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

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

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

LOVE AND MARRIAGE

During his years at university in Natal, Steve became very close to his eldest sister, Bukelwa, who was a student nurse at King Edward Hospital. Though Bukelwa was homesick and wanted to return to the Eastern Cape, she expresses concern about leaving Steve in Natal in this letter to her mother in 1967:
He used to say to his friends, “Meet my lady ... she is the actual embodiment of blackness - black is beautiful”. Ntsiki Biko
AN ATTITUDE OF MIND, A WAY OF LIFE

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

Harry Nengwekhulu

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One of the accused in the SASO/BPC trial, he served six years on Robben Island.

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

One of the accused in the SASO/BPC trial, he served six years on Robben Island.

One of the accused in the SASO/BPC trial, he served six years on Robben Island.

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

One of the accused in the SASO/BPC trial, he served six years on Robben Island.

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

One of the accused in the SASO/BPC trial, he served six years on Robben Island.

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

One of the accused in the SASO/BPC trial, he served six years on Robben Island.

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

We emphasised the fact that students were a part of the oppressed community – their parents worked in factories, were domestic workers. We encouraged students to go into the communities and help with building extra classrooms and clinics. Strini Moodley
One of the key objectives of SASO was to address what they termed black people's inferiority complex.

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

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

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

This and all subsequent editions of the SASO newsletter were banned in July 1976. In October, SASO was declared an illegal organisation under the Internal Security Act.
1972-1976
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT
The Black Consciousness Movement consisted of a group of intellectuals who, until 1976, concentrated on ideas rather than mass mobilisation. They wanted to conscientise black South Africans, to mobilise them psychologically.

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

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

Biko: I write what I like

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

SASO defined Black Consciousness as follows:

- Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life.
- The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic humanity.
- The black man must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not as defined by others.
- The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness of black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness.
- Black Consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the black community.
SASO and the Black People’s Convention argued that blacks should realise that they alone can determine their own destiny. Community development, community involvement and a spirit of self-reliance became the cornerstones of Black Consciousness.

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

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

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

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

One of the driving forces behind the success of Zanempilo was Dr Mamphela Ramphele, a close comrade and intimate friend of Biko. In 1978, she gave birth to Biko’s son, Hlumelo, a name that means the shoot that grows from a dead tree trunk. Winnifred Kgware (extreme left) was elected president of BPC at its first National Congress in December 1972. Addressing the congress is Mamphela Ramphele.

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

Winnifred Kgware (extreme left) was elected president of BPC at its first National Congress in December 1972. Addressing the congress is Mamphela Ramphele.
“Who can speak the heart of the black man, who can sing the rhythm of the black man, who can paint the suffering of the black man and who can act the pain, the desires, the loves and hates of the black experience?” Strini Moodley, SASO Newsletter, May/June 1972

Between 1957 and 1966, the list of black artists who left South Africa included Es kia Mphahlele, Lewis Nkosi, Arthur Maimane, Todd Matshikiza, Bessie Head, Cosimo Pietrono, Cana Thembu, Nat Nakasa, Mazizi Kunene, Bloke Modise, Arthur Nortje, Keorapetse Kgositsile, Dennis Brutus, Alex La Guma, Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela. Many never returned.

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

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

“Today the theatre of revolt has established its validity. The theatre picks out and accuses the perpetrators of evil. It denounces the oppressor, it rejects war and it advocates revolution.” SASO Newsletter, June 1971

The Afro-Jazz music of Malombo in the early 1970s is considered by some as the first original jazz music to come out of South Africa.
“Black culture above all implies freedom on our part to innovate without recourse to white values. This innovation is part of the natural development of any culture.”

Steve Biko, "I write what I like"

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

“South African literature had become white by law”.
Richard Rive, 1966

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

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

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

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

Steve Biko, “I write what I like”
On 1 March 1973, Biko and seven other SASO/BPC leaders were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. This meant that Biko was restricted to the township of Ginsberg in King William’s Town. It also meant that Biko could not be quoted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE HEAT’S ON
the ministers of death
pounce
knights in dullshining
armour
tear the entrails of the sacred
perspiring ebony figure
on the street corner
all he did not have was
a dompas charged
with its power of opening
permanently-closed doors
Handreich Lounga
SASO Newsletter, May/June 1972
Black thinks that everything good is white. This attitude comes from childhood. When we go to school, our school is not the same as the white school. Our homes are different, the streets are different. So you begin to feel that there is something incomplete about being black, and that completeness goes with being white.

VIVA FRELIMO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The accused were all found guilty and sentenced to five years imprisonment for promoting anti-white feelings, encouraging racial hostility and preparing for violent revolution. The trial turned out to be the last time Biko spoke in public.
The South African Students Movement (SASM) was formed in 1968, with a particular focus on youth in secondary schools. The black consciousness ideas propagated by SASM were an important factor that influenced the actions of the students in the 1976 uprisings.

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

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

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

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

18 August 1977

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 August 1977

Biko and his close comrade, Peter Jones, were stopped at a road block outside Grahamstown. Biko was rushing back home to avoid being charged for breaking his banning order again.
Kagiso Pat Mautloa (left), who designed SIMAKADE, the Sunday Times memorial to eight detainees who died at John Vorster Square Police Station in Johannesburg, with Vusi Mchunu, who was detained there in July 1977.
You are either alive or proud or you are dead, and when you are dead, you can’t care anyway. And your method of death can itself be a politicising thing.

19 August 1977
Biko is detained in Port Elizabeth under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, which allows for him to be held indefinitely.

6 September 1977
Biko is moved from Walmer Police Station to security police headquarters for interrogation.

7 September 1977
Major Harold Snyman, leader of the day interrogation team, informs Colonel Goosen, head of the Eastern Cape security police, that Biko is acting strangely and refusing to respond to questions. Dr Ivor Lang, District Surgeon in Port Elizabeth, is called by Goosen to examine Biko.

7 September 1977
With Goosen in attendance, Lang examines Biko while he is lying on a mat and manacled to a metal grille. Biko displays loss of the ability to co-ordinate muscular movement and exhibits slurred speech. Lang finds a swollen “laceration on upper lip, bruise over the sternum, ring mark around each wrist, swelling of hands feet and ankles”. Lang does not ask Biko how he obtained his injuries. Goosen asks Lang for a medical certificate on which he writes: “I have found no evidence of any abnormality or pathology on the patient”.

8 September 1977
Lang is summoned again. Goosen voices concern that Biko has not urinated in the previous 24 hours and has refused to eat. Lang examines Biko in the presence of Dr Benjamin Tucker, Chief District Surgeon of Port Elizabeth. Tucker observes “a possible extensor plantar reflex” (a sign of brain damage).

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

In a bid for change we have to take off our coats, be prepared to lose our comfort and security, our jobs and positions of prestige, and our families ... A struggle without casualties is no struggle.
9 September 1977
Hersch finds the patient exhibiting a speech defect, left-side weakness and an extensor plantar reflex. Biko also exhibits strange movements, finds it difficult to turn over in bed and walks with a left-sided limp. Hersch performs a lumbar puncture, which reveals blood in the cerebrospinal fluid (indicating either brain injury or the piercing of a blood vessel during the procedure).

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

10 September 1977
Dr R Keely, a neurosurgeon, is consulted via telephone. Keely also suggests brain damage and advises Lang to keep Biko under close observation. Lang examines Biko. In the final entry in the medical records at Sydenham Prison Hospital, Lang writes: "No change in condition. Have informed Biko that Dr Hersch and myself find no pathology, that lumbar puncture was normal and as a result, I am returning him to the police cells." In the police station, Biko is left lying on a mat on the cement floor of a cell. Police wardens look in occasionally.

11 September 1977
Goosen calls Tucker to the police station. The police warden finds Biko "collapsed, glassy-eyed, hyperventilating and frothing at the mouth." Tucker conducts a five-minute examination and concludes that there is no change. Tucker suggests that Biko be transferred to the provincial hospital in Port Elizabeth. Goosen refuses. Tucker gives permission for the police to transfer Biko by motor vehicle to Pretoria, 1 100 kilometres away. Tucker speaks to Lang but neither of them sends a summary of Biko’s condition or his charts to Pretoria. Tucker asks that Biko be given a soft mat to lie on during the journey but does not verify that this is done.

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

12 September 1977
Steve Biko dies alone and unattended, lying on a mat on a stone floor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DATE Died</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>CAUSE OF DEATH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NGULU, Nokweletu</td>
<td>09/08/63</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>MAMPE, Belford</td>
<td>07/09/63</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Winston</td>
<td>Undisclosed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>TUTHA, James</td>
<td>24/07/63</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>CHAUKE, Sisesa</td>
<td>18/05/63</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>LAGA, Ngiyana</td>
<td>20/06/63</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Natural causes; Cannot be verified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NGICHE, Nkosana</td>
<td>22/06/63</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>HAMAGWANDI, James</td>
<td>22/09/63</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>SHOKWEKA, Hangipula</td>
<td>22/09/63</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>TAMUKU, Funzile</td>
<td>19/11/63</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>XUN, Ah</td>
<td>01/11/63</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>MADUNA, Alfred</td>
<td>09/11/63</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>TUBA, Winmore</td>
<td>11/11/63</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>LENKOE, James</td>
<td>14/01/63</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>KHOZA, Aaron</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>MABIA, Phakamile</td>
<td>22/01/63</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>HOFFMANN, Simon</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>BOGA, Samuel</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>DOBSON, Judd</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>HOPE, Pongoloshe</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>MONARKOJOTA, Luke</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>TSHWANE, John</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>KHOZA, Aaron</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>UNKUNJABO, Asaphe</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>MUSIA, Ester</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>TSHWANE, John</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>MOGATU, Julius</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>MAVUNI, Kobus</td>
<td>24/01/63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>Suicide by hanging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

JHB - Johannesburg; EC - Eastern Cape; PTA - Pretoria; JHB (Johannesburg)
1983 62 MALATJI, 05/07/83 23 Protea PS, Soweto 1 Culpable homicide, shot in forehead at point-blank range
1983 61 MNDAWE, 08/03/83 23 Nelspruit Police Station 1 Suicide by hanging
1982 60 DIPALE, 08/08/82 21 John Vorster Square 3 Suicide by hanging
1984 69 MASUNYANE, 05-07/11/84 ? Kathlehong PS ? Unknown, no post mortem,
1984 68 MOLELEKE, Jacob 29/09/84 16 East Rand Hospital ? Shot by police
1984 67 MTHETHWA, Ephraim 25/08/84 22 Durban Central Prison 165 Suicide by hanging
1984 66 NGALO, Bonakele 18/07/84 26 Parys 13 Found dead in his cell
1984 65 SIPELE, Mxolisi ??/06/84 ? Sulenkama Hospital, Transkei ? Unknown: police claim he died
1984 64 TETYANE, 15/03/84 ? Held: Transkei ? Culpable homicide
1984 63 TSHIKHUDO, 29/01/84 53 Held: Venda 77 Natural causes
1984 62 DLODLO, Linda 22/09/82 21 John Vorster Square 3 Suicide by hanging
1984 61 NGWENYA, Abel 29/11/84 31 Daveyton 1 Epileptic fit
1984 60 DLODLO, Linda 22/09/82 18 Died after release from 15 Linda Dloldlo was a chronic asthma sufferer
1984 59 MAKALENG, Alfred 26/08/88 37 Held: Nylstroom 804 Natural causes, fluid on the brain
1984 58 KOBE, Andile 20/03/88 22 George ? Head injuries
1984 57 JACOBS, Xoliso 22/10/86 20 Upington Prison cell 129 Suicide by hanging
1984 56 MADISHA, 01/06/90 30 Potgietersrus PS 130 Police report: suicide by hanging
1984 54 SONGELWA, Mbuyisa 05/10/86 29 East London Prison 310 Untreated asthma attack
1984 53 MAHLANGU, Jacob 11/09/86 ? Pretoria 1 Shot dead in a police vehicle
1984 52 NCHABELENG, Peter 11/04/86 25 Lebowa 1 Police assault
1984 51 BAKO, Lungisile ??/11/86 18 Held: Louis le Grange Square - PE ? Internal injuries
1984 50 KOLOTSE, Joel 01/04/86 28 Pretoria Central ? Unknown
1983 49 NTSU, Onkakeso, Joel 01/04/86 28 Pretoria Central ? Unknown
1983 48 NGOMANE, Eric 11/04/86 22 Hazyview, kaNgwane 1 Police shooting
1983 47 KOLOGAKA, Ben 24/07/86 28 Nelspruit Police Station 1 Suicide by hanging
1983 46 NGOMAYANE, John 26/03/86 28 Thohoyandou, 1 Epileptic fit
1983 45 TSHABALALA,  ??/??/90 ? Kempton Park PS ? Suicide by hanging
1983 44 KOJO, Andile 25/09/90 ? Transkei ? Found dead in his cell
1983 43 TSHIKHUDO, 29/01/84 53 Held: Venda 77 Natural causes
1983 42 TSHABALALA,  ??/??/90 ? Kempton Park PS ? Suicide by hanging
1983 41 MAHLANGU, Jacob 11/09/86 ? Pretoria 1 Shot dead in a police vehicle
1983 40 SILIKA, Ayanda 12/05/86 23 Crossroads 6 Shot while trying to escape
1983 39 NGOME, Jude 29/09/84 16 Naturena Cells, Port Elizabeth 222 Stroke
1983 38 ZOKWE, Sithembele 12/01/88 36 Butterworth, Transkei 1 Police shooting
1983 37 KOLODO, Scotia-Godfrey? 24/01/88 18 Mamelodi East 7 Police assault
1983 36 TSHABALALA,  ??/??/90 ? Kempton Park PS ? Suicide by hanging
1983 34 NTSU, Onkakeso, Joel 01/04/86 28 Pretoria Central ? Unknown
As six-year-old Nkosinathi Biko led the ox-cart carrying his father's coffin into Victoria Stadium, thousands of mourners stood up as one with their clenched fists in the air and began to sing the national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch in East London and a close friend of Biko
September '77
Port Elizabeth weather fine
It was business as usual
In police room 619
Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko
Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko
*Yehla Moja, Yehla Moja*
- The man is dead

When I try to sleep at night
I can only dream in red
The outside world is black and white
With only one colour dead
Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko
Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko
*Yehla Moja, Yehla Moja*
- The man is dead

You can blow out a candle
But you can’t blow out a fire
Once the flames begin to catch
The wind will blow it higher
Oh Biko, Biko, because Biko
*Yehla Moja, Yehla Moja*
- The man is dead

And the eyes of the world are
watching now
watching now

*Peter Gabriel*
BIKO AND SOLIDARITY

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

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

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

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

A man can damage his brain in many ways. I have also felt like banging my head against a brick wall many times, but realising now, with the Biko autopsy, that may be fateful, I haven’t done it.
The inquest of Steve Biko was not simply an exceptional event; it was the revelation of racism, of the way it has distorted ordinary people, and the way it has destroyed all morality and decency in a rich and beautiful country.

Hilda Bernstein

On 2 December 1977, Magistrate Prins delivered his verdict:
The identity of the deceased is Bantu Stephen Biko, Blackman, approximately 30 years old.
Date of death: 12 September 1977.
Cause or likely cause of death: Head injury with associated extensive brain injury. The head injury was probably sustained during the morning of Wednesday, 7 September 1977, when the deceased was involved in a scuffle with members of the Security Branch of the South African Police at Port Elizabeth. The available evidence does not prove that the death was brought about by any act of omission involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person. That completes this inquest.

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

George Bizos, No one to blame.
I think Steve expected to die in the hands of the security police. I think all of us expected it. Steve was prepared to sacrifice his life for the black cause.
It took the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) almost three years after the inquest to find that there was no evidence of improper conduct on the part of the doctors. Consequently, no disciplinary action was taken against them. The same conclusion was reached by the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA). These decisions led to an outcry both at home and abroad.

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

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

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

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

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

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