



BLACK WEDNESDAY

On 19 October 1977 - a day that became known as Black Wednesday - the apartheid government outlawed 18 Black Consciousness organisations. It was a body blow from which the Black Consciousness Movement never fully recovered.

Among the organisations banned were ¥ BPC ¥ SASO ¥ Black Community Programmes ¥ Black Parent s Association ¥ Black Women s Federation ¥ Border Youth Organisation ¥ Eastern Province Youth Organisation ¥ Medupe Writers Association ¥ Natal Youth Organisation ¥ National Youth Organisation ¥ SASM ¥ Soweto Students Representative Council ¥ Soweto Teachers Action Committee ¥ Transvaal Youth Organisation ¥ Union of Black Journalists ¥ Western Cape Youth Organisation ¥ Zimele Trust Fund ¥ Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of African People of South Africa



On the same day, prominent leaders of BPC and SASO were arrested and jailed. These included from left Thandisizwe Mazibuko, BPC National Secretary, Hlaku Kenneth Rachidi, BPC National President, Aubrey Mokoena and Peter Jones.

Also on 19 October 1977, *The World* and *Weekend World* newspapers were ordered to cease publication and the editor, Percy Qoboza (centre), was detained.

The Christian Institute, an ecumenical NGO which denounced apartheid as false gospel, was also banned on this day. Banning orders were served on its founder, the Rev Beyers Naud (left), as well as on journalist Donald Woods (right), both of whom were among the few whites to support Biko.



Cedric Mayson, also of the Christian Institute, was the editor of its journal, *Pro Veritate*. As a pilot, he had been part of a secret plan to fly Biko to Gaborone in Botswana in 1976 to meet with Oliver Tambo and the ANC in order to discuss a strategic partnership. Police surveillance of Biko was inexplicably stepped up at the time making it impossible for him to be flown out as arranged.



The death of Steve Biko is a portentous event. From the ghettos of Ginsberg to the chancelleries of the west, his death leads to a clear awareness that this ungodly and revolting society will be destroyed. In this turmoil of a collapsing society, Christ calls for people with vision, conviction and courage to reach out together for the real power of brotherhood.

Pro Veritate, journal of the Christian Institute

NO TRUTH AT THE TRC



In December 1996, the security policemen, who interrogated Steve Biko in the Sanlam Building in Port Elizabeth shortly before his death, applied to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) for amnesty. From the top, Detective Sergeant Gideon Nieuwoudt, Major Harold Snyman and Captain Daantjie Siebert

From the start, the Biko family and 32 other families, questioned the constitutionality of the Act governing the TRC and the amnesty process.

There is a constitutionally guaranteed right for a citizen to seek redress in a court of law if that citizen is wronged - that right is undermined when people apply for amnesty and are granted amnesty. In fact, the victim in this case would be the Biko family.

Nkosinathi Biko

The amnesty hearings revealed that the trouble started, not because Biko was confronted by affidavits implicating him or because he had confessed to any wrongdoing, but because he insisted on sitting on a chair.

George Bizos



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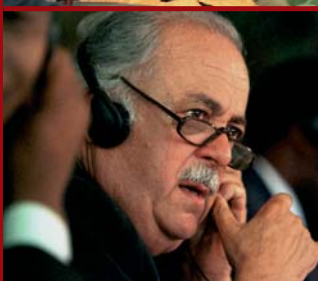
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The Biko family, together with AZAPO and other families, asked the Constitutional Court to declare the amnesty hearings unconstitutional. They did not succeed and the amnesty hearings went ahead. However, the TRC did not grant any of the security policemen amnesty.

In addition to the legal and constitutional aspects of the TRC and amnesty process, there is also the human dimension.

It would have been different if they had said the law does not require us to say we're sorry but we think we erred and would like to ask for pardon. What it would have done is taken the amnesty process and given it a new angle, a human angle. When somebody wrongs you and says they're sorry, you're forced to reckon with that because we ourselves as human beings are not perfect people.

Nkosinathi Biko

Not many of us were convinced that the truth was told. We can only hope that one or more of them will once again come forward and say what really happened to Biko. We may never know.

George Bizos

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AFTER BIKO



Through the decades, many have tried to bury Biko and his legacy. As we celebrate him, we must not forget those who carried his name amidst great violence. Until the late 1980s, Biko's name was vilified. It is not a miracle that we remember him still ... he was defended by many who believed in his ideas. Lybon Mabasa

After Biko's death and the banning of the BCM, attempts were made to re-group. In May 1978, a group representing what was left of the various Black Consciousness organisations met and resolved to establish a new formation, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), with Ishmael Mkhabela (below) as chair.



AZAPO Gauteng announcing their plans for Steve Biko Memorial Day (left).

However, debate had begun to take place within the Black Consciousness community. Some felt that the struggle would best be taken forward by uniting with the ANC. In June 1979, Ben Khoapa and Barney Pityana met with a high ranking delegation of the ANC, which included Oliver Tambo, Thabo Mbeki and Alfred Nzo. Pityana left the meeting convinced that there really was no need to form a separate organisation. Sifiso Ndlovu

Many prominent activists crossed over to the ANC. These included Mosiuoa Lekota, Aubrey Mokoape and Nkosazana Dlamini (later Dlamini-Zuma). Smaller numbers joined the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Others continued to promote the ideals of Black Consciousness, through various organisations, led by AZAPO.



The Black Consciousness Movement was also weakened by police harassment, violent conflict with other political organisations and internal divisions that led to the formation of alternative organisations.



None of these organisations was able to establish a mass base. In the 1980s, the ANC emerged as the key liberation movement in exile, strongly supported by Congress-aligned organisations inside South Africa.



Azapo Central Committee, 1984. From left standing, Hlaku Rachidi, Imran Moosa, Lybon Mabasa (president), Peter Jones and Fikile Qiti. Seated from left, Thabo Ndabeni, Sefako Nyaka, Saths Cooper, Muntu Myeza and Zithulele Cindi.



In 1981, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) was formed in exile, led by Mosibudi Mangena (below) and other activists. BCMA saw itself as the external wing of AZAPO and established its own military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (AZANLA).

However, many would say that while Black Consciousness flourished organisationally, many of its ideas have triumphed. Biko's legacy is to be felt less in the organisations that came after him than in the way in which his philosophy has won over the minds of millions.

IS BIKO DEAD?

It is the dictate of history to bring to the fore the kind of leaders who seize the moment, who cohere the wishes and aspirations of the oppressed. Such was Steve Biko, a fitting product of his time; a proud representative of the re-awakening of a people. Nelson Mandela

FORGET WE WILL NOT



NGUGI WA THIONG'O "If the site of dreams, desire, image, consciousness is memory, where is the location of memory itself? A people without memory are in danger of losing their soul."

THANDISWA MAZWAI

The world changes
Revolutionaries die
And the children forget
Have you forgotten where
you come from?
Have you forgotten who
came before you?
Your mothers' pain ...
As they died for your country



ROBERT MANGALISO SOBUKWE

"We breathe, we dream, we live Africa; because Africa and humanity are inseparable. Upon the liberation of Africa lies the liberation of the whole world."

ANTON LEMBEDE "I am one with Mother Africa's darkest soils. I am Africa's own child. My heart yearns for the glory of Africa that is gone. However, I shall work for the future Africa, free and great among the nations of the world."



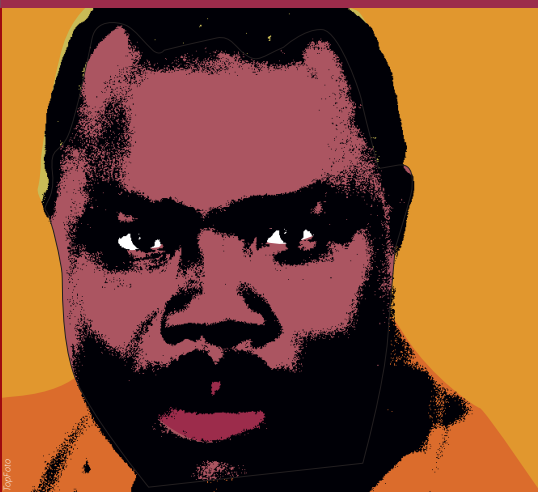
LIBERATE YOUR MIND



Sunday Times

LEBO MASHILE "Oppression begins with the self-perception that one is unworthy, unlovable, stupid, ignorant, good for nothing. One cannot impose on another that which they know to be untrue about themselves."

MARCUS GARVEY "You cannot grow beyond your thoughts. If your thoughts are those of a slave, you will remain a slave. If your thoughts go skin deep, your mental development will remain skin deep."



TopFoto

SIMPHIWE DANA "Our languages have been sidelined. I grew up in the Transkei and the teachers drummed it into us that we had to learn English to succeed. It directly affected my self-esteem. I recorded my latest album in Xhosa for me to feel complete."



Sunday Times

ZAKES MDA "An investment in Biko's children is an investment in the future of South Africa, for they will not desert this country. It is their heritage."



Sunday Times



BIKO LIVES!

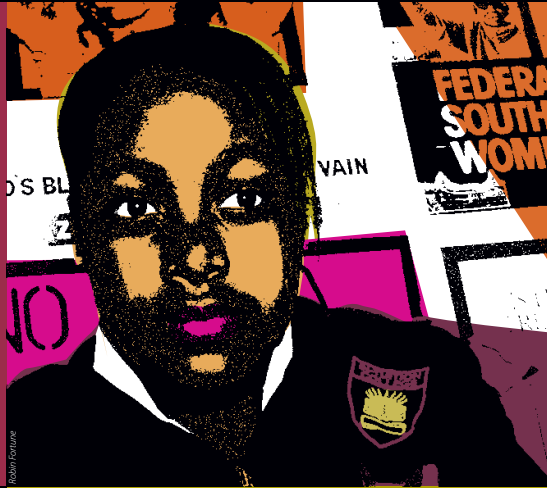


KEITH MURRAY, US RAPPER

"I did not know much about Steve Biko I first heard about him in 1985. I learned about him from the Public Enemy album, Fear of a Black Planet. If you are young and conscious, sooner or later, you will hear about Steve Biko."

DIKELEDI MASHABA, SCHOOL

STUDENT "I am happy South Africa has changed. People were treated badly in the past. Today I know that Biko was a strong man, he just wanted the best for everyone. The future of our country is in our hands."



THABO SPEELMAN, STUDENT

"If I met Biko today, I would say, 'You're the man!' His killers must own up. If they were big enough to beat him like they did, they should be big enough to own up. But Biko is the man. He struggled for us, especially for the poor."



MONIQUE PEREIRA, SCHOOL STUDENT

"Biko had courage, those were hard times. I can't imagine what it was like to be him. But I am very proud to know that he was a South African. I am proud that I am a South African."



WHAT IS THE QUEST FOR A TRUE HUMANITY TODAY?



Sunday Times

GAIL SMITH "A thorough examination of Biko, and the ideals for which he was murdered, would reveal a South Africa not too different from the one in which he lived and died."

NELSON MANDELA "The values of human solidarity that once drove our quest for a humane society seem to have been replaced by a crass materialism and pursuit of instant gratification. One of the challenges of our time is to re-instil in the consciousness of our people that sense of human solidarity, of being in the world for one another and because of and through others."



Sunday Times

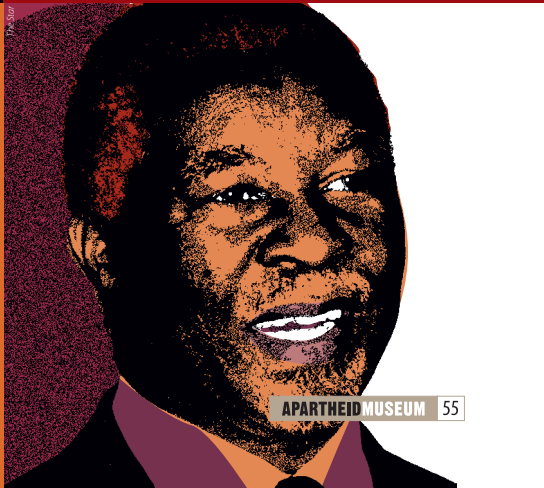
MAMPHELA RAMPHELE "There are still too many South Africans left behind in poverty, despair, and powerlessness. Too many people are still without jobs and the dignity of self-reliance. Our inadequate human capital base is being further eroded by HIV/AIDS that is stealing those in the prime of their lives and depriving children of motherly love."



Sunday Times

PRESIDENT THABO MBEKI

Many have expressed concern at what seems to be an entrenched value system centred on the personal acquisition of wealth at all costs and by all means. Is this the kind of society that Steve Biko visualised, that he fought and died for?"



Sunday Times

STIR IT UP!



Sunday Times

BISHOP TUTU "He didn't have a flashy car or a big house. He did not even have a university degree and by rights should have been consigned to oblivion. In this universe extraordinary greatness is measured by how much the person has served others, how much altruism they have shown."

JOHNNY CLEGG

Stephen Biko

A si m'bonanga

A si m'bonanga

A si m'bonanga umfowethu thina

Lapha ekhona

La wa fela khona



Sunday Times

NKOSINATHI BIKO "When I turned 30, the age at which my father died, it was one of those highly reflective years. He had achieved so much at such an early age. He is somebody who resonates throughout the world, and with young South Africans in particular."



BENJAMIN ZEPHANIAH

UK BASED DUB POET

We who muse his intelligence

Spread the good news in Reggae, Soul, Marabi

And the theatre of liberation,

Knowing that nobody dies until they're forgotten

We chant Biko today

Biko tomorrow

Biko forever

Biko the greatness



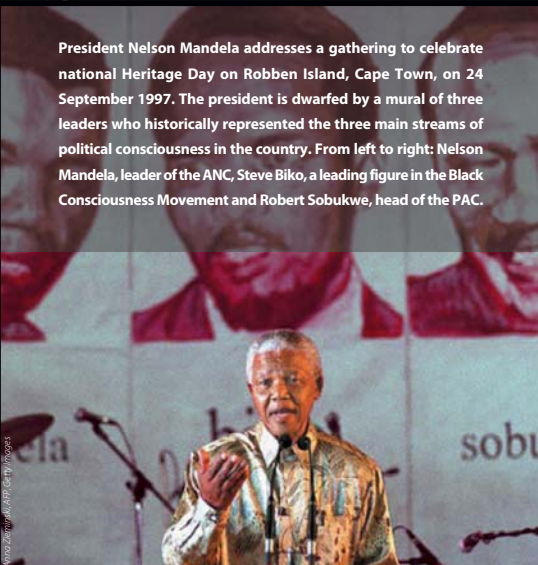
The British Council

MEMORY AND MONUMENTS

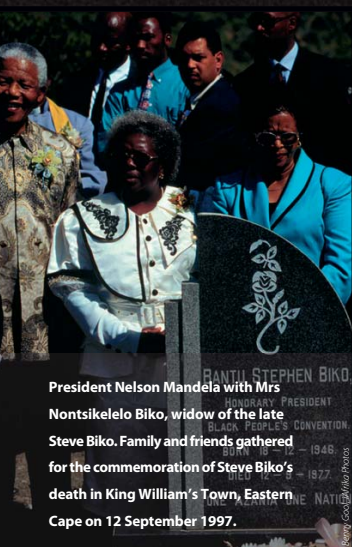


Visitors to a police museum in 1997 in Pretoria look at a portrait of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko and a sculptured corpse of how he was found in a police cell on 12 September 1977.

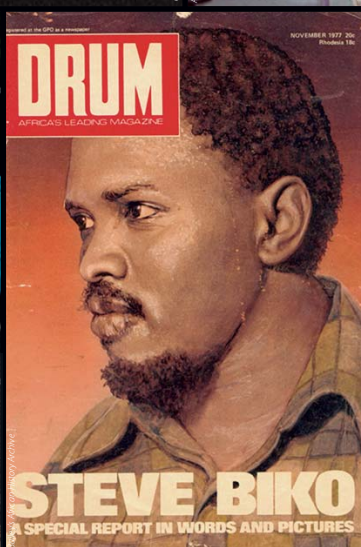
Cobus Sobotzinski / PictureQuest
 Arno Zaimovski / AP Photo/Imagos



President Nelson Mandela addresses a gathering to celebrate national Heritage Day on Robben Island, Cape Town, on 24 September 1997. The president is dwarfed by a mural of three leaders who historically represented the three main streams of political consciousness in the country. From left to right: Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC, Steve Biko, a leading figure in the Black Consciousness Movement and Robert Sobukwe, head of the PAC.



President Nelson Mandela with Mrs Nontsikelelo Biko, widow of the late Steve Biko. Family and friends gathered for the commemoration of Steve Biko's death in King William's Town, Eastern Cape on 12 September 1997.

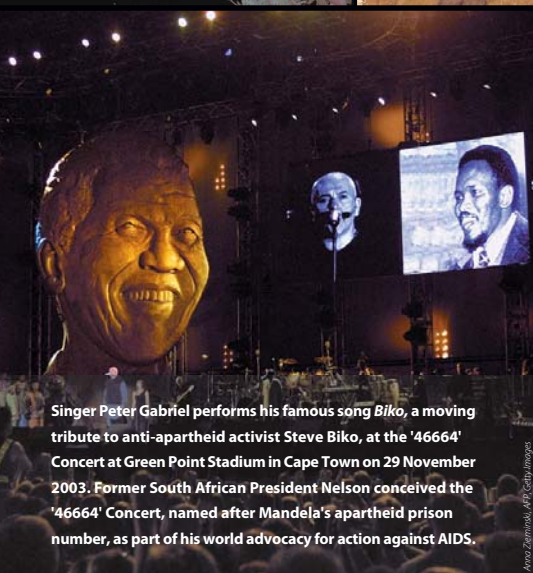


Steve Biko / Photo: Sengiso Goshu / Photo: Sengiso Goshu / Photo: Sengiso Goshu



United States ambassador Jendayi Frazer (left) laid a wreath at the memorial to Steve Biko at the East London City Hall on 5 September 2004. She was accompanied by Buffalo City mayor Sindisile Maclean and city manager Mxolisi Tsika (back).

Day / Photo: Day / Photo: Day / Photo: Day



Singer Peter Gabriel performs his famous song *Biko*, a moving tribute to anti-apartheid activist Steve Biko, at the '46664' Concert at Green Point Stadium in Cape Town on 29 November 2003. Former South African President Nelson conceived the '46664' Concert, named after Mandela's apartheid prison number, as part of his world advocacy for action against AIDS.

Arno Zaimovski / AP Photo/Imagos
 Dennis Farrell / PictureQuest



Sowearto store manager, Sicelo Dubazane, wears a T-shirt with a portrait of Steve Biko, in the exclusive boutique in Rosebank, Johannesburg, on 10 September 2007. Biko has been enjoying a revival as a fashion icon among the nation's youth who are embracing his message of racial pride and African unity.

WHAT DOES BIKO MEAN TO YOU?

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- Dr Mamphela Ramphele, *Citizenship as Stewardship*, 2005
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Videos/DVDs

- BBC interview with Biko* - 1977
- Biko: Inquest (102 mins)* - 1984
- A dramatisation by Jon Blair and Norman Fenton of the transcripts of the Biko inquest. Set in the inquest courtroom, it stars Albert Finney as Sydney Kentridge.
- Biko: Breaking the Silence (52 mins)* - 1987
- The origins and legacy of black consciousness and Biko's role in the movement are explored.

- Biko: The Spirit Lives (67 mins)* - 1988
- The story of Steve Biko is told by his contemporaries, family members and in archival footage of Biko himself. Preceded by comments from Terrence Francis who explains why and how the film was made.
- Steve Biko: Journey of the Spirit (52 mins)* - 1997
- Made to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Steve Biko's death, this programme is not so much a biography as a tribute to the black consciousness leaders' social, cultural and political legacy. It is structured around interviews with a number of people who knew him personally, as well as with persons influenced by his writings such as Don Mattered, Matthews Posa, Strini Moodley, Ben Khoapa, Saths Cooper, Lybon Mabasa, Glen Masokoane, Aggrey Klaaste, Charles Nkosi and Biko's eldest son, Nkosinathi.

- Steve Bantu Biko: Beacon of Hope (53 mins)* - 1999
- Many people are brought together in this film to bear witness to Steve Biko's dynamic life – father, philosopher, writer, community worker, politician. It focuses on the man behind the figure through the eyes of people whose lives he touched.



APARTHEID MUSEUM



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