om nie rassisme te duld nie.

Histories

Hy het gesê die BPC is nie anti-wit nie, maar pro-swart. „Al die moontlike voorbereidings is getref om te verseker dat Steve Biko se historiese begrafnis ordelik

Embassy man tries to backtrack on Biko remarks

Sun. Trib 25/9/77
325-detention

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 deputation 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 in fact not been critical of the way in which the untimely death of Biko had been handled.

'Unfortunate'

Mr Beukes told me he had in fact said: "Mr Biko's death was an unfortunate event and a painful experience. I have a belief in the system of justice 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 from my notes he said the matter was unfortunate in its handling and painful in the way it developed."

Death of Steve Biko

325 - detentions

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Who killed Steve Biko?
I, said the system
with my little Act of 1963
I killed Steve Biko
and forty others.

Who saw him die? I, said
the fly on the wall with
my little eye I saw him die.

Who read his sermon? We
said the Christians, We
read his sermon

Who caught his blood?
No one, said Jimmy Kruger
I'm not a medical man and
as far as I know no one
caught his blood

Who dug his grave? We
did, said 20 000 We dug his
grave.

Marion Sparg, Athers Lone House, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Inquiry plea

I have read what the Minister of Prisons said about Steve Biko dying after a hunger strike. If he wants to clear his name he must hold a judicial inquiry, not only an inquest. And if proved wrong he should resign. As for the Prime Minister saying most blacks did not know Steve Biko, why were there more than 16 000 people at his funeral?

I would be glad if Mr Jimmy Kruger would answer this question. Why did the police turn back people in buses from Pretoria and Johannesburg who wished to attend the funeral?

J.M. Sende, 347 Mpuu St, EL.

Shocked

I write this letter to express sympathy to the family of Steve Biko.

The death of Mr Biko has shocked all sections of the people of Ilinge religiously and politically.

His death will not stop his friend from carrying on the struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa.

M.W. Mfazwe, 78 Ilinge Township, P.O. Ilinge.

In hospital

I was disgusted to read in the Daily Dispatch of September 27 that Mr Moki Cekisani, 39, president of the Black People's Convention in Port Elizabeth, has been admitted to hospital suffering from epilepsy. It is sad, indeed, to learn that this is his fourth detention, this year alone. Why cannot he be convicted if he is guilty of any crime?

Can a man be detained thrice without finding fault in him? This is terrible! His brother says he is very ill and the police spokesman says he is not bad. One does not take somebody who is not serious to hospital.

In the Daily Dispatch of September 28 it was reported that two members of BPC, Mr Ray Magida and Mr Fikile Mlinda have been detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. The wound of Steve Biko's (late life President of BPC) death has not even healed yet. Why these onslaughts on the BPC?

Unless the public protests against these injustices perpetrated against the black man, the future will be too ghastly to contemplate. Unless we protest before people die mysteriously in detention, our protest after they have died will be meaningless.

Let me conclude with Mordecai's words to Esther. "For if you keep silence at such a time as this, relief and deliverance will rise from another quarter, but you and your father's house will perish." (Esther 4: 14)

Rev P.V. Ntintili, 27 Callaway St, Umtata.

Hope

When a deep injury is done on us
We never recover until we forgive
We will forgive but we won't forget

Our hero has left us
but he went to the land
of milk and honey, of freedom and liberty
Where he rests assured in the arms of Jesus Christ

Something we are saying has struck a chord,
Where one hoped to find liberality,
one finds tyranny instead

We mourn with those that are bereaved, humiliated and injured for the cause of injustice
Let justice be done

Steve Biko
We thank you for your breath of vision, your unflinching courage, your deep integrity, your great
sensitivity, your spirit of forgiveness, your understanding of human frailty, your lack of bitterness

Today Afica is crying
Africa is mourning for the loss of its son
But on the faces of Africans
I can see hope that may last forever
And faith that can move mountains

We rejoice in hope that through your death
millions shall live.
Strengthen that hope through
Christ our Personal Saviour.

Physically you are dead
but spiritually you are alive
Yonder the Mountains of Destiny
God be with you till we meet again
May your soul Rest In Peace
Amen

Fabrizio Trofomo, Ntselamanzi Location, P.O. Lovedale.

Intentions

Black Consciousness is here to stay. Let us all have no doubts about that. Its opponents must know that this is not an organisation whose aims are to overthrow the white government by force; neither aiming to drive the whites to the sea, nor to destroy what has been built.

rom 26/9/77

Naked racism, says Motlana

(325) detentions

By J S MOJAPELO

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 peacefully 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 buckshot 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 people saw police break windscreens of buses, windows of the Dube YMCA and shoot teargas canisters into the hall full of mourners.

The police assaulted people. People found in the bus were taken to Protea to be charged with public violence or under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

'Kruger's vendetta hasn't hurt BPC'

RDM 26/9/77
(325) detainees

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 Hlaku 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 uphold 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 withdrawn 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 Tlhabanelo, 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 Faouk 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 boiling hot with impatience, anger and grief."

Police beat me—Mrs Tutu

By MIKE LOUW

THE wife of the Anglican Bishop of Lesotho says South African police assaulted her in Dube on Friday.

In an interview yesterday Mrs Nomalisho Leah Tutu, whose husband is the Right Reverend Desmond Tutu, said she was attacked on her way to King William's Town for 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 Kagiso, Krugersdorp. They went to Dube YWCA, where other buses were waiting.

"I suddenly heard shots being fired and noticed police wearing camouflage uniforms in the vicinity. A black policeman pointed a lit torch 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 sprained 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 Jan Smuts Airport on Wednesday.

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".

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR STEVE BIKO AT EMMANUEL CATHEDRAL



Archbishop Hurley . . . "To provide some balance . . ."

Horrified by parody of prayer

SIR, — I was shocked and horrified to hear that at a service in the Emmanual Cathedral a horrible parody of the Lords Prayer was recited from a printed programme.

I think that the perpetrator of this mockery should search his soul and ask for forgiveness.

DOROTHY FAIRHAVEN.
347 McDonald Road,
Glenwood,
Durban.
4001.

Archbishop in defence of the service

N Mercury 21/9/77
325 detentions

SIR, — Your report on the memorial service held on Sunday, September 18, in the Emmanuel Cathedral for Steve Biko emphasised the clenched fist salute and the text of the parody of the Lord's Prayer that appeared on the Order of Service.

To provide some balance to this I should like to point out that in conversation with the Reverend Ernest Bartman before the service I pointed out to him, both verbally and in writing, that the Emmanuel Cathedral was offering its hospitality to the BPC for the holding of a memorial service on condition that it was a religious service conducted in an atmosphere of worship and not in a tone of political protest.

Though the clenched fist was in evidence once or twice during the service and although the three other speakers were largely political, the Reverend Ernest Bartman loyally adhered to the condition and was firm and clear in the religious atmosphere he established, both in his introduction and in his final address.

On my insistence the parody of the Lord's Prayer that appeared on the Order of Service was not recited.

Though, on account of a previous engagement, I was unable to attend the whole service, I managed to arrive in time for the last quarter of an hour and I was impressed by the congregation and its attitude of reverence and prayerfulness.

It was a privilege to be associated in this small way with the tribute paid, in the Emmanuel Cathedral, to the memory of Steve Biko.

MOST REV. DENIS HURLEY
Archbishop of Durban.

Archbishop's House,
408 Innes Road,
Durban, 4001.

MISS Thorpe is entitled to her impression of the service. The reporter's observation, backed by more than 25 years' experience, was that the service was as much a political protest as a memorial service. Archbishop Hurley (in a letter published above) says "the three other speakers were largely political."

A large section does not mean, as Miss Thorpe suggests, almost the entire congregation. Our reporter was conservative in his estimate. Our picture, taken of only a small part of the congregation, shows 58 people with their fists raised in the Black Power salute.

The parody of the Lord's Prayer was not recited but, as our report stated, it appeared in the order of service which was handed to those who attended.

THE FORUM
Letters to the Editor

Mercury taken to task

SIR, — The report in the Mercury on the memorial service held on Sunday, September 18 at the Emmanuel Cathedral does not, in my opinion, reflect a correct impression of the service.

Firstly, the head line "Salutes at service for Steve Biko", followed by the introductory paragraph in heavy print "The Black Power salute was given by a large section of the multiracial congregation in the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Durban yesterday," creates the impression that almost the entire congregation participated in the Black Power salute. In fact I particularly noticed that the *small* number of people who used the salute, in either sections of the service referred to in the report, was conspicuous, due to the fact that the vast majority did not.

Secondly, in the next paragraph the reporter said "... tended . . .", when it must have been obvious to anyone that at least 1 000 people were present. I understand that the Cathedral seats more than 1 000 people, and there were a large number of people standing at the back, and according to the caption under the photograph "the congregation packed the Cathedral."

The reporter also states that "a parody of the Lord's Prayer was printed in the programme" and quotes this word for you. In fact this section of the programme was completely omitted from the service.

I feel the report gives a wrong impression of the service, which I personally found to be a most restrained, responsible and sincere service at a time when emotion and bitterness could have resulted in a service which the erroneous impression given in the Mercury reflects.

(Miss) JO THORPE
c/o P.O. Box 803,
Durban.



THE raised arms and clenched fists of th Black Power salute are clearly evident in thi small section of the several hundred peopl who packed Durban's Emmanuel Cathedra for the memorial service, on Sunday September 18, for Steve Biko who died i detention. The salute was given when th congregation sang We shall overcome, an later Nkosi Sikelela iAfrica.

BPC man held as bus is turned back

325 detentions RDM 26/9/77

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.

Mr 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 forget their reference books."

Of the 65 passengers, 31 were not carrying their reference books.

They explained that they had left their passes 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 Katlehong students who were too young to carry reference books.

Three held, says BPC

(325) detentions

Staff Reporter RDM 24/9/79

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 Mahayisa, Mr Ntobelo Moquebela and Miss Ilwa McKay, who were organising buses from Port Elizabeth to the funeral.

Death a rallying point f

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 rumpus.

The controversy centres on the comments of embassy counsellor Herbert Beukes to a deputation of 12 Congressmen who on Friday sought agreement from South Africa for an International Red Cross autopsy 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 counsellor 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 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 on Saturday maintain, however, that Mr Beukes had linked the word "unfortunate" with the way in which the matter had been "handled."

Congressman Andrew Maguire after hearing Mr Beukes' Saturday morning version of his remarks said: "That is not what my notes say and that is not what I heard."

He said there was no doubt in his mind as to what Mr Beukes had said. "Precisely from my notes he said the matter was unfortunate in its handling and painful in the way it developed."

Congressman John Anderson said he had not taken notes but his interpretation of Mr Beukes' remarks was that the way the matter developed and was dealt with, was an embarrassment.



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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

Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Black consciousness leader Steve Biko was buried yesterday but speakers at the moving ceremony stressed that his spirit lives on as a source of inspiration to the black liberation struggle.

About 18 000 mourners filled the Victoria Sports Ground here despite rainy, cold weather earlier in the day.

Many thousands more would have been there had it not been for a large-scale effort by the authorities to prevent mourners from the Transvaal, Natal and Western Cape from attending.

Road blocks were thrown up on roads leading to King William's Town.

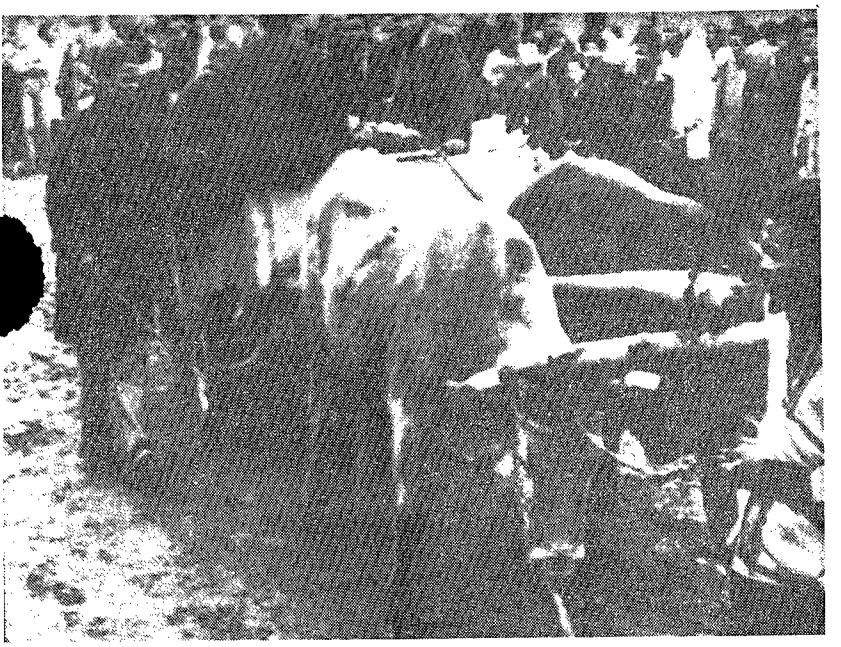
Low profile

One diplomat who travelled by road from Pretoria estimated that he had passed through about 14 police check-points.

Armed police, commanded by General Dawie Kriel, deputy police commissioner in charge of riot control, kept an extremely low profile, as did white townsfolk.

At no time did any uniformed police sho

r Black Consciousness



● Left: A priest joins thousands of other mourners in flourishing a clenched fist salute at yesterday's funeral of black conciousness leader M Steve Biko.

● Right: The body of Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention, is carried on a cart drawn on oxen at his funeral.

...'the spirit lives on'

ne hearts of thousands

Police out in full force

Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN—Police in camouflage uniforms and security policemen mounted 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.

Blacks began arriving early on Friday for Mr Steve Biko's funeral.

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 Mayet, assistant secretary-treasurer of the UBJ, was carrying UBJ letterheads for a Durban member.

Mr Vas Soni, Mr James Mabula, Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, Mr John Mojatelo, Mr Zwelake Sisulu and Mr Ronnie Kweyiall, 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 Ntatho 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.

themselves at the funeral service.

Waves of emotion washed through the crowd as speaker after speaker attacked the Government over Mr Biko's death. To cries of "amandla" (strength) the crowd roared the response "nga wetu" (is ours) and chanted slogans such as "one Azania one nation."

Mr Hlaku Rachidi, president of the Black People's Convention, said that Mr Biko's death was culmination of attacks on the movement "by those who illegally wield power over the aboriginal majority in the name of State security."

Despite strong anti-white sentiments expressed by certain speakers and some of the songs sung by the crowds, BPC leaders stressed that the black consciouness movement was not racist or anti-white and that whites had no reason to fear it.

At one stage there was a brief scuffle on the edge of the crowd when a man was accused of being a police informer. He left the ground hastily.

Many people wept openly, but the South West African People's Organisation publicity secretary Mr M Thabanelo, said times but the five-hour-long service ended peacefully when Mr Biko's coffin was carried shoulder-high through crowds giving clenched-fist salutes.

and count casualties. He said he had come to express solidarity with the BPC and the Biko family.

"We regard your struggle as our struggle and your loss as our loss," he said.

It was better to die for an idea which would live than to live for an idea which would die, he said.

The crowd gasped when Dr Nthato Motlano levelled accusations of brutality by police who he said prevented Transvaal mourners from travelling by bus to King William's Town.

He said the death of one man Mr Biko would in no way alter the inexorable course of history towards black liberation.

Please listen

The Bishop of Lesotho, the Right Rev Desmond Tutu, warned: "People can take so much and no more."

"Please, please listen to us," he said.

All western embassies and consulates in South Africa were represented.

A large contingent of Americans included the deputy United Nations Ambassador, Mr Don McHenry.

Other VIPs attending were Mrs Helen Suzman and Dr Zac de Beer of the Progressive Federal Party; Dr Beyers Naude, director of Christian Institute, and a number of white churchmen.

Three major television networks from the United States had crews at the ceremony and a number of American and European newspaper and magazine correspondents were there.

Steve Biko

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Paper: Ques

812 [illegible]

813 [illegible]

...o and who our true ...aders are.

"This year's national ...nference elected most ... the national executive ...aders. From among ...se who were in detention then, this included ...e president and ...cretary, who were ...cted for the second ...m in office. Steve Biko, ...o was banned from ...C's activities and af...irs, was elected ...brary president for 5 ...ars.

"Believe me when I say ...t half of my executive ...mbers totalling six ...dicated men are ...esently under detention ...banning orders.

"Steve Biko lived for the respect and security of man, his dignity and life regardless of colour. I hope that all of you gathered here shall understand the need for and strive for the realisation 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 philosphy and policy to prepare the white populace for the general election announced recently.

"We also believe that the vendetta on black consciousness is a means by Mr Kruger to try and play down the significance of the death of Steve Biko and all those who died in detention."

Delivering a message from Swapo, Mr M Tlhabanelo said: "Today we are standing at this open grave — not to mourn and shed tears for him, he would not like that; not to praise him as a hero and a martyr, he never aspired for that — but to rededicate ourselves to the long and bitter struggle against racism and all that goes with it, the struggle to which Steve was selflessly committed."

He commended the words of Onkgopotse Tiro: It is better to die for an idea that will live, than to live for an idea that will die."

He said the day would come when members of the present regime would be prosecuted for crimes against humanity just as "up to this very day Nazi culprits are hunted and prosecuted all over the world."

He said: "The death of this gifted philosopher has once more shown to the world that for white South Africa human life is less important than the maintenance and perpetuation of white domination."

Dr Farouk 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."

He said the forthcoming general election would give voters the chance to reject racism.

Mr Fikile Bam of Zimele 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.

Last night in a special statement BPC president H. K. Rachidi said yesterday's funeral had "once and for all given the lie "to allegations that the BPC is a militant organisation, and he added, the big turnout at the funeral proved that the BPC has widespread support.

Speaking after the funeral, Mr Rachidi said: "Despite the harassment of our people, of 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.

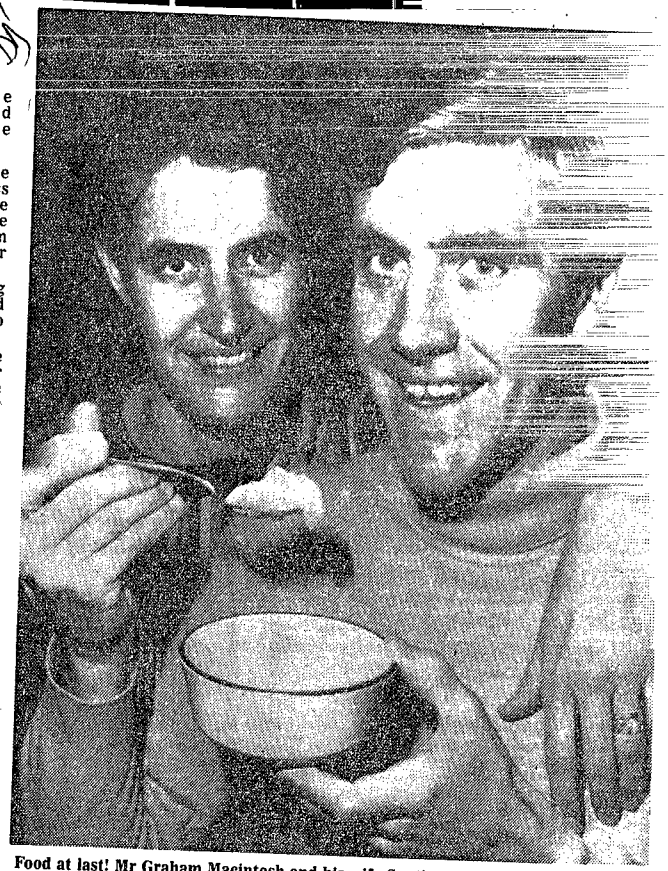
At Mr Biko's funeral, he added, there was double that number of people and their behaviour had again been exemplary and cordial.

"We have shown the authorities we are not what they think we are. Despite all the police activity and fears of violence expressed by some people, we have once and for all given the lie to those who say we are a militant organisation," Mr Rachidi said.—DDR

A few tears in the mud

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — There were few tears among the thousands who tramped the muddy earth around the grave as Steve Biko was buried yesterday.

Even the singing was muted around the grave, but, as the coffin was lowered, there came the shout "Amandla" — "Power"—and the answer "is ours". — DDR.



Food at last! Mr Graham Macintosh and his wife Santie ended their eight-day fast last night. The Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinetown and his wife had been protesting the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

Leadership vacuum fears over death

JOHANNESBURG — There was deep concern in European countries that Mr Steve Biko's death 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 after hearing of the November 30 election.

Mr Biko's death in detention and the "callous remarks" of the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, has seriously affected South Africa's relations with European and African countries, Mr Eglin said.

"In Europe there was a very deep concern not only about how such a thing could have happened, but also the consequences this event would have in terms of black leadership.

"Here was a man who did not believe in violence and was neither a militant or a radical who professed that blacks should live a life 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

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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 Hammanskraal in the Transvaal.

The resolution read: "The SACP registers extreme shock and dismay at the tragic and wasteful death of 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 habeus corpus without delay," the statement said. — DDR.

violence," Mr Eglin said.

"For the eight days following Mr Biko's death on September 12, there was a story on the matter in every newspaper I opened in every country."

In Europe, Mr Kruger's 'it 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.

Roadblocks set up

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Roads leading to King had police roadblocks as mourners poured into the town to attend the funeral of Steve Biko.

An Australian diplomat reported that the car in which he was travelling from Pretoria was stopped 14 times by police.

There were also blocks on the road from Natal and the Cape.

Police in camouflage uniform could be found 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 not one police uniform to be seen in the grounds.

Last night police vehicles were still patrolling the town. — DDR.

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 Matlaupane at yesterday's funeral service.

The Saso president said it was not necessary to belabour the minds and imagination of mourners 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 against humanity by the United Nations," he said.

"We want complete reinstitution 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 permanent bannings and detention of BPC spokesmen, the president Mr H. K. Rachidi said Mr Biko's death was a culmination of onslaughts on the movement.

"Still the BPC persistently goes on with its noble activities for 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

En ce qui concerne l'aspect p ... ltes, j'espère pouvoir organiser l'itinéraire des profess ... ne les universités hôtesses n'aient pas à financer le ... lle sud-africaine à l'autre; toutefois je ne pourrai vous donne ... point qu'après avoir reçu votre réponse.

Quant à la rémunération (qui ... ion de votre Département) et aux frais de séjour (nourritur ... comberont bien sûr en totalité à votre université.

Je suis à votre disposition ... ignement et, dans l'espoir que vous pourrez profiter du pas ... Afrique du Sud, je vous prie de croire, cher Collègue, à ... entiments cordiaux et dévoués.

PP:gh

Biko: 2 students shot dead

Star 26/9/77 (325)

Two students — one in Soweto, Johannesburg and the other in Zwalitsha, East London — have been shot dead during incidents relating to the death of Mr Steve Biko.

In Soweto police are investigating the mysterious circumstances surrounding the killing of William Mdladlamba (15) in Soweto yesterday.

Brigadier Jan Visser, Divisional Commissioner for Soweto, would not comment on the possibility of a terrorist weapon having been used in the shooting.

The dead youth was found near the St Matthews Anglican Church, Emdeni, shortly after police had raided a crowd of mourners.

RAMPAGE

The Star's East London correspondent reports that in the Ciskei capital of Zwelitsha last night a student was shot dead when a crowd demonstrating against the death of Steve Biko went on the rampage, stoning cars and buses. Police would not name him. There were 10 arrests.

The disturbance began after police had broken up a protest march through the streets of the Ciskeian capital, Zwelitsha. The students had been chanting down with death in detention. Steve Biko is a hero.

They then scattered into groups and began stoning houses and buses, smashing windows and windscreens.

One group forced its way into the house of Chief Sebe's bodyguard, Sgt M Paulos. They smashed furniture and windows.

When Sergeant Paulos arrived, he chased the students and fired a shot which killed one of them.

Stop fraternising with 'illegal' regime—call

Own Correspondent
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Ambassadors and consular representatives of the Western countries who attended the funeral of Mr Steve Biko in King William's Town yesterday were asked why their countries still fraternised with the "illegal" South African regime.

Paying tribute to Mr Biko, the president of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), Mr Faith Matlaupane, said it was difficult to understand why these countries continued to deal with South Africa at cultural, political and economic levels.

Among the diplomats present were the deputy US United Nations representatives Mr Don McHenry and the American Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Williams Bowdler.

"I hope that some of the diplomats that are here will convey our horror at the practices of their governments as far as this fact goes."

Mr Matlaupane said the Government's new constitutional proposals were nothing but a "fraudulent device" to maintain the "vicious system of exploitation."

He said to accept this would mean "the rubber stamping of our continued existence as sub-humans, inferior creatures and our perpetual exploitation and subjugation.

He said the hurricane of liberation was storming through Africa

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All whites to blame—Swapo man

Own Correspondent
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — In a surpise appearance at the funeral of Mr Steve Biko yesterday, Swapo's publicity secretary, Mr M Tlhabanelo, said he had not been sent to the funeral to sympathise, console or express condolences to anybody.

He said Swapo believed the struggle was very much on and as such there was not time to weep, to mourn and sit down to count casualties.

The black people should not call upon individuals like Mr Kruger or Mr Vorster to resign as they were just components of a dehumanising and corrupt system.

It was not these people but the whole of white South Africa which had mismanaged the country for the last 300 years, he said.

When South African blacks were liberated officials who had committed crimes against the people would be hunted down and tried for murder like the nazis.

Mr Tlhabanelo said: "Freedom will come to Azania, that is for sure, and when it has come these henchmen of the SA Gestapo will be brought to trial and charged for murder.

"Let those who still have eyes to see and ears to hear pay heed to the serious warning and save South Africa from a catastrophe while it is still early," Mr Tlhabanelo said.



Mr Colin Eglin

Kruger's words shocked Europe—Eglin

325 Detention

Mr Jimmy Kruger's statement that Black conciousness leader Mr Steve Biko's death left him cold, shocked European countries as much as Mr Biko's death shocked the black people of Africa.

This was said yesterday by Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Reform Party, after he had returned from a visit to Europe, Israel and several African states.

Mr Eglin was referring to the Minister of Justice's comment made on September 14 to the Nationalist congress meeting.

Mr Kruger told the congress he was not sorry, nor was he pleased about Mr Biko's death. He said it left him cold.

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.

"Here was a man who, seen from an African point of view was not a militant or a radical. He did not believe in violence.

"He had a strong point of view that blacks should lead a life free from discrimination. He was seen by people from outside South Africa as a leader of stature and what worries people now is that Biko's death may create a leadership vacuum.

"And that this leadership vacuum may be filled by a more radical leader," Mr Eglin added.

Mr Eglin said that Mr Vorster's announcement of a snap general election has surprised many leaders in Europe and Africa.

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A family mourns — Mrs Biko and son Samora.

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 calm 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 Ncaca of Zwelitsha, Bishop J. Murphy of Port Elizabeth and Monsignor D. J. Hatton, representing the Vatican.

Others who attended included Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, Dr Alex Boraine, MP, and Dr Z. 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. Briceland, 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 scattered 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 Ginsberg 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, racial reconciliation and love.

At the start of the day hundreds of people went to the Biko home in Ginsberg where Mr Biko lay in an open coffin wearing a gold and black shroud — the BPC colours.

His body was brought to the Victoria Grounds on an ox-drawn wagon and the coffin carried into the ground shoulder high by leaders of the Black Peoples Convention.

Carved on the coffin were maps of Africa, the words "Steve Biko, God be with you, BPC," the symbol of the BPC — hands snapping a chain — and a likeness of Mr Biko's face.

Speakers emphasised that Mr Biko's death had not been in vain and that black consciousness would be strengthened.

The chairman of the Zimele Trust, Mr F. Bam, told the crowd that "the champion of self-restraint is lying dead here." He and several other 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 Bam 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 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-racialism. You shall be protected whatever your colour."

They came in their thousands to mourn

All calm as thousands pay tribute

DD 26/9/77
325-detentions

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — They came in their thousands to this former capital of British Kaffraria, more than doubling its normal population of 16 000.

Wearing everything from colourful Afro shirts and dresses to formal suits to denim, they had travelled — many of them hundreds of kilometres — to pay their last respects to Steve Biko and, in the words of one speaker, to rededicate themselves to the struggle for freedom.

The faces were predominantly black, but there were a significant number of white faces also mourning the death in detention of the founder of black consciousness in South Africa.

It was a tense, emotional crowd of 15 000 that packed the Victoria Grounds. There were moments of high tension, but there were no incidents as speaker after speaker emphasised that Steve Biko had stood for non-racialism, love and peace.

It was an occasion for mourning, for sad Xhosa hymns, for prayer, for political rhetoric, for solidarity, for tears as the coffin containing the body was carried into the grounds.

The coffin had been borne by ox wagon from the Biko home in Ginsberg township. Through the gates of the Victoria Ground it was carried in on the shoulders of a dozen black consciousness leaders wearing their distinctive gold shirts with black lining.

A dozen clerics walked ahead, one carrying a golden cross. Behind the coffin the gold and black banner of the Black People's Convention waved in the chill wind.

As the coffin entered the grounds through a long and dense avenue of people, the crowd began to sing Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika. The singing went on and the anthem was repeated as the procession made its slow way to the wooden platform erected for the occasion in front of the main stand.

On the stand and on the wet grass in front of it were the wreaths, which had come from the Black Women's Federation, and from diplomatic representatives of countries all over the world as well as from the American Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Andrew Young.

Also on the stand were more than a dozen clerics of different denominations. In front were others, black and white.

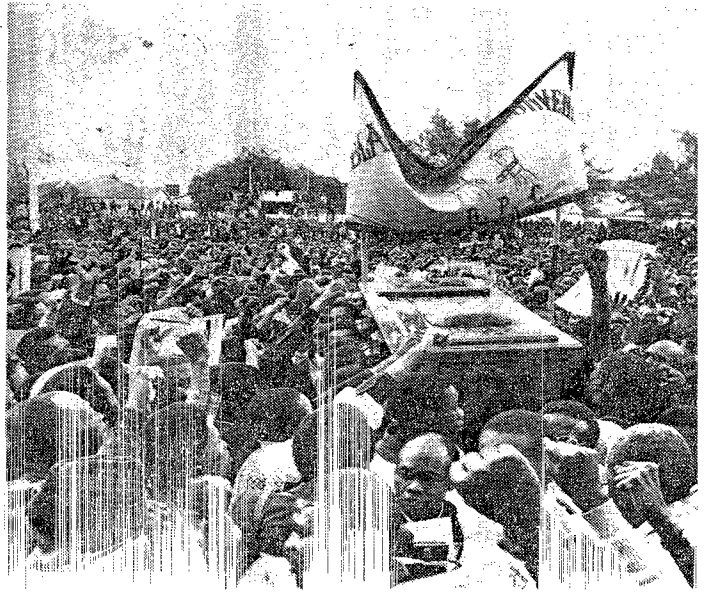
Crowding in front of the stand were representatives of the world press and at least half a dozen television crews — from the BBC, CBS in the United States, ITN in Britain, the SABC and others.

The smell of incense drifted over the crowd in front of the platform on which was laid the hand-carved coffin containing the body of Steve Biko. On one side of the coffin were the words: "One Azania: one nation."

High Mass began and members of the Biko family took communion. Then the speeches began. There were militant words, angry words, sorrowful words, words of Christian hope. But always the speakers returned to a common theme — Steve Biko was not a racist, he stood for peace and reconciliation. A total of 15 000 voices raised their arms the clenched fist salut "Amandla" and th response from the crow "Amandla ngawethu echoed from 15 0 throats.

During one spee there were angry mu murs from one section the crowd. But from th platform came an appe for calm and BP stewards in the gold a black shirts moved o into the crowd. It was over in a few minutes. A from that mome midway through th proceedings there w never one further hint trouble.

And then it was ove The coffin was carri shoulder high by leade of the black consciousne movement which Ste Biko had founded. It w buried in Leightonvil cemetery in Ginsberg. Ste Biko was laid to rest. DDR.



Pretoria quiet

rom 26/9/77

(325) detentions

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.

Nor 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 Star
Monday September 26 1977

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 re-affirmation 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 funeral from the Transvaal?

At the YWCA in Soweto they set upon assembling crowds for no apparent reason. Sjamboks 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.

EDITORIAL OPINION

325 - detentions

Funeral calm was tribute

The Biko funeral is over, and all concerned with the arrangements are to be congratulated on the calm and discipline which prevailed throughout the ceremony.

Thanks to the respectful attitude of the large crowd of mourners, no unpleasant incident marred the last tributes paid to a truly great man.

The local police,too, are to be commended for their tactful handling of the situation in King William's Town, staying out of sight of the ceremony at all times and not obtruding in circumstances of the utmost sensitivity. This was a fine example of crowd control resulting from co-operation and understanding between BPC officials and the officers of the Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier Smal.

Although the large crowd at the Victoria Grounds included several hundred whites, there was no anti-white incident and speakers made members of all race groups welcome, and although emotions were obviously high, a general spirit of good humour prevailed.

We need add no more to all the tributes paid at the funeral to the memory of Steve Biko. His contribution to the country was the summation of his attitudes, writings and philosophy in a remarkable career cut short at the age of only 30. What remains to be done next is to determine exactly what caused his death, and for this we must await the post-mortem findings and the inquest.

Now that grief has been expressed, culminating in his burial, we must await these findings with equal calm and patience. We understand the frustration of many mourners who were prevented from travelling from many points to King William's Town for the funeral, and we seriously question the wisdom of preventing such a legitimate purpose, but nevertheless the burial is now over and that chapter of Steve Biko's physical life over.

It is regrettable that violence related to local political rivalries in Zwelitsha nearly disrupted the calm attitude on the eve of the funeral, and that there was also some violence in Mdantsane last night.

Such violence should cease immediately, out of respect for the honoured dead, because there will be certain elements all too ready to allege a link between these incidents and Biko followers, and this would create a tragically unfair impression.

The message of peace, non-violence and inter-racial reconciliation was spelt out loud and clear at yesterday's funeral, and the sooner this message is heeded by all, the better.



"Dhlamini was always pretty strong on the leg side ..."

Rachidi woos hom

JU KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A plea for black unity was made yesterday by Mr Hlaku Rachidi, president of the Black People's Convention when he spoke at the funeral of black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

He called on homeland leaders to resign and said the BPC would then receive them with open hearts.

"Black people need no more evidence than the example of the so-called independent Transkei, he said.

"Looking at Transkei, we see human misery," he said.

These tribal leaders participating on government platforms are seen as promoters and collaborators and their role will always be seen as that of sellouts.

"On behalf of the BPC I appeal to these men to do some soul searching and realise the cul de sac they are heading for. The time to quit is now.

"The BPC will receive those who see the light with open hands and hearts.

"I am convinced that there are those who can gauge what Steve Biko did and advocated and what they are doing and advocating.

"Let's face it, the time to be solidified is now. The time to be united is now. Azania is one country — total and indivisible."

Mr Rachidi said Mr Biko had died in the cause of uniting black people.

"We vow to carry the yoke he raised on our shoulder. We will not rest in peace until the noble cause for which one of the greatest sons of Azania died is realised."

Mr Rachidi said the BPC regarded Mr Biko's death as a culmination of the attacks on the movement by the authorities.

Rand Daily Mail 26/9/77

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(iii) Meeting of club coaches and/or Coaching

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8. Arrange visit by Horst Wein in April for 4 days to run:

(i) Indoor clinic for juniors.

(ii) Coaching clinic for schoolmasters

(iii) Meeting of club coaches and/or Coaching

(iv) coaching clinic for senior players and coaches;

9. Secure services of an overseas international coach for 4 months

Johannesburg, 16th to 18th September, 1977.

African Hockey Union at the Annual Coaching Congress held in

Colorado in January. The Indian Congress

and the Transvaal Hockey Council to [illegible]

Resistance Campaign of 1952. Indians and African played a major role

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co-operation became most effective in the planning of the Passive

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HOM: gm

(Secretary)

(7)

26/4/77 RDM



Part of the multiracial crowd of 20 000 people who listened to angry speeches, sorrowful speeches and words of hope spoken ov the coffin of Black Consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko. Envoys from 12 countries attended the funeral service in Ginsberg townsh outside King William's Town.

(325) detention

Raided club mops up

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 searching their houses said: "Where's Steve Biko?" Some claimed police fed their dogs with chickens belonging to mourners.

In one house 28 fleeing mourners were said to have taken refuge. Many lay hidden on rooftops and scuttled away as police patrols abated. 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 midday on Saturday. They claimed to be guarding mourners' possessions from looters.

Mr Dukuza kaMacu, 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 Moerans, ex-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: "Someone told me not to go to the buses as there was trouble." After he was struck, he said he ducked under cars and saw flashes as guns were fired and heard glass shattering.

A Soweto police spokesman last night described claims that police had broken bus windscreens and windows at the centre as "untrue" and "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 if there was anything in it the people could lay charges which would be investigated.

World's Press at funeral

Rand Daily Mail 14/9/77

325 delegations

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.

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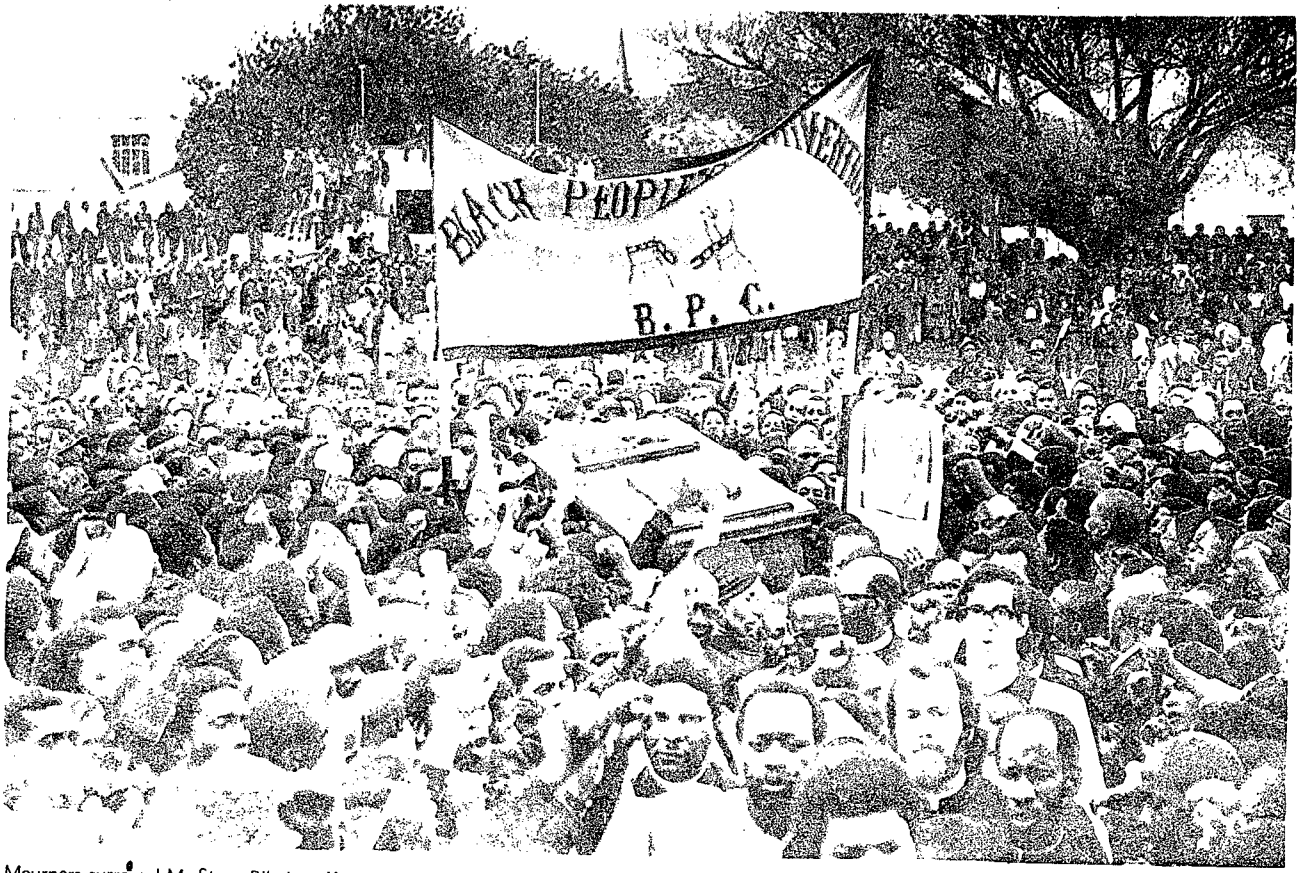
225 - detentions

RDM 26/9/77 (325) detentions

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 Move-
ment leaders

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE founder of Black Consciousness, Mr Steve Biko, was buried in King William's Town yesterday to mass shouts of "One Azania — one nation" and clenched fist salutes.

A crowd of about 20 000 paid homage to the dead leader during a four-hour Requiem Mass and a short ceremony at Leightonville Cemetery in Ginsberg Township.

There were tense moments when mourners' sorrow threatened to turn to anger.

One was when a black man and a white man were thought to be Security Policemen. Their use of a tape recorder triggered the anger.

Another was during a speech by Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, when he accused the police of using "naked brutality" to prevent Soweto blacks attending the funeral.

In both instances, officials of the Black People's Convention (BPC) moved swiftly to still the anger and remind people that Mr Biko was a man of peace.

A stage which family mourners and diplomatic guests were using partly collapsed, but no one was hurt.

The police, under the command of Major-General Dawid Kriel, the riot police chief, kept a discreet distance from the funeral service.

The day began with hundreds of people going to the Biko home in Ginsberg, where Mr Biko was lying in an open coffin dressed in a gold shroud edged in black — the BPC colours.

Among the visitors was Mr Don McHenry, the deputy United States Ambassador to the United Nations. The American flag on his car was at half-mast.

Mr Biko's body was brought from his home to the funeral service on an ox-drawn wagon.

Sculpted on top of the coffin was a carving of Mr Biko, and the words: "Steve Biko, God be with you, BPC". Sculpted on the sides were maps of Africa, and hands snapping a chain — the BPC symbol.

Thousands of fists were raised in salute as the crowd sang "Nkosi Sikelele i' Afrika" in Xhosa and Sotho. Cries of "One Azania — one nation" — the BPC slogan — followed.

Political aspirations were blended with religious sentiments in the ceremony before members of the Biko family, including his wife, Mrs Ntsiki Biko and his mother, Mrs Alice Biko, took communion.

"We salute all those who stood solidly in the fight for freedom," one priest said. "Lord, we are sure we shall win because You are on our side."

After the communion, several leaders of the Black Conciousness Movement, among them Mr Hlaki Rachidi, the president, made speeches.

A common theme of many of the addresses was the conviction that Mr Biko had not died in vain — that his death would strengthen the power and influence of the Black Consciousness Movement.

"We are spurred on to redouble our efforts to continue the struggle," Mr Fikila Bam, chairman of the Zimele Trust Fund and an ex-Robben Island prisoner, told the crowd.

But, they were warned, "the struggle on the road to freedom" would demand sacrifices.

Another theme in the speeches was the rejection of homeland leaders as "sellouts", "puppets" and "toys".

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei, Chief Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana were the chief targets.

"These puppets of the regime are in a pitiful situation," Mr Faith Mataluane, of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), told the crowd as it chanted "Amandla — power."

"They will never satisfy their masters. But when they turn to their people they will find the people have rejected them."

Permeating most speeches was a sense of desperation, a fear of violence bubbling up irresistibly through growing anger.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Lesotho and former Dean of Johannesburg, warned that the influence of people who urged self-restraint and discipline was growing perilously thin.

"We are in the greatest

Kruger won't talk on 'brain damage' reports

RDM 26/9/77

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 Sunday and he never speaks to the Press on Sunday," said Mr Kruger's son.

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 Mr Sidney Kentridge and Dr Wilfid Cooper are being 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 exhort its followers against the temptation of black racism as a response to white racism.

Mr Madikwe Manthata, the BPC secretary for labour, who concluded the speech-making, said: "To protect all of you, the BPC says there shall be non-racialism. 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 Peoples' 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 Faroux 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

Masses at Biko funeral

DDM 26/9/77

whites-only cricket and rugby.

As the coffin entered the grounds through a long and dense avenue of people, the crowd began to sing "Nkosi Sikelele l'Africa".

The singing went on as the procession made its slow way to the makeshit 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 ITN, 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

RDM 26/9/77

325 detained

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Miss I S McKay, 24, was detained by Security Police at her home in Rabie Street, Korsten, at the weekend.

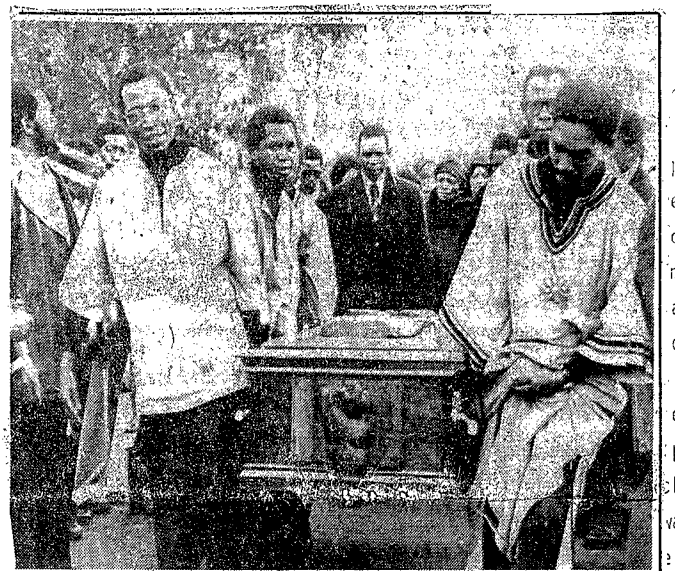
Miss MacKay, daughter of Mr T R McKay, principal of the Alpha Primary School, was talking at her father's home when police arrived with a warrant.

"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.

26/9/77 325 - detention



MR. STEVE BIKO'S coffin being carried into the King William's Town sports stadium. A multi-racial crowd of 10 000 yesterday heard speakers condemn South African race policies 'which caused the Black leader's death.' Mr. Biko was buried nearby, near his mother's home. Representatives of 13 Western countries attended the service.

THOUSANDS AT BURIAL

Mercury 26/9/77

325 - detention

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 — as well as the churches of South Africa, members of the South African opposition, the Indian Council and the Coloured Representative Council.

Mr. Biko's body, dressed in a gold robe and lying in black velvet in a solid imbuia 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 Zimele Trust Fund, the BCP and BPC.

The crowd sang the Black anthem Nkosi Sekelele i'Afrika, ending with a resounding shout of Amandla (power) and the Black Power salute.

After the mass a succession of speakers told the crowd the apartheid system of the White South African Government had caused Mr. Biko's death.

Dr. Farouk Meer, 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 Matlaupane fighting broke out in one corner of the stadium where Black youths accused an Afrikaans reporter of being a police spy. The reporter was knocked about but other Blacks went to his aid.

The publicity secretary of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo), Mr. Nthlabanelo, said he had come to express Swapo's "solidarity with the family of Steve Biko and the oppressed people of Azania."

He said Black leaders like Chief Kaizer Mantanzima, Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and Mr. Sonny Leon 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 Liegtonville, near his mother's house. — (Sapa.)

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Roadblocks on way to funeral

325 detentions

RDM 26/9/77

STAFF REPORTER

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 Mojapelo, all of the Rand Daily Mail, were stopped on Friday at six roadblocks between Johannesburg and King William's Town.

A car carrying Ameen Akhalwaya, Vas Soni and James Mabula, all of the "Mail", and Juby Mayet, of the Voice, the black ecumenical 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 organising 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 M 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

(325) detentions

RDM 26/9/77

Staff Reporter

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — The president of the Black Peoples Convention, Mr Hlaku Rachidi, says yesterday's funeral for Mr Steve Biko had "once and for all given the lie" to allegations that the BPC was a militant organisation.

The big turnout at the funeral, he said, proved the BPC had widespread support.

Speaking after the funeral, Mr Rachidi said: "Despite the harassment of our people, of 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 also exemplary.

"We have shown the authorities we are not what they think we are.



MR RACHIDI . . . no militancy.

Despite all the police activity and fears of violence expressed by some people we have once and for all given the lie to those who say we are a militant organisation," Mr Rachidi said.

(325) detentions RDM 26/9/77

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.

Armed police stand by at Lenasia

ROM 26/9/77

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 Sadecque Variava, 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 are those people — African, coloured and Indian — who identify themselves as an oppressed unit and thus unite in attaining their freedom and liberation."

(325) detentions

(325) det.

C. Times 27/9/77

, September 27, 1977

Biko funeral 'a tragic reminder of apartheid'

YORK. — Mr Steve
funeral in King
's Town on Sunday,
"tragic reminder of the
f the victims of the
it breach of human
which is "apartheid",
's Foreign Minister,
ri Simonet, said in the
l Assembly's world af-
bate yesterday.
Simonet was speaking
nine EEC members on the opening day of the debate, which will last a fortnight.

Mr Biko would always be remembered, Mr Simonet said. His death was also a reminder of the fate of other political prisoners throughout the world who appealed to universal conscience.

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.

Publication by the nine of a code of conduct for European firms' 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.

Time was running out for Rhodesia, he said. It was essential to end the conflict there and get independence for Zimbabwe in 1978.

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.

Apartheid should be attacked internationally on ethical, juridical and political levels, Brazil's foreign minister, Mr Antonio Azeredo da Silveira, said.

Brazil traditionally begins this annual forum in which more than 100 of the 149 assembly members are expected to participate this year.

BETALINGSBALAN… …AYMENTS[1]
Jaarsyfers
R miljoene

P.E. detainee ill in hospital

325 - detention N Mercury 27/9/77

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."

					1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Goedere-uitvoere, v.a.b.[2] Merchandise exports, f.o.b.[2]					881	923	948	1 024	1 074	1 067
Netto goudproduksie Net gold output					530	576	632	688	736	775
Ontvangste vir dienste Service receipts					224	230	247	257	301	314
Goedere-invoere, v.a.b.[2] Merchandise imports, f.o.b.[2]					-1 124	-1 016	-1 041	-1 282	-1 577	-1 799
Betalings vir dienste Payments for services					-463	-491	-482	-528	-612	-696
Totaal van goedere en dienste (netto ontvangste +) **Total goods and services (net receipts +)**					48	222	304	159	-78	-339
Oordragte (netto ontvangste +) Transfers (net receipts +)					-4	-13	9	13	18	23
Saldo op lopende rekening **Balance on current account**					**44**	**209**	**313**	**172**	**-60**	**-316**
Langtermynkapitaalbewegings Long-term capital movements					-132	-47	-115	-142	-50	104
Sentrale regering en banksektor Central government and banking sector					12	-7	-21	-10	-5	26
Openbare korporasies en plaaslike owerhede Public corporations and local authorities					-4	1	-2	-7	-4	3
Private sektor Private sector					-140	-41	-92	-125	-41	75
Basiese saldo **Basic balance**					**-88**	**162**	**198**	**30**	**-110**	**-212**
Korttermynkapitaalbewegings nie verwant aan reserwes nie[3] Short-term capital movements not related to reserves[3]					-68	-57	34	56	22	144
Sentrale regering en banksektor Central government and banking sector					-22	-3	6	25	21	32
Openbare korporasies en plaaslike owerhede Public corporations and local authorities					1	0	-15	-1	5	1
Private sektor Private sector					-13	-21	26	33	-31	30
Foute en onaangetekende transaksies Errors and unrecorded transactions	13	-11	28	3	-34	-33	17	-1	27	81
Verandering in netto goud- en ander buitelandse reserwes weens betalingsbalanstransaksies **Change in net gold and other foreign reserves owing to balance of payments transactions**	**21**	**-77**	**-20**	**129**	**-156**	**105**	**232**	**86**	**-88**	**-68**
Laste verwant aan reserwes[3] Liabilities related to reserves[3]	3	14	12	-22	13	-19	-3	0	-1	27
STR-toekennings en waardasie-aansuiwerings SDR allocations and valuation adjustments	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	3
Verandering in bruto goud- en ander buitelandse reserwes **Change in gross gold and other foreign reserves**	**24**	**-63**	**-8**	**107**	**-143**	**86**	**229**	**86**	**-89**	**-38**

1. Alle tabelle in hierdie afdeling het betrekking op die Republiek van Suid-Afrika en Suidwes-Afrika.
2. Gepubliseerde Doeanesyfers aangesuiwer vir betalingsbalansdoeleindes.
3. Laste verwant aan die goud- en ander buitelandse reserwes is beperk tot alle korttermyn buitelandse laste van die Reserwebank en korttermyn buitelandse lenings van die sentrale regering en monetêre bankinstellings vanaf buitelandse banke en owerhede.

The native was to be limited to certain roles in the economy. Nor was he allowed to own land in the urban areas. In this the Nationalists found common cause with the Labour Party which also advocated segregation in employment. The Labour Party had advocated such segregation from its inception in Middelburg in 1917 it represented skilled miners with a trade union background. Later, as poor white Afrikaners moved into the gold mining industry, it gradually won support from them as well. These poor whites were the most vulnerable to competition from natives and gave the Labour Party added impetus. The native was seen as a migratory worker, welcome only as long as he fulfilled the needs of the white economy.

By keeping natives distant from the western civilisation and technology the nationalists were denying them the opportunity of becoming fully integrated in the economy. South Africa's industrial development is concentrated in limited areas which are white. The Reserves have little to offer to found a viable economy. The system of migrato[illegible] a favourable light in that it prevented detribalis[illegible] tives to develop along their own lines on their own [illegible] l communities. labour was unprogressive, leading to [illegible] otice, migratory

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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 flagrant breach of human rights which is apartheid," Belgium's Foreign Minister, Mr. Henri Simonet, said in the General Assembly's world affairs debate yesterday.

Mr. Simonet 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, Mr. Simonet said. His death was also a reminder of the fate of other political prisoners throughout the world who appealed to universal conscience.

Mr. Simonet reiterated the Nine's policy on Southern Africa as originally set out at UN-sponsored conferences in Lagos and Maputo this year.

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.

Publication by the Nine of a code of conduct for European firms 'South African measure was "a first substantial substantial substantial

The Natal Mercury

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1977

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.

N Mercury 27/9/77 325-detentions

Chief Buthelezi takes umbrage at NIC statement



CHIEF Buthelezi

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-Westville, last week, by Mr. M. J. Naidoo, the president of the Natal Indian Congress.

Mr. Naidoo is quoted in The Natal Mercury saying "No one who is a party to the Indian Council and Durban Councils or homelands should feel surprised at student demonstrations."

This statement astounds me in so far as it exposes Mr. Naidoo's political hypocrisy. Can be 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 means that I deserve what happened because I refuse to abandon the Zulu people, a people to whom I am not a leader because of the homelands 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 leads the Natal Indian Congress, to which we as Africans cannot belong. This is not criticism of the format of the Natal Indian Congress. It is an organisation for the Indians of Natal. But I must abandon leadership of my people within this province, for ideological reasons, according to Mr. Naidoo's reasoning.

If Mr. Naidoo had done his political homework he would have known that I was 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 activists among the students at Durban-Westville University.

The students at Durban-Westville operate "within the system" but their responsibility extends no further than themselves: mine extends over five million people.

DEVIL

The question of collaboration or "supping with the devil", if that is how they see operation with these institutions, 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 salaries which Africans with the same qualifications receive as compared with Whites, Coloureds and Indians.

We have never held these disparities against our 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 not refused to patronise Indian schools and hospitals and university and yet Mr. Naidoo often speaks of our participation in institutions set aside for us with such arrogance and contempt.

FOUNDER

I wish to end up by saying how much I revere the name of the founder of the Natal Indian Congress, Mahatma Gandhi. I value his philosophy. I am a grandson of King Dinuzulu, who was sentenced for high treason for his alleged participation in the Zulu Rebellion of 1906. Mahatma Gandhi cooperated with the powers-that-be at the time by arranging Indian stretcher units to help the White soldiers who crushed this Zulu uprising.

I have never held this against Gandhi or the Indians nor do my people do so. This was a Black armed struggle by the Zulus 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 just a bit tired of empty rhetoric by people who talk glibly in denigratory 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 subjugated. The role of each race 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 sneered at by people whose politics 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 by law from recruiting Indians into his congress. What is the present membership of the Natal Indian Congress? What right has he to make such provocative statements as he makes from time to time against me 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 and I know a time when it was supported by the masses. I am not so sure that the rhetoric of Mr. Naidoo is commensurate with the support he has from the Indian people.

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
President: Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe
(National Cultural Liberation Movement)
Private Bag X01
Ulundi
KwaZulu.

A puzzling set of values

SIR, – Steve Biko dies in captivity. The media of the world scream indignation and condemnation. World leaders are stunned and shocked. Local civic leaders are very indignant and cry loudly for justice and a commission of inquiry. Politicians and churchmen volunteer for a week's fast.

Father George Joeger of the Order of Bethlem Fathers is cruelly murdered after a kangaroo court session, bringing to fourteen the number of missionaries (saintly priests and heroic nuns) killed by communist controlled terrorists in Rhodesia.

Not a sound is heard from overseas leaders and our local opposition politicians seem to be encased in a deafening silence. No bishop stands in protest next to members of the Black Sash movement in front of an empty coffin in a silent cathedral. Nobody cares. Strange isn't it?

PUZZLED

NIKLAUS, Robert

né en 1910

B.A., Ph.D University

Licence ès Lettres, U

Docteur Honoris causa

Officier de l'Ordre N

Professor of French (

Head of Department of
and Italian (1964-1

Emeritus Professor of

Publications: Jean M
Didero
Beauma
A lite

Editions critiques:

Principaux articles:

Daily Disp, 27/9/77

Envoy visits Biko's grave

325-detention

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 Mr 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 stood with his head bowed for a minute.

Mr Eick said he had never met Mr Biko but had initiated 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. "Quite a lot has been heard of him overseas and those who were fortunate to meet this remarkable young man have told of the obvious signs of leadership Steve displayed, both in speech and action."

Before visiting the graveyard, Mr Eick went to the Biko home at Ginsberg where he expressed condolences and chattered 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 his 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. 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 at Mr Biko's death. — DDR.

BPC thanks mourners

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — It was both a heart-rending and heart-warming occasion to see the multitude of people at Mr Steve Biko's funeral "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 multitudes 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."

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." — DDR.

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RDM 28/9/77

Police detain 2 black leaders in Cape

(325 detentions)

Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — Two members of the black consciousness movement in King William's Town have been detained by the Security Police.

Mr Ray Magida and Mr Fikile Mlinda are being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Mr Magida is chairman of the King William's Town branch of the Black People's Convention. Mr Mlinda works for the Zimele Trust Fund, an organisation that assists political prisoners' families and former political prisoners.

The Rand Daily Mail's Pretoria Bureau reports that Mr Tau Mokola, 26, a member of the South African Student Organisation was detained at the Pretoria Station by the Security Police.

Two of Mr Moroka's friends said they were with him when he was detained. They had just returned from the funeral in King William's Town on Sunday of Mr Steve Biko.

Last night a Security Police spokesman in Pretoria said he did not know of the detention.

The "Mail's" East London correspondent reports that the South African bantamweight boxing champion, Mzukisi "Wonderboy" Shweyiya, detained by the Security Police last month, was well, his sister said yesterday.



Biko: results in 3 weeks

RDM, 28/9/77

Staff Reporter

THE Chief State Pathologist, Professor J D Loubser, said yesterday he hoped the results of the post-mortem on black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, would be known in three weeks.

Mr Biko died in detention on September 12.

Prof Loubser said progress on the results was being made.

Since Mr Biko died there has been speculation that brain damage was one of the causes of death, and that he was suffering from nephritis.

Prof Loubser declined to comment on the speculation.

proportion of the BMR sample was employed in the professional/managerial field, whereas the proportion was smaller than Hanover Park numbers in the administrative and clerical line. The main differences recorded in the sector of employment were smaller proportions in the BMR sample in transport, communication and financ , and agriculture, mining a larger proportions in the wholesal retail, and comm rs.

(c) Explanations for these differences are o e nature of Hanover Park: it is a housing estate, which s house-holds above a certain income standard, and th ve bias towards the lower end of the social scale.

(d) It should be noted that the sampling fra does not allow for the inclusion of squatters. This b vey results underestimate the degree of poverty in the Ca e. Since Hanover Park is a housing estate rather than ame observation would be true of it.

(e) Shopping is done mainly on Fridays and Sa diture on food, cleaning and washing materials, tobacco occurring on those two days.

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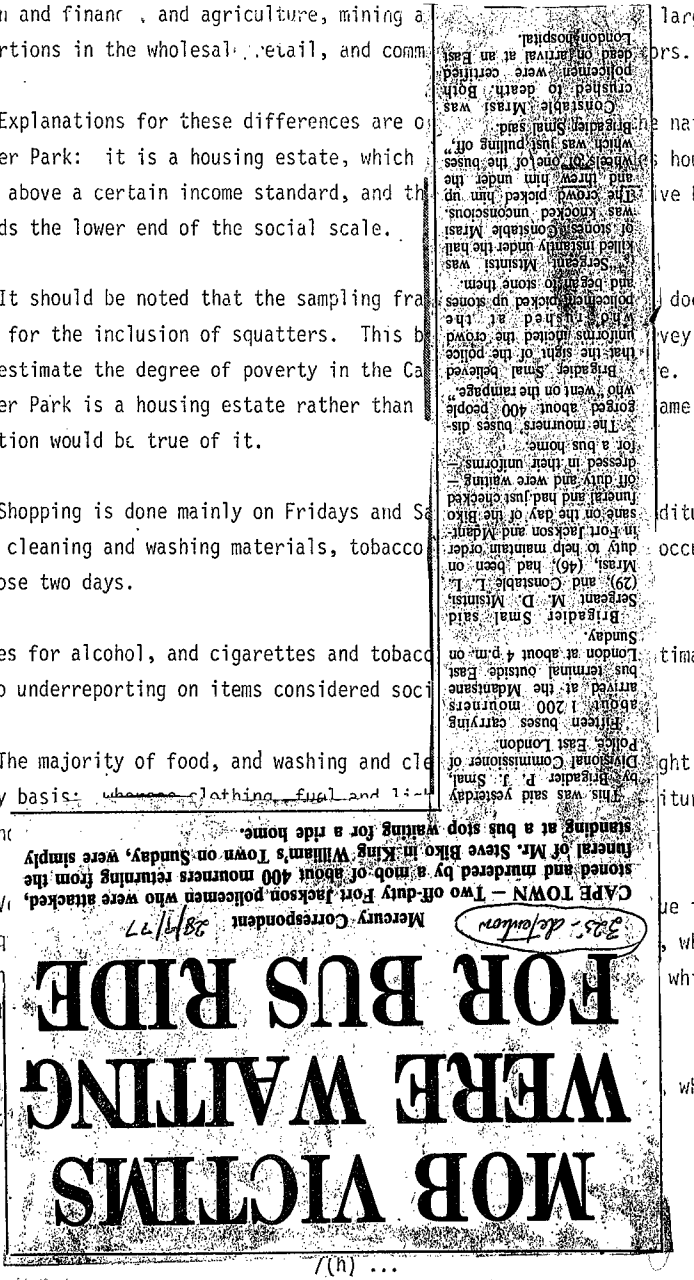


MOB VICTIMS WERE WAITING FOR BUS RIDE

Mercury Correspondent 28/4/77

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 Biko 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, Divisional Commissioner of Police, East London.

Fifteen buses carrying about 1 200 mourners arrived at the Mdantsane bus terminal outside East London at about 4 p.m. on Sunday.

Brigadier Smal said Sergeant M. D. Mistinis (29) and Constable L. L. Mrasi, (46), had been on duty to help maintain order in Fort Jackson and Mdantsane on the day of the Biko funeral and had just checked off duty and were waiting 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 uniforms incited the crowd who rushed at the policemen, picked up stones and began to stone them.

Sergeant Mistinis was killed instantly under the hail of stones. Constable Mrasi was knocked unconscious. The crowd picked him up and threw him under the wheels of one of the buses which was just pulling off."

Brigadier Smal said Constable Mrasi was crushed to death. Both policemen were certified dead on arrival at an East London hospital.

325-Detention

ARGUS 29/9/77

Background

What's in an inquest

By
SENATOR BRIAN BAMFORD, SC

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 nobody 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 statute which sets out all the rules, the Inquest Act of 1959, provides in the first place that any person who has reason to believe that a deceased from an other than natural cause must report accordingly to a policeman. Such a person will normally be the next of kin or the doctor who is asked to certify the death.

The police must then investigate and submit a report to the public prosecutor. The latter must in turn submit this report, together with all relevant statements and documents, to the local magistrate — if, but only if, criminal charges are not brought in connection with the death.

Let it be assumed that no such charges are brought. The Act then compels the magistrate to hold an inquest if it appears to him from the documents submitted by the prosecutor that the death was not due to natural causes.

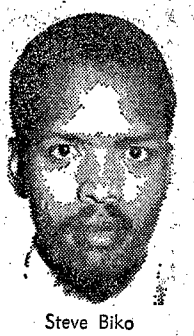
It is this inquiry which sometimes creates difficulties. Subject to the provisions of the Act, the magistrate has a discretion as to how the proceedings are to be run, but obviously he must exercise a judicial mind, and, if he

interest in the issue of the examination.'

Notice of the inquest must be given to the spouse or a near adult relative of the deceased, and such person may brief an attorney or an advocate to put questions to witnesses. The hearing must be in public, unless the magistrate considers that a particular individual's presence is undesirable.

The heart of the matter is that the Act requires the magistrate, at the end of the hearing, to record five specific findings — if, of course, he can. These are the following: the fact of the death (which must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt), the identity of the deceased, the likely 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.



Steve Biko

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 expeditiousness 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.

News by B. R. Bamford, 47 Sandown Road, Rondebosch.

Court may invalidate his findings.

In cases likely to produce medical controversy or complexities, the magistrate, if he is wise, will summon to his assistance one or two assessors, usually specialists in pathology. They merely give advice, and, unlike assessors in a Supreme Court criminal trial, do not take part in the actual final decision.

An interesting aspect is that the magistrate may, and invariably does, call for a post-mortem to be held. And here the rule is that only three people may be present — the doctor performing it on behalf of the State, a policeman and a doctor nominated by any person who satisfies the magistrate that he has a substantial and peculiar

ARGUS 29/9/77

375 - Detention

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, sent a personal envoy.

The Danish Foreign Ministry said after Press inquiries that it was 'not aware' that the funeral would be made the occasion for a '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 weekened congress decision to support those peoples 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 an omission. The alternative, that Denmark really wants to show a low profile in South Africa at present, is simply too contemptible to be considered.'

(325 - Detention)

ARGUS 29/9/77

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. Loubser, 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 Loubser 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.

CAPE TIMES 30/9/77 (325-letters)

A kind of miracle



By DONALD WOODS

TAKE 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 concourse. Predictably, in this land of racial tension, it requires but one stumble, one jostle, 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 Saso and BPC, not one single white there present was made to feel unwelcome or under direct threat by that emotional multitude.

Harsh 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 Boraine and Zac de Beer arrived early, and a sea of blacks on one of the packed stands hurriedly made 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 can ever validly generalize, 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 discernible in 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 were over was 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 separateness and isolation, so love grows from closeness and contact.

The total opposite o

More Biko questions put to Kruger

RDM 30/9/77

325 DETAINEES

Own Correspondent

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 prima facie 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?

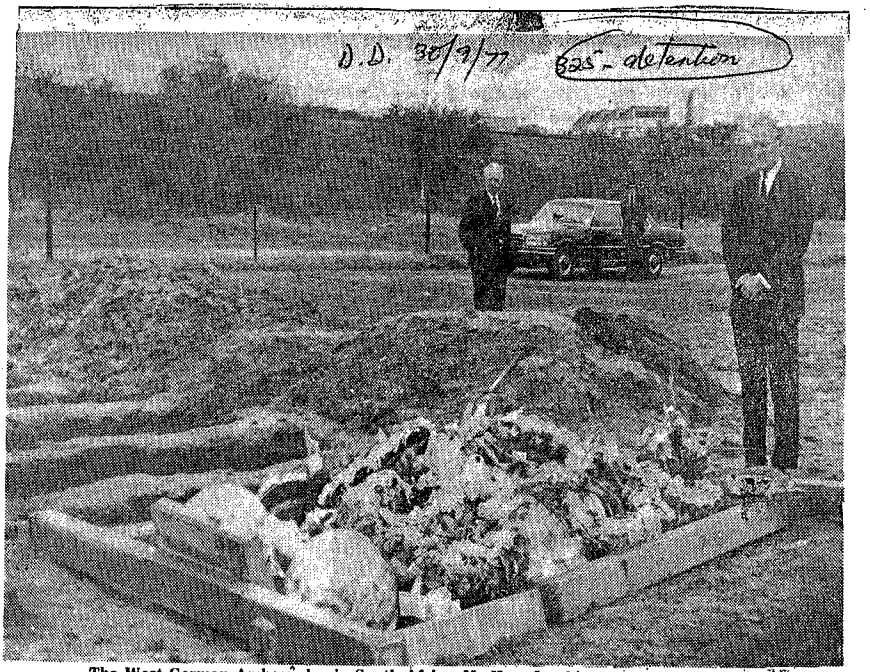
"3. Did the report mention internal chest injury resulting from impact on the rib-cage?

"4. Did the report mention any other injuries totally unconnected with hunger-strike theories?

"Make another TV appearance, Mr Kruger.

— The Editor."

FR. 27.106



The West German Ambassador in South Africa, Mr Hans-Joachim Eick, 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.

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EDITORIAL OPINION

Disgraceful, Mr Kruger!

There's nothing like kicking a man when he's down. The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, has now taken this street-fighting tactic one step further: he is smearing a man who is dead. And not only that. To say that the death of Steve Biko in detention leaves him "cold" is the height of insensitivity. To agree that a detainee has a "democratic" right to go on hunger strike in a "democratic" country betrays Mr Kruger's ignorance of the concept of democracy. To use selective quotes from seven years ago while nobody else may quote any of Mr Biko's words demonstrates how Mr Kruger is prepared to manipulate the law to his own advantage.

Therefore we challenge Mr Kruger to allow newspapers to quote Mr Biko freely. The Minister has given himself permission to bend the law by quoting the words of a banned person. If he really is a democrat as he claims, the same permission should be granted to the press. Those who knew his thoughts better than Mr Kruger should be allowed to put forward what Mr Biko was thinking in 1977.

And while we are on democracy, can Mr Kruger explain how he squares the "democratic" right of a detainee to go on hunger strike in a "democratic" country with detention without trial? Is there not a contradiction between detention without trial and the concept of democracy? How does he square the imposition of banning orders, curtailing an individual's rights of free speech and movement, with democracy?

Mr Kruger is not only bending the law to his own advantage by quoting Mr Biko's words of seven years ago out of context. He is also using the old tactic of quoting from an alleged "secret document" to strengthen his pitifully weak case. So we issue another challenge to Mr Kruger: what is this "secret document" purporting to advocate revolution by the black consciousness movement? Is it authentic? Is it a policy document approved by the democratically-elected leaders of any black consciousness movement?

And why has nobody been charged with advocating revolution through this "secret document"? Do the Special Branch know the authors and if not, why not? If they do and nobody has been charged, they and Mr Kruger are guilty of grave dereliction of duty. Answers, please, Mr Kruger.



"Farewell, Westminster . . ."