

A second UK book on Biko

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A second book on Mr Steve Biko has been published in London. "No 46-Steve Biko" is written by Hilda Bernstein, a South African who has been living in exile for the past 14 years. The reference to No 46 in the title is to Biko's being the 46th person to die in Security Police detention in South Africa.

Mrs Bernstein's book is published as a paperback by the International Defence and Aid Fund, London — a banned organisation in South Africa. It has chapters on Mr Biko's life, black consciousness, and then Mr Biko's death, the funeral, the inquest, the police, the pathologists and the doctors. It also has a chapter on "unanswered questions," and one on the courts in South Africa.

Included among the appendices are a list of people who have died in detention in South Africa, and the report on the Biko inquest by the British lawyer, Sir David Napley.

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Biko

18/5/78

HILDA BERNSTEIN, writer and veteran of the South African struggle, has produced a pamphlet which should prove essential reading for all those who want to understand the apartheid state.

No. 46—Steve Biko (£1.50) uses the proceedings of the inquest on Biko, and horrifyingly revealing they are too.

She provides a brief sketch of Biko, a highly interesting analysis of Black Consciousness, and then proceeds to examine through the Biko case the behaviour of the state employees — police, doctors, judges.

The pamphlet concludes with an account of the 45 people who died in the hands of South African security police before Biko.

Published by International Defence And Aid Fund, 104 Newgate Street, London, EC1A 7AP.

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MORNING STAR

WILLIAM RUST HOUSE
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IT STARTED with Bellington Mampe, continued with Look-smart S. Ngudle, Suliman Saloojee, Alpheus Maliba, Imam Abdullah Haron, Ahmed Timol, Mapetla Mohapi, Jacob Mashabane and others, and no-one really noticed.

But after 45 such victims, Steve Biko became the 46th South African to die mysteriously while detained under security legislation brought in in 1963—and suddenly the whole world was asking questions.

His case might easily have suffered the same bureaucratic suffocation as most of the others—but for some blunders on the part of the police and the Minister of Justice, some fine investigative reporting by local journalists and, above all, the strength of Biko's following among South Africa's blacks.

The eventual inquest made riveting reading throughout the world as the horrific story unfolded, and in the end there were few people—outside South Africa—who were not left with a hollow feeling of outrage and despair at the indescribable and inexplicable brutality displayed against this man.

Refugee editor Donald Woods has published his book about Biko, giving a very personal account of the man and his achievements. There have also been dramatisations of extracts from the inquest transcript which have underlined the lies and the inconsistencies of the South African police claims.

But a new book about Biko has just been published which makes an equally significant contribution to the subject, in that it places what happened to Biko and the events of the inquest into the wider context of police and judicial procedures in South Africa.

NUMBER 46—STEVE BIKO, published by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa at £1.50, was written by Mrs Hilda Bernstein, who lives in Rothwell Street, Primrose Hill.

She is herself a former political detainee in South Africa, having subsequently fled the country in the early '60s with her husband, Rusty, and is thus well qualified to write with authority about the machinations of the police state's interrogation procedures.

Compiled from newspaper reports of the inquest, interviews with other detainees and her own personal experience of the system, Hilda Bernstein has produced an account which is, if anything, much more disturbing than a naked account of the inquest or the murder.

What is so frightening, and powerful, about her account is that the reader finally begins to get a glimmering of understanding into the total vulnerability of political detainees in South Africa, and the breathtaking callousness and hostility with which they are treated.

Background to Biko



● Hilda Bernstein, with one of her own paintings of South Africa: "A mystery and a horror story in one."

We are far too used, in this country, to the power of the courts over the police; to simple concepts like the need to appear before magistrates soon after arrest and then regularly until committal for trial, to be able to understand fully what happens in South Africa.

We have to be given, as Hilda Bernstein has done, a sort of condensed version of the facts which concentrates more on the mentality of the people who could throw a gravely injured man naked into the back of a Land-Rover and then drive 700 miles, than on the act itself.

South Africans, all of whom grow up constantly witnessing

examples of police brutality, hostility to and humiliation of Africans, have an almost instinctive understanding of what happened to Biko; how prison guards and police doctors could ignore the symptoms of what turned out to be fatal brain damage; how a man could be left unconscious and manacled on a cold floor beneath urine-soaked blankets.

The average Briton has to be given some extra insight into the events, the system, the personalities, the procedures, the precedents and the laws in order to understand. Hilda Bernstein provides this extra insight.

Yet Hilda Bernstein never met Biko. "He was probably just a child

when I left South Africa," she told me last week.

She was in fact busy researching a book, for the Defence and Aid Fund, on the whole question of detainees in South Africa when the Biko case blew up.

She had no idea then that Donald Woods was writing a book about him, but even when she learned of it, she decided to carry on with hers.

"I knew Woods' book would be a more personal account of the man and his ideas, whereas our aim was to really use the Biko case as a base for showing what has happened to the status of the law in South Africa, and to suggest what hap-

pened to the other 45 detainees who have died.

"That is why we have called the book Number 46—Steve Biko. There have been other really terrible cases, most of which never got any publicity at all.

"What really frightened me was the fact that not one of the policemen, or warders or doctors who saw him during his detention had displayed any spark of human sympathy or compassion.

"They all have this blank, dispassionate ability to say how so-and-so 'hanged himself' or 'threw himself out of a window' or 'fell on a piece of soap'.

"Writing this book was like writing a mystery story and a horror story in one—there are things one has to puzzle out, and things that make your blood run cold.

"It wasn't easy: often a web of lies are woven around a core of truth. But in the end I got so close to the events and to the people involved that I feel now that I know exactly what happened. I know who inflicted the fatal blow, and when it happened.

"At first things didn't hang together. There were so many lies. Then things fell into place—and the final piece in the jigsaw fell into place (as far as I am concerned) when I managed to explain to myself why the police story was such a poor one in the first place."

She believes that their key mistake was to get one of the doctors to certify that Biko was fine at a time when he must have been unconscious from a blow to the head.

"What is so terrible is that, in the end, the whole thing is closed. There will be no further investigation. Justice will not be done.

"The importance of this case is to show the kind of corruption and depravity which takes over the hearts and minds of people who subscribe to certain kinds of beliefs when these beliefs are sanctioned by the laws of the country.

"And the point is: it could happen here. There is nothing inherently different between the average white South African and British people.

"So far as I am concerned the book has a message for people here: the necessity to oppose racism and maintain at all costs all the official and legal structures which guard against it.

"For example, the Race Relations Act may not be terribly effective, but its mere presence on the statute books ensures that respectability is withheld from racists. Racism remains against the law, and the vast bulk of the public wants to remain on the right side of the law."

Hilda Bernstein ends the book with a quote from Bertolt Brecht:

"When he who did not fight alone is done to death

The enemy

Has not yet won."

Matthew Lewin

Ham & High 2/6/78

The murderous face of apartheid, and other oppressions

The Killing of the Imam by Barney Desai and Cardiff Marney (Quartet, £4.95, paperback £1.95)

No. 46 — Steve Biko by Hilda Bernstein (International Defence and Aid Fund, £1.50)

Biko by Donald Woods (Paddington Press, £5.95)

A Flame in Barbed Wire by Egon Larsen (Muller, £4.95)

THE calvary of Abdulla Haron in 1969, at the graceless hands of the South African Government, is the core of *The Killing of the Imam*. Transcending bitterness or even explicit moral judgments, this book illuminates oppression and countervailing human resilience in South Africa, termed (in Dingle Foot's convincing foreword) an "operative despotism of the modern world," different from any other because there "those whose skins are black or brown" cannot escape persecution.

This Muslim passion, precipitated in part by an insistence on orthodox food to interrogators who later slew him, is justly compared to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's. Indeed, the film *Judgment at Nuremberg* influenced Haron's private and public stand for the universality and dignity of humanity, against the apartheid regime which is known by his destruction. This fine book speaks to all lovers of true freedom.

Hilda Bernstein, aware of parallels with the Nazi epoch Brecht witnessed, tells of the uncharged Steve Biko, "naked and manacled, driven 740 miles through the night as he lay unattended and dying." As with Joyce Sikakane's moving and fresh *A Window on Soweto*, the International Defence and Aid Fund deserves great credit for this account of how the 48th individual to perish in South African security police detention met death.

The sadistic instruments of the regime are named, I think on the analogy of Christ's centurions. The usefully illustrated book explains the influence of earlier South Africans, including A. M. Lembede, on Biko's ideas. Biko's end is an idea in itself, of his nobility and his tormentors' degradation.

Biko has insight into the joke-strewn racism of the killers, and the value of personal testimony from a friend. But there is too much of

Woods' own native acceptance of settlers' stereotypes, prior to his conversion to humane realism through contact with Biko's world. On balance, despite a tendency to gush over injustice, this testimony enables the living to judge, say, the South African Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger — who boasted "Biko's death leaves me cold."

The liberation of South Africa — where now an uncharged African detainee is, to take one tiny telling detail, denied underpants "to eliminate suicide," then gets a blanket after officially unexplained death — seems both feasible and overdue, in the light of Biko's suffering.

Amnesty International is the theme of Egon Larsen's jarringly folksy *A Flame in Barbed Wire*. The strident anti-communism of the book makes for an unbalanced picture of Amnesty's past and present concerns.

Prisoners of conscience in Turkey and junta period Greece are described, alongside the plight of Iranian and Chilean sufferers from "institutionalised" torture. The specific horror of Amin's Uganda is under-rated, and in fact the virtual omission of American, Israeli, Egyptian, Libyan and West German political prisoners suggests a bias in the author, rather than necessarily in Amnesty itself.

A relatively objective history of Amnesty, and its tussles with injustices from Aden to South Africa and of course points eastward, is still needed, after this weak book on a fascinating good cause.

Nicholas Hyman

BOOKS

Ravages of racism
in southern Africa

Joseph Mduli, one of the 48 black South African leaders who, like Biko, have died in detention.

BIKO

By Donald Woods
Paddington Press, N.Y. 1978

It is nearly axiomatic that in this decade the lives and careers of prominent political figures become most controversial in the *post-mortem*. Malcolm X, for example, has been exhumed by socialists, the civil rights movement and Pan-Africanists—each group claiming a special line of descent from the deceased.

On Sept. 12, 1977, Steven Biko, a leader in the South African Student Organization (SASO) and proponent of the Black Consciousness Movement, died in the custody of the South African Security Police. Donald Woods, a leading white South African journalist and a personal friend of Biko's, escaped from the country with a partial manuscript of what was to be his tribute to the slain black leader.

Begun under the scrutiny of the South African police and completed in exile, *Biko* is more about Donald Woods than about the man for whom the book is named. Woods gives us an interesting picture of the factors that shaped his personal history. "I had two distinctly separate childhoods. One was in the Xhosa (a major South African tribe) world. ...The other was my own world of English school stories and American comic books."

Woods sees himself as a mediator, a cultural emissary between oppressor and oppressed; able, thanks to the color of his skin and the nature of the social order, to drift at will from the world of Steven Biko to that of the chief of South African Security, whom Woods affectionately calls "Oom (Uncle) Jimmy."

Through this lens, Biko is seen as a kind of black caricature of Woods: a refined, articulate spiritual leader, nearly a Victorian gentleman, who—Woods finds it pertinent to note—does not even speak with a noticeable African accent; a "moderate" non-conformist, palatable even to the most politically squeamish.

With center stage occupied by Woods and family, Biko appears most vividly as family friend, joking, chatting, sipping drinks on

The other 47
have equal claim
to our interest
and our
admiration.

the veranda. Somewhere, at the periphery of the frame, is Biko the political figure, associating with other blacks, involved in ideological debates and administering community programs.

The book does contain valuable excerpts from Biko's speeches, writings and court testimony. And it is only here, when the author steps aside, that we get a sense of the charismatic black leader.

SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC) were and are non-violent organizations out of tactical expediency, not moral conviction. They remain non-violent in order to function above-ground on South African soil, as complements to the banned liberation groups of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-African Congress (PAC).

As a leader in SASO and BPC, Biko never shared the blandly liberal assumptions of Woods. Biko's vision was international and systematic. Unlike Woods, who reduces apartheid to the politics of the majority National Party, Biko indicted the internal and external political, military and corporate powers for the continued oppression of South African blacks.

Through Woods' eyes, we get no sense of Biko's place in these broader movements, much less the dynamics of struggle within SASO and the BPC. Woods' Biko is a political chameleon, as militant or as passive as the scenery demands.

The book is valuable as a chronicle of a white South African's transformation from conservative to liberal. But although it reads as an impassioned elegy, a story of prophet and witness, it will not serve as a portrait of the Bantu, Steven Biko, nor as his final epitaph.

—Mac Margolis
Mac Margolis is a free-lance writer in Cambridge, Mass.

STEVEN BIKO: No. 48

By Hilda Bernstein

A WINDOW ON SOWETO

By Joyce Sikakane

ZIMBABWE: The Facts about Rhodesia

Prepared by the International Defense and Aid Fund Research Department

The International Defense and Aid Fund, which began as an effort to raise and deliver financial assistance to the families of black political prisoners, has become in recent years an archive of research materials and a publisher of short works on the struggle against anti-apartheid in South Africa and the liberation struggles in other black African countries.

IDAF has recently published a short book on Steven Biko (also written by an exiled white South African journalist) which gives a less personal, more political and considerably more illuminating portrait of the SASO leader and the historical context in which he operated.

Hilda Bernstein's *Steven Biko: No. 48* sketches the story of Biko's rise to leadership, clarifies his relationship to the overt and covert resistance struggles in South Africa and traces the heroically persistent effort to unravel the mystery of his death. That portion of the book reads like a detective story.

The author's conclusions—that it was a matter of unintentional murder—is buttressed by the official report of a distinguished British jurist, who was invited to attend the hearings that resulted in a white-wash of the Security Forces. His soberly conservative description of the proceedings and his assessment of South African justice is more effective than any passionate, partisan denunciation could be.

Bernstein is a veteran of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, now continuing the struggle in London. Her grasp of the present state of affairs is reflected in the title she has chosen for her book, which reminds us that Steven Biko is the 48th black to die while in the custody of South African Security Forces. The other 47 have, in her view, equal claim to our interest and our admiration.

Two other IDAF books are particularly relevant as background to current news from the southern half of the African continent.

A Window on Soweto is a curious mix of autobiography and statistical reportage, written by a woman who was born in Soweto, became a journalist, suffered detention as a "terrorist," was banned and finally left the country in 1973. Joyce Sikakane was not part of the youth uprising in Soweto in 1976 (cf Hilda Bernstein's article, *ITT*, Aug. 9). But her experience and reaction to it can be read as a prediction of the "children's revolution."

Zimbabwe: The Facts about Rhodesia is a 74-page, well organized, copiously illustrated compendium of information on the history and economic structure of white rule in Rhodesia. It includes maps, charts and photographs, and is authoritative, if openly and passionately on the side of the liberation forces in and outside that country today.

—J.S.
IDAF, 104 Newgate St., London EC1A 7AP, England.

STEVE BIKO. by Hilda Bernstein,
International Defence and Aid
Fund, 104 Newgate St., London,
EC1. Price £1.50.

Steve Biko was the 46th known political detainee who died while in the hands of the security police in South Africa. His death has attracted tremendous attention because of the brutal factors associated with it and because Biko, an educated, intellectual, articulate leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, was known to many leading personalities in different parts of the world.

This booklet examines all the factors connected with his death and also tells the life story of Steve. Its author, Hilda Bernstein, is a South African artist and author who has personal experience of imprisonment for political activity in South Africa. Her story of how Steve Biko died and her examination of the evidence deserves to be widely read.

*ANEW
Journal, July 1978,
by George Aitken*

The sooner the problems are discussed, and draft laws brought forward, the better.

ALEC SAMUELS

No. 46—*Steve Biko*. Hilda Bernstein. London 1978. The International Aid and Defence Fund. Pp 150. Price £1.50. Softback.

Steve Biko was an educated leader of the South African Black Consciousness movement. He was the 46th political detainee known to have died while in the custody of the South African security police. He was undoubtedly a thorn in the side of the establishment, he was subject to a banning order which forbade him to leave his home town, to take part in meetings or to write for publication. He was arrested and detained many times but no account of his incarcerations was made public. In August 1977 he was arrested without a specific charge being made. He died in detention on 12th September.

Throughout his detention he was kept naked, most of the time he was handcuffed and had a leg shackled to a grating on the floor. On 8th September the restraints were removed, he was said to have thrown a chair at one of his captors and to have become berserk. In a struggle he bumped against tables and walls although there was no satisfactory evidence of this. He showed signs of brain damage and died four days later.

Following post-mortem examination by several doctors an inquest was held. There was no dispute that he had died of head injury, only as to the way in which it was sustained.

It will be a long time, if ever, before I forget this harrowing account of calculated inhumanity. It demonstrates the difficulty of inquiry into the death of a person in custody for there are rarely independent witnesses, the testimony of gaolers and officials must be viewed with suspicion and the only reliable evidence is that of the medical experts, which is sometimes equivocal.

Sir David Napley, formerly President of the Law Society, was invited to attend as an observer. His fair and lucid report is given in an appendix.

A moving and well-written book. Strongly recommended as a warning of what can happen under oppressive legislation.

GAVIN THURSTON

The Medico-Legal Journal

Vol. 46, Part 3, 1978

Actions by National Non-Governmental Organizations in the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions on the Problem of Apartheid and Assistance Provided by Them to the Oppressed People of South Africa. United Nations Centre Against Apartheid. NY: Centre Against Apartheid, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, United Nations, NY, NY 10017 (78-04681) March 1978 47p. ICUIS 3936

This United Nations document is a catalog of international witness against apartheid. Among the 18 organizations whose documentation, publications, funding and other actions are included are the World Council of Churches and the All-Africa Council of Churches. The WCC's Programme to Combat Racism, established in 1969 as the instrument of the Council's long-standing opposition to apartheid and other manifestations of racism, has distributed over US \$1,500,000 for use for humanitarian purposes by organizations that combat racism. The report gives a detailed summary of AACC actions including: policy positions denouncing "détente" toward South Africa and the Bantustan Policy, with analytical position papers supporting each stand; talks with German churches regarding nuclear collaboration, investments, bank loans, trade, and white migration to South Africa; and the publication of The Nuclear Conspiracy summarizing these talks; consultations, educational efforts, and publications directed toward building anti-apartheid awareness. The AACC has also provided financial assistance to liberation movements and other anti-apartheid groups in the form of legal and educational assistance, refugee and other emergency aid. The International Defence and Aid Fund, publisher of No. 46 -- Steve Biko (see ICUIS 3937), is an organization specializing in humanitarian aid, with a stated opposition to violence; it also is among the groups listed by the UN agency. (JAC-H)

No. 46 -- Steve Biko. Bernstein, Hilda. London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 104 Newgate Street, London EC1A 7AP. £ \$1.50. April 1978. 150p. ICUIS 3937

"Black Consciousness was...a way of life, an attitude of mind, with a basic tenet 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 human dignity." To advocate such a "state of mind," which "contained a strong element of Christianity," was defined by the South African government as an act of "terrorism." Steve Biko, a leader in the Black Consciousness movement, was detained on August 18, 1977, thirty years old and in good health. Twenty-six days later he became the forty-sixth person to die in security police detention in South Africa. Police and medical testimony is riddled with inconsistencies and unanswered questions; nevertheless his final days can be reconstructed. He was kept naked in solitary confinement from August 19 to September 6, when he was brought to the interrogation room. There he was kept chained to a grille in the wall. Late on September 8, he was transported 1200 km to a prison hospital in Pretoria in the back of a Land-rover -- still naked, with no attendant and no "medical equipment" except a container of water. Early in the morning of September 7, he had been found "incoherent" by a Colonel Goosen, who later testified that he thought Biko had suffered a "stroke." At the hospital, the results of a lumbar puncture, ordered under a false name, revealed unmistakable evidence of brain damage, corroborated by other neurological symptoms. Yet later police insisted they thought him to be "shamming," and doctors testified they found "no sign to indicate organic disease." Post mortem examination found "at least three brain lesions" four to eight days old and a large bruise was clearly visible on Biko's forehead after death on September 12. In an inquest into Biko's death, the judge found no evidence that death was caused by "an act or omission involving an offense by any person." According to the Johannesburg Sunday Times, "... (the inquest) has exposed in chilling detail how the system of detention operates. Nobody can plead ignorance. Nobody can say, 'I didn't know... Every South African must now answer to his own conscience... and submit to the judgment of history on his actions.'" (JAC-H)

Agitprop

Deadline for this page is midday of Thursday before publication; Press deadline is 10.00am Tuesday. The Agitprop telephone is only answered on Monday afternoon, Tuesday morning, all day Thursday and Friday morning; please do not call at any other time—write if you can. When writing refer to pamphlets please remember to include postage.

Notes

★ **Death Saws Week, June 19-23** Campaign Against the Arms Trade are organising a number of events in opposition to the sale of Army Equipment Exhibitions. A meeting held this week in Dept. Mon: 8.00am meeting at 10.00am, Waterloo Station, no leaflet journalists. Meeting to Aldershot, 8.45-10.15am leafletting, vigil, street theatre at Aldershot station. 10.45-4.00 poster parade, leafletting, street theatre in Aldershot. Contact on the day: Agitprop (0252) 21422. Thur: 8.45-10.00am and 4.00-6.00pm leafletting at Ministry of Defence, Assembly near Royal Albert Hall, Whitehall. Throughout week: write letters to companies exhibiting at Aldershot and to embassies of countries sending reps. Details of these, and other information on action from CAAT, 5 Caledonian Rd, N1 (278 1978).

★ **Walk for Soweto, June 24** Sponsored walks in London and elsewhere to raise money for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and a new school being built in Tanzania by the African National Congress. Details and sponsorship forms from the South African Movement, 89 Charlotte St, W1 (580 5311).

Publications

★ **No 46—Steve Biko Biko** was the forty-sixth political detainee known to have died while being interrogated by the South African security police. This pamphlet traces the history of the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, concentrating on the questions surrounding his death. The answers centre on the role of the courts, and the development of corruption and morality in the apartheid state. 'In the fate of Steve Biko is encapsulated the truth about South Africa today, and the truth about its twenty-six million citizens, four-fifths black, one-fifth white' £1.50 from International Defence and Aid Fund, 104 Newgate Street, EC1.

★ **Children of Soweto** details the experience of an African family living in Soweto today. This is supplemented by woodcut illustrations and factual information on the plight of Africans in Soweto. Teachers might well find the pamphlet useful as the clear presentation and style means it is accessible to children. 28pp, 40p from South African Radical Amity Trust, 89 Charlotte St, W1.

★ **This is Apartheid** is a pictorial introduction to South Africa containing 50 photos, a map and a concise clear text. It has been produced at a very low price to encourage widest possible usage, especially in schools and colleges. 36pp, 20p from International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 104 Newgate St, EC1.

★ **South Africa—The Crisis of World Capitalism and the Apar-**

theid Economy analyses the South African economy in the context of the world crisis. The pamphlet unequivocally supports the African National Congress, described as the only organisation in South Africa which offers an alternative to the crisis. 22pp, 80p from Winstanley Publications, 71 Fleet St, EC4.

★ **African Workers and Apartheid** describes the vicious control of labour in South Africa. Although in the interests of the bosses, this control is largely exercised by the state particularly through the detested pass laws. This pamphlet sets out the complex manner in which the Bantu Labour system enmeshes the African worker. 44pp, 50p from International Defence and Aid Fund, 104 Newgate St, EC1.

Friday

★ **Solidarity with the Struggles in Southern Africa** Demonstration to mark the second anniversary of the Soweto uprising, and to express opposition to any sell-out settlement in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Assemble 5.30 at Malet Street, WC1, to march to South Africa Freedom Rally in Central Hall, Westminster, at 7.30. The programme combines speeches (with speakers from South Africa, music, song, and poetry. Amongst the participants are Jabula, Peggy Seeger and Ewan MacColl, and Maybabe. Admission 20p. After the rally, a torchlight procession will go to 10 Downing Street to present a letter to the PM, and then to South Africa House where it will end at 10.00pm. Details on the twenty-four hour vigil. Further details on the march, the rally, the torchlight procession from Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, W1 (580 5311). Don't mourn—mobilise!

★ **Women in Nazi Germany** Susan Greenburg talking at a Women's Research and Resources Centre meeting, 7.30 prompt at 27 Clerkenwell Close, EC1.

★ **Camden against Racism** Benefit with Oxy and the Forons, plus bar and disco. 8.00-11.30 at North London Poly, Kentish Town bar, Prince of Wales Rd, NWS. Adm 75p.

★ **ABC Campaign** Discussion meeting with Crispin Aubrey, 8.00 at Centreprise, 136 Kingsland High St, E8.

★ **Prisoners of the Right** Against Secrecy Laurie Taylor and Walter Probyn speak at a meeting organised by North London NCCU, 7.30 at Concorde Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

★ **Feminism and Irish Republicanism** Troops Out Movement forum. Speaker: Mary Reid, 7.30 at Bull and Mouth, Bloomsbury Way, WC1.

Saturday

★ **Commemoration of the Soweto anti-apartheid uprising** Meeting at Arts Centre, Gifford Street, N1. Film: 'There is No Crisis'; paper presented by Matthew Nkomo on 'The Ideological Politics of the Departure of the Black Consciousness Movement'; poetry reading, 3.00. Adm free. Details: 608 4263.

★ **International Socialist Alliance Conference** today and tomorrow at the Africa Centre, King St, WC2. Former IS members and others sympathetic to current moves towards revolutionary regroupment welcome. Creche available. Documents and

credentials (£1.50) from Richard Kruper, 45 Falkland Road, NW9 (287 6198).

★ **Gamers Steak House Strike** Mass picket 12.00-3.00 at 399 Oxford St, W1.

★ **N. Paddington Women's Day** 2.00-8.00 at the Factory, Chippendale Mews, W9. Video, music, theatre; workshops on dance, T-shirt printing, massage; bazaar; junkie, information stalls. Creche.

★ **North Paddington Women's Centre Benefit** with Poison Girls, Terri Quaye, disco, bar, £1 (unwaged 75p), 8.00 at The Factory, Chippendale Mews, W9. Men and women.

★ **The Left and the Press** A one day seminar covering the left wing press and the treatment of left wing issues in the national press. Speakers: Bruce Page (New Statesman), Phil Kelly (Louveller), Donald Ross (Labour Weekly) and others. Tickets inc lunch £3, 10.30-4.30. At Scribbs Bar, Carmelite St, nr Fleet St, EC4.

★ **Rock against Racism** with Adam and the Ants, the Enchanters and Crisis, plus 'Nazis No Fun' video. At South Bank Poly, Rotary St, SE1 (£1.25 (75p with dole card)).

★ **'In Our Way'** presented by Women's Theatre Group, 8.00 at Ealing Teachers Centre, Ealing Northern Sports Centre, Greenford Rd, Greenford, Middx. Bar. Adm 50p.

Sunday

★ **Stop the Nazi National Front** Attacks demonstrated in protest against attacks led by London Asian community. Assemble 11.00am at Naz Cinema, Brick Lane, E1 (Waldgate East end) Organised by Anti-Nazi League.

★ **The People's Festival**, organised by the Communist Party, is taking place from 11.00am to 11.00pm at Alexandra Palace. Amongst the bewildering array of events there will be a political rally with Communist leaders from Italy, France, South Africa and Britain discussing the development of the Communist Parties in Europe, the situation in South Africa, as well as the crises and conflicts in Britain.

Two open forums on 'The Struggle against Racism and 'Nuclear Energy', which W9? are also arranged; speakers include Peter Hain and Paul Horowitz (ANL), Dave Cook (CP), Dorothy Kay, David Green and Dr John Baruch. There will be music including an evening gig with punk, reggae and rockabilly (see Mags); films throughout the day (see Film News); theatre (see Theatre), events for children and a festival village with fun-fair, side shows, jugglers, ethnic food stalls, real ale and much more. Admission £2 adults, 50p children. £1 unwaged. Details from: 898 2151.

★ **Cite to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists** is presenting a special fund-raising screening of 'Happily Ever After', a documentary on Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1968. 2.00 at Scala Cinema, 25 Tottenham W1, £1.50 students (£1.25).

★ **Gay Left Open Readers Meeting** from 2.00 at Oval House, Kennington, to discuss issues raised in the last edition of the magazine.

★ **Benefit Concert** organised by the Young Socialists in support of three causes; the fight for 'Jobs for Youth'; the campaign



Two years after the Soweto uprising, the struggle in Southern Africa continues: see Friday & Saturday.

against the nuclear processing plant at Windscale; and the fight against racism. Concert with X-Ray Spex, Black Slate, Sollo, Chelsea, and King Sound and the Brimstones, 3.00 at Wembley Conference Centre, Wembley. Tickets £1. Details from: 622 7029.

★ **Haringey Women's Meeting** 3.00 at 16 Ossian Road, N4 (348 7375).

★ **Gay Post Office Workers** meet at 2.00. Speaker from Nalgay. All UPW members welcome.

Monday

★ **POW Status for Irish Political Prisoners**, S. London UTOAM meeting in support of July 9th demonstration, with speaker from Prisoners Aid Committee. 7.30 at St Matthew's Meeting Place, St Matthew's Crypt, Brixton Hill, SW2 (opp Brixton ABC).

★ **Rail Against the Nazis** First meeting of anti-nazi group for rail and underground workers. 8.00 at The Roebuck, Tottenham. 7.30 at St Matthew's Meeting Place, St Matthew's Crypt, Brixton Hill, SW2 (opp Brixton ABC).

★ **Alternatives to Apartheid: The Future for Minorities in South Africa** Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert MP (Progressive Party and former Professor at Witwatersrand University) will speak at a Minority Rights Group meeting. 8.00 at Film Theatre, 10 St James' Square, SW1.

★ **Take It Like a Man, Ma'am** Feminist film presented by Islington SWP/Women's Voice. 8.00 at Film Theatre, North London Poly, Holloway Rd, N7. Entrance 75p (unwaged 50p).

★ **Campaign Against Advertising** Meeting for feminists and socialists who want to build a militant campaign against all aspects of commercial advertising. 7.00 at 6 Endsleigh St.

★ **Was There Ever a Golden Age in Education?** Speaker: Joan Lester MP. Meeting organised by London Branch of Socialist Education Association, 8.00 at Committee Room 6, House of Commons, Westminster, SW1.

★ **Monstrous Regiment** will perform their 'Flour Show' to raise funds for their trip to Cuba as cultural representatives in the British delegation to the International Youth Festival in July, 7.30 at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1. Tickets £1.20.

Tuesday

★ **Combating the National Front** Dr J. Gerwitz speaks to the Young Fabians. 8.00 at 11 Dartmouth St, SW1.

★ **Peace and the Nuclear Bomb** (London SWP public meeting). Speaker: Dave Albury, 7.00 at 36 Bedford Square, WC1. Anybody wanting a babysitter, phone Sue Dorey (358 5773 day).

★ **Argentina in the Hour of the Furnaces** Parts 1 and II. Film-show organised by Cultural Committee of Chile Solidarity Campaign and LSE Latin American Society. 7.00 at New Theatre, East Building, London School of Economics, Houghton St, WC2. Admission 60p.

Wednesday

★ **Women's Liberation: What's It All About?** This week 'Sexuality and Self-Determination'. 7.30 at Greenwich Institute, Greenwich Park School, King George St, SE10. £1.70 for course, but this is the one but last week. Details from Louise (607 1034).

★ **Lucas Workers' Alternative** Plan Mike Cooley (Lucas Combine Shop Stewards' Committee) speaks to Camden Socialists Challenge Group, 7.00 at the Cock pub, 2 Diana Place, NW1.

★ **Westminster CHE Speaker:** Maureen Colquhoun MP, 8.00 at Westminster Arms, Stores Gate SW1. Adm 30p.

★ **National Abortion Campaign** SW London Socialist Challenge meeting about the campaign for day care abortion facilities, with speakers from SW London NAC. 7.30 at St Anne's Community Centre, Venn St, SW4.

Thursday

★ **Girls Are People Too** One day conference for men and women youth workers organised by the London Union of Youth Clubs. 10.00am-4.30pm at Westminster/ Camden Teachers' Centre, Stanhope St, NW1. Fee £3. Limited places, so contact LUYC on 01-822 4247.

★ **Defend Republican News** The weekly paper of Belfast Provision Sinn Fein (a legal organisation) has been subjected to continual raids and seizure by British army and police. Public meeting organised by Ad Hoc Committee to Defend RN, with speakers from The Leveller, Big Flame, Socialist Challenge, Socialist Worker. 7.30 at Small Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq WC1.

★ **Garners Steak House Strike** Recall Conference 7.30 at Transport House, Smith Square, SW1. Details: 240 1056.

★ **Lewisham Women's Centre** Benefit disco, with speakers, bar, food, 8.00-11.00 at the Transport House, 74 Deptford High St, SE8. Adm 40p. Women only.

★ **Is Science Neutral?** Central London SWP public meeting. Speaker: Dave Albury, 7.00 at 36 Bedford Square, WC1. Anybody wanting a babysitter, phone Sue Dorey (358 5773 day).

★ **Oppose the Internal Settlement in Zimbabwe** Barnett Anti-Apartheid Group meeting with London SWP public meeting. Speaker: Ian Zingales, film and speaker from Zim, 7.45 at St Philip's Hall, Gravel Hill, N3.

Books: News & Reviews

by EAST (East End Abbreviated Soapbox Theatre) based in Newham, 5-12 yr olds, 3.00, 75p. Temp mem ship for adults, 25p.

★**Kids Events at the Roundhouse** Chalk Farm Rd, NW1 (267 500) **Week 1** **Walk Farm tube**. Saturday morning workshops in **Drama and Crafts**, 11.00-1.00. **15-19**. **Children's Matinee Show: B&P Puppets** in their hilarious kitchen drama "The Food is Revolting", 2.30, Kids 50p, adults £1. Set lunch available for 50p. Children can stay all day with a Combination Ticket (Workshop, Lunch & Show) for £1.25.

★**Unicorn Theatre** 81 Newport St, WC2 (836 3334) **Leica Sq tube**. Sat. Sun: **Bazuki Puppets in 'The Clown's Clown'**—the story of a clown going to test to join a clown's school, with three live clowns, life-size and giant puppets, and lots more. For 5-12 yrs, 2.30, 70p.

★**Little Angel Marionette Theatre** Dagmar Passage, off Cross St, N1 (226 1787) **Highbury or Angel tube**. Guest puppeteer Paul Hansard with his colourful new show "The Giant's Hairs" based on a fairy story by Grimm. Sat. Sun at 3.00. Children 75p, adults £1. Extra perf, Sat 11.00am (for younger children), children 50p, adults 75p.

★**Nomad Puppets** are now giving performances at a small theatre, workshop of Regent's Street, W1 on Sundays, 3.00. This week: **The Witch's Cottage & 83rd Stevens**, a gothic tale of the clown. Private performances and parties by arrangement. Phone: 437 5396 (9.00-6.00 daily & 8.30 or 223 8243 (Sats).

★**Riverside Studios** Crisp Rd, W6 (748 3354) **Hammersmith tube**. Sun: Film of "The Tales of Beak Patter" danced by the Royal Ballet. 2.00. Children 35p, adults 70p.

★**Hamleys Sports & Leisure** Store Wigmore St, W1 (734 3161) **Bond St tube**. Sat: Peter Shilton, Footballer of the Year, visits from 3.00-4.30. For £1.11, that's a goal against him, you win a free T-shirt!

★**Hayes Hill Farm Crooked Mile**, near Waltham Abbey, Essex. (099-289 2291). By car, north on A11, then right, to Hayes Farm in the Lea Valley Park, open to visitors every Sat (2.00-6.00) & Sun (11.00am-6.00) 8th September. Crooked Mile is an old barn with displays and occasional demonstrations of rural crafts. Traditional farm (re)production of sheep, cows, chickens, geese, turkeys, ducks. Seasonal work to watch (sheep shearing etc). Open space in the park. Optional trip (by hay wagon) to Hollyfield Farm farm nearby, to watch the cows being milked (2.00). Also open to organised groups and school parties on weekdays, by arrangement. Open to adm: 40p, adults, 20p children. (Tours of Hollyfield Hall, 20p adults, 10p children).

Kidsbook

★**Ashes' Children's Theatre** available for any children's function, inc birthday parties. Details from July, 603 2512.

★**Bates Eyesight Method: Children's Group** (age 10 & over). Four Fridays, 5.00-6.30, starting June 23 at the Open Centre, 23 St. Ec1. £5 per session. The course. Phone: 800 8871, by June 19.

Paperbacks and inexpensive hardbacks are favoured for review, but where a more expensive edition has been recommended, we suggest that you ask your local library to order it. (We support Public Lending Right.) Poetry is reviewed in the Poetry Section, political pamphlets in Alternative Politics and books about food in the Food Section, and other specialist books are listed from time to time in the relevant sections.

★The Other Bestsellers

We are running a continuing series of bestseller lists gathered from individual neighbourhood and speciality bookshops. This is to provide an alternative to surveys that statistically lump together the reading tastes of disparate groups, referring only to a 'mean' or 'average' of no particular favour.

- ★**Dark They Were and Golden Eyed** 9-12 St Anne's Court, W1 (734 4260).
- ★**Lucifer's Hammer** (Futura £1.25) by Larry Niven & Jerry Pournelle.
- ★**Sword of Shannara** (Futura £1.75) by Terry Brooks.
- ★**Gateway** (Futura 85p) by Fred Pohl.
- ★**Man Plus** (Futura 85p) by Fred Pohl.
- ★**Mission to Universe** (Sphere 85p) by Gordon R. Dixon.

General

★**No '46**—Steve Biko (International Defence and Aid Fund for South Africa, paperback £1.70) by Hilda Bernstein. Who said: "A reformed apartheid Land Rover was used?" Answer: Colonel Pieter Goosen, Chief of the Security Police in Eastern Cape. South Africa, reacting to questions as to why the comatose Steve Biko was carried 740 miles on the floor of a Land Rover the night before he died. Just one of the gems from the extracts from the Biko inquest reprinted in this book. Naturally, the South African police lied through their teeth right through the proceedings, and couldn't even cook up a coherent story between them to account for the injury that caused the five brain lesions that killed him. Because they couldn't care, the two SA security police are paid to 'interrogate' blacks to death, and lie about it afterwards. But why the security even bother, unless they are the answers of the doctors: Dr Ivor Lans, district surgeon at Port Elizabeth, examined Biko the morning after he died, and the unexplained blows, and filed a report: 'I have found no evidence of any abnormality or pathology on detainee.' Under questioning he was forced to admit he had noticed a few of Biko's wounds, but didn't record them because he was too busy to be embarrassing for the police later.

So, in this book, the real and horrifying hold of apartheid is laid bare: the doctors, pathologists, lawyers and judges, all white, all (save the Biko family's representative) are lawless of justice, democracy and humanity. Though he has no speaking part, Biko emerges as a man who has a different person than all the professional dignitaries put together. Bernstein includes a brief biography (he was only 31 when he died) and analysis of the Black Consciousness movement, and draws the obvious, because unavoidable,

conclusions. Why 'No 46'? Because Biko was the 46th black to die in police detention. No-one in the security services has ever been convicted for their responsibility for any of them. (Tim Gossill)

★**'Juntas United'** (Quartet, £1.95) by Ed Harriman and Peter Chippendale.

★**'A Flame in Barbed Wire'** (Frederick Muller, £4.95) by Egon Larsen.

With the World Cup sparking off a good deal of not altogether complimentary publicity for Argentina, Chippendale and Harriman's timely book on dictatorships considers some of the most grotesque regimes around the world. Appropriately, the book concludes with the 'World Dictators' Cup Final, the winner being the country 'where I would most like not to live'. The authors have proclaimed Uganda as the winner.

But topicality has forced the authors to cast their net too widely and this has inevitably drawn them into superficial analyses and some glaring omissions. For example, no Arab country gets a mention: a place like Saudi Arabia, while not formally a dictatorship, is nonetheless a feudal state, and Libya and Iraq bear witness to constant repression. Since the authors' brief has been to deal with military governments, they generally leave out the so-called socialist countries; but by bringing in North Korea, they also tacitly raise the question of the eligibility of the USSR and countries like Rumania and Albania, but fail to deal with it. Why not mention Czechoslovakia, where information does exist about

political imprisonment? Though its prose sometimes reads as if it had been culled from a clipping service, the photos help 'Juntas United' to be a clever and quick visual guide to the subject, but it has its limitations.

Egon Larsen has written a factual, reliable history of Amnesty International dealing with similar ground but from different perspectives. Though Amnesty has always prided itself on treating the human rights issue impartially in both capitalist and socialist countries, Larsen doesn't highlight the American role in the suppression of human rights in the way that Chippendale and Harriman do.

He does give some attention to the death penalty, which is now a very hot political issue in America, though he minimises the significance of the execution of Gary Gilmora for the 400 or so prisoners (many of them blacks) currently on Death Row. Another important blind spot is the extent to which 'human rights' has become a pretext for the heating up of the Cold War. Carter's misuse of the term as a negotiating tool against the Russians in order to justify American intervention in Africa makes the work of an organisation like Amnesty that much more difficult. Larsen's book is a good start on the history but more research and a clearer view of the political issues could help someone to cover the same ground more effectively. (Anita Bennett)

Sport

★**English Cricket: The Game and its Players** through the

Agas' (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £50) by Chris Brooks. Although it bears the stamp of its origins as a doctoral thesis, not least in the cocky scholastic trick of openly dismissing certain earlier authorities, this book does within its limited scope succeed in developing a concept of its own for the development of the game.

To summarise crudely, landowners adopted what was originally 'folk' games as if they were from warfare to agriculture. It kept them in touch with their employees, and allowed them to indulge in their passion for betting (some of the wagers riding on 18th century matches make even Packer's purse seem niggardly). Eventually, organisation on a county basis became the predominant form, bringing with it the absurd snobbery of the professionalisation of the game, which only died in 1962; indeed, it was but ten years before this that England was the first to have a professional team (Len Hutton). Brooks concentrates on the history of the game's organisation largely to the neglect of its more physical appearance. Thus his book is in no way definitive, but it is a worthy addition to the cricket library with some original theorising to intrigue. (John Collis)

Photography

★**The Russian War: 1941-1945** (Jonathan Cape, £6.95) Edited by Danilla Mrazek and Alexander Remes. Text by A. J. Taylor.

Mangled bodies as visual accompaniment to the text breaks have always seemed a dubious idea to me. This book, a Czechoslovakian production, assembles the work of 19 of the 200 photographers who served with the Soviet army and counters that proposition by involving the viewer in their side of the War.

The images are stark and gritty. Death is treated with devastating simplicity, grief, although, is not. As Taylor points out in his introduction, even the Germans in defeat are portrayed with 'deep human sympathy'. Any sentimentality is banished by pictures like 'The conquerors of Berlin' which shows the back view of two shabby Russian soldiers, trudging down a desolate street in the city.

There is none of the swash and buckle of ace mercenaries, nor the frequent coming in and out of other people's wars and producing bloody glimpses of tragedy to slip between the adverts in the colour supplements. These are not pictures of victims, but documentaries compiled with pride by people whose family and friends were involved, fighting and dying. The actual style of photography, dictated by the equipment and nature of the adverts in the colour supplements as prevailing style, means that the viewer is caught in the wheels of time.

The pictures compel one to consider a recent European reality frequently forgotten now that victory became the exclusive province of the victors and colonialists carving up the Third World. On the frontline of the war, the frequently switched from camera to pistol. Miraculously, they all survived, many selecting their favourite pictures for the front cover of a 20 million slaughtered comrades. A deeply moving book. (Val Wilmer)



Cyra McFadden's 'The Serial' (Picador £2.50) is a delicious and deadpan send-up of soap opera magazine stories and how to get heavily into *Alternative Lifestyles* without losing your credit rating. It spans a year in the life of Marin County, California, through which a collection of navel-contemplating WASPS work at getting their heads together, search for *Caring Relationships*, *Open Commitment* and generally hang loose. *Bumper stickers cry 'Save the Wombats', conversations pop with the patter of self-promotion: acupuncture, saunas, soundtouch, macramé, primal screaming and the Creative Divorce Group. Watch marriages fall apart and grow together, beautiful souls emerging like butterflies into a calmer karma, learn how to communicate with paranoid Boston ferns and dachshunds on macho trips. If you can relate to it, it's an ongoing laughter situation for sure, but take it one episode at a time and cool out in between, or no way is your sensory awareness going to make it out of that whole downhill entropic bag. Can you dig it? (Two-Car Gharaji John Fordham)*

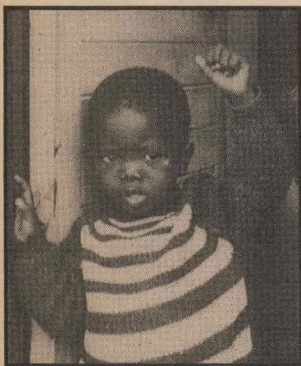
Development on the cards

The Rich and the Poor by H. Starkey (Ely Resource and Technology Centre, Buck Hill, Ely, Cambridgeshire, UK £2.40)

This unusual publication consists of 100 small playing cards, designed for use in "world studies" in the secondary school. 40 cards convey single facts - global hunger, national inequalities, individual extravagance, 40 short concise quotations from sources as diverse as Abraham Lincoln and Paul Getty. The remaining 20 are photographs conveying poverty, affluence, waste, etc. An accompanying sheet provides detailed references and about twenty suggestions for classroom use. "Deciphering the message contained on the card" might, in practice, bulk rather large, since the language is often uncompromising. I'm afraid that Hugh Starkey hasn't entirely resolved the difficulty encountered by all designers of "games" for teaching - the inevitable tension between pedagogical intentions and a game that is effective as a game. The pack also strikes me as expensive, but it would be worth investigating by teachers searching for a new approach.

Michael Storm.

Case No. 46



Samore Biko - Steve's 2 year old son.

No. 46 - Steve Biko by Hilda Bernstein (International Defence and Aid Fund, London; £1.50/\$3)

Steve Biko was the 46th person known to have died while being held for questioning by the South African security police in the last 25 years. Since his death in September 1977, two more detainees have died - one an 18 year old boy.

The deaths of these political detainees

have variously been explained away by the security police as due to natural causes, suicide, falling from a window during questioning, falling down a stairwell, or slipping in the shower. In some cases they have not even bothered to explain - or to tell relatives of the detainee's death. In no case has an enquiry placed any blame on the police. In short, detention in South Africa for political activities or even beliefs does not only mean torture - it can also mean death.

But if murder in detention is an accepted part of South Africa's nightmarish way of life and death, why then did "Case Number 46 - Steve Biko" shock the world? As Bernstein explains: "People are 'shocked' in a conventional sense to read that a minimum of 46 South Africans have died in detention in the last few years. But they are moved to the very depths of their being by the thought of one man, naked and manacled, driven 740 miles through the night as he lay unattended and dying." Through the life and death of Steve Biko, says the author, it is possible to see the structure of a whole nation.

And indeed, for anyone who wants to understand a part of the apartheid system as it works, this is an important book, well and simply written. There is a short introductory chapter to explain Biko's political work and beliefs, and to place him in the historical context of the struggle for human rights in South Africa. But most of the book is a word for word account of the inquest and enquiry into the events leading up to Biko's death.

The security police, the state's legal representatives, and the doctors called in by the police to examine Biko, are all left to damn themselves by their own words - and by their silences to crucial questions asked by the counsels representing Biko's family.

In spite of various attempts by the police and the state to cover them up, the facts of "Case Number 46" are unalterable. On August 18 Steve Biko, a healthy man, was arrested. Sometime early in the morning of September 7th, 24 hours after his interrogation began, the blows that damaged Biko's brain were inflicted. In spite of visible external injuries and positive signs of brain damage in the few tests carried out, none of the doctors brought in by the security police to "look at" Biko (and they did little more than look) insisted that he should be hospitalised or even treated. On 12th September, Biko died.

Not long after Biko's death, the white electorate in South Africa returned the government to power with an overwhelming majority. Steve Biko, as Bernstein points out, was a spokesman for non-violent ways to change the system. But, she adds: "There is not, nor can ever be, a 'non-violent' situation in today's South Africa. The laws themselves are violent laws, violently administered - what better witness to that than Biko's own death?"

Eve Hall

Also worth reading on POLITICS



The Real World of Democracy by C.B. Macpherson. OUP 1971. 67 pages which extract the essence of the three main systems of government. Text of lectures first broadcast on CBC Canada. Somewhat dense as a result of compression but valuable for a sharp brief comparison of democracies.

Fear of Freedom (also titled Escape from Freedom) by Erich Fromm. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1942. A classic on the psychology of politics which we have struggled to summarise on page 10. Written 37 years ago but still as fresh, relevant and illuminating today - and justifiably still in print. Very highly recommended.

On Socialist Democracy by R. Medvedev. Macmillan 1975. An indictment of the Soviet system by a left-wing dissident. Emotive and occasionally repetitive, but easier to read than most other such books, with plenty of actual examples. Well worth searching for.

Elections Without Choice edited by G. Hermet, R. Rose and A. Rouquie. Macmillan 1978. A collection of essays on the electoral experiences of Eastern Europe, Cameroun, Kenya, Tanzania, Syria and Portugal. Good tangible examples described. Political perspective varies with contributor.

Political Sociology edited by A. Pizzorno. Penguin Education, 1971. A first-class collection of readings by 24 political and social theorists. Some are now rather dated but taken together they give a good introduction to the subject. The book indicates the dimensions of the field and includes some classics.

BOOKS: News & Reviews

TIME OUT
16-22 June, 1978

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General

★'No 46—Steve Biko' (International Defence and Aid Fund for South Africa, paperback £1.50) by Hilda Bernstein. Who said: 'A relatively luxurious Land Rover was used?' Answer: Colonel Pieter Gossens, Chief of the Security Police in Eastern Cape, South Africa, replying to questions as to why the comatose Steve Biko was carried 740 miles on the floor of a Land Rover the night before he died. Just one of the gems from the extracts from the Biko inquest reprinted in this book. Naturally, the South African police lied through their teeth right through the proceedings, and couldn't even cook up a coherent story between them to account for the injury that caused the five brain lesions that killed him. Because they clearly didn't care: the SA security police are paid to 'interrogate' blacks to death, and lie about it afterwards. But what makes even angrier reading are the answers of the doctors: Dr Ivor Lans, district surgeon at Port Elizabeth, examined Biko the morning after he received the unexplained blows, and filed a report: 'I have found no evidence of any abnormality or pathology on detainees'. Under questioning he was forced to admit he had noticed a few of Biko's wounds, but didn't record them because it could turn out to be embarrassing for the police later.

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conclusions. Why 'No 46'? Because Biko was the 46th black to die in police detention. No-one in the security services has ever been convicted for their responsibility for any of them. (Tim Gopsill)

Liberation

BIKO

July - August
1978

No 46. STEVE BIKO, by Hilda Bernstein. IDAF. 104 Newgate St, London EC1. £1.50.

Stephen Bantu Biko was the forty-sixth political detainee known to have died while being 'interrogated' by the security police in South Africa.

He had never been convicted of any crime nor had he ever been arrested for inciting violence—yet he was considered 'dangerous' by the South African authorities because he dared to question the apartheid system.

In her new book, *No 46—Steve Biko*, a frightening documentary covering the life and death of this young African leader, Hilda Bernstein comments: "From the time that Steve Biko entered room 619 in Sanlam Buildings (the Port Elizabeth headquarters of the security police) his destiny was sealed.

"The man who had laughed at danger and provocation, who had formed organisations and edited magazines, who had argued and debated and propounded strong ideas, no longer existed. His past life had been sheared away. What was left was the frame of Steve Biko, enclosing now only a suffering mutely and inadequately expressed and callously ignored.

"... They [the police and district surgeons] condemned him to the total isolation and loneliness in which he moved through incomprehension and darkness to his death."

Although, like the author, I am also a former South African journalist and am well acquainted with the oppressive apartheid system and the measures used to enforce it, the book filled me with a fresh sense of horror.

Rely extensively on transcripts of the evidence at the post mortem examination—a device to clear the authorities of any blame, Hilda Bernstein sets the facts clearly before the reader. She does not name the killers; the witnesses are left to convict themselves by their own statements.

It is not so much what the witnesses said, but what they omitted to say—the 'conspiracy of silence'—that makes this account so chilling.

Hilda Bernstein's book should be read by every member of the board of every British company with financial interests in South Africa. It certainly won't be read in South Africa. Like Steve Biko, it won't be allowed to interfere.

Jerome Motat

RACIAL BIAS IN SCHOOL BOOKS

It was announced in the Times Educational Supplement in March that there was available in London a paper offering guidelines for assessing children's books in and for a multi-ethnic society. Over 300 organisations and individuals wrote for copies and the paper has also been widely reprinted for use in conferences. Gillian Klein, the librarian of the ILEA Centre for Urban Educational Studies (CUES), who wrote the paper with the assistance of Crispin Jones, CUES Tutor for Multi-Ethnic Studies, reviews here the main points of the paper.

When I came to the task, I found that there was a good deal of guidance on the effect of print on prejudice, and the damage done to black children's self-esteem by derogatory images in literature. Dorothy Kuya in Liverpool had argued the case strongly in *Sowing the dragon's teeth* and Dorothy Cohen's book *Starting out right* had appeared in the States. But David Milner's *Children & Race* still the one work that has most influenced my own judgement, as I select for the CUES display of children's books that could, by their presence in libraries and classrooms all over Britain, most contribute to increasing racial harmony.

It was by crystallising my own criteria that this paper came to be written and its object is to encourage others to examine and determine for themselves which books are most appropriate, particularly as there is still no one successful bibliography of children's books for the multi-ethnic society. Two earlier papers served as models: The Community Relations Commission (CRC) leaflet, *Racism & Sexism in children's books*, a checklist and *Some criteria for assessing racism in children's books* by Alison Day, prepared at CUES in 1975.

I am very concerned about the damage that can be done by racist books, both to the developing self-image of the black child, and to the attitudes of the white child, whose incipient prejudices can thus be re-inforced. I would like to see them removed from the shelves or at least used with care in special situations.

But I feel equally strongly about the positive contribution that books can make to a child's recognition and understanding of himself and others. It is important for all children to recognise that black child-

ren, too, have stories read to them at bed-time, play in the snow, go to school, etc, and the presence on the shelves of Breinburg's *Sally-Ann's Umbrella* or *Jet, a gift to the family*, confirms this, while at the same time providing a good read.

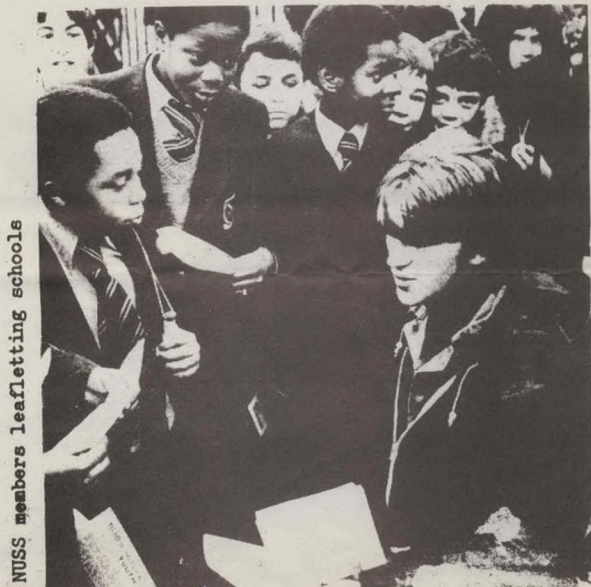
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the page are unlikely to be the ones who create stereotypes. Of course the authors themselves may have prejudices, which will then be evident in their works—look at the writings of Rudyard Kipling or Charles Kingsley, both very much products of their eras and environments. But the children's authors of today are a diverse and brilliant bunch, and don't underestimate their customers. Those who take as their subjects children from ethnic minorities usually create characters real enough for their readers to identify with—otherwise why should the readers want to find out what happens next? Illustrations support this thesis even more obviously. Errol Lloyd's *Nini is a real little girl*, an individual among the other chiefly black, children at the carnival. Not the same face as Ossie Murray's *Sally-Ann* though both are much the same age. Compare these with the ultimate in stereotyping, the comic book, where each girl is distinguished from the next only by colour and length of hair, so that when the illustrator attempts a black face, it will inevitably be a caricature.

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For further information write to Gillian Klein, CUES, 34 Aberdeen Park, London N5 2BL (Telephone 01-226 5437).

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RACIAL BIAS IN SCHOOL BOOKS

It was announced in the Times Educational Supplement in March that there was available in London a paper offering guidelines for assessing children's books in and for a multi-ethnic society. Over 300 organisations and individuals wrote for copies and the paper has also been widely reprinted for use in conferences. Gillian Klein, the librarian of the ILEA Centre for Urban Educational Studies (CUES), who wrote the paper with the assistance of Crispin Jones, CUES Tutor for Multi-Ethnic Studies, reviews here the main points of the paper.

When I came to the task, I found that there was a good deal of guidance on the effect of print on prejudice, and the damage done to black children's self-esteem by derogatory images in literature. Dorothy Kuya in Liverpool had argued the case strongly in *Sowing the dragon's teeth* and Dorothy Cohen's book *Starting out right* had appeared in the States. But David Milner's *Children & Race* still the one work that has most influenced my own judgement, as I select for the CUES display of children's books that could, by their presence in libraries and classrooms all over Britain, most contribute to increasing racial harmony.

It was by crystallising my own criteria that this paper came to be written and its object is to encourage others to examine and determine for themselves which books are most appropriate, particularly as there is still no one successful bibliography of children's books for the multi-ethnic society. Two earlier papers served as models: The Community Relations Commission (CRC) leaflet, *Racism & Sexism in children's books*, a checklist and *Some criteria for assessing racism in children's books* by Alison Day, prepared at CUES in 1975.

I am very concerned about the damage that can be done by racist books, both to the developing self-image of the black child, and to the attitudes of the white child, whose incipient prejudices can thus be re-inforced. I would like to see them removed from the shelves or at least used with care in special situations.

But I feel equally strongly about the positive contribution that books can make to a child's recognition and understanding of himself and others. It is important for all children to recognise that black child-

ren, too, have stories read to them at bed-time, play in the snow, go to school, etc, and the presence on the shelves of Breinburg's *Sally-Ann's Umbrella* or *Jet, a gift to the family*, confirms this, while at the same time providing a good read.

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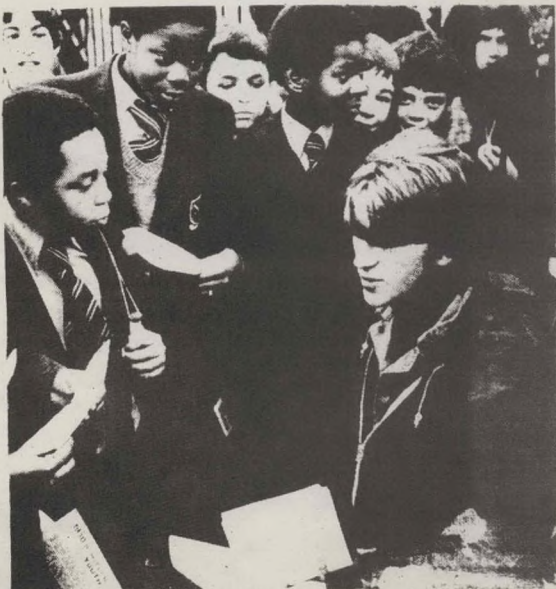
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No 46 - Steve Biko by Hilda Bernstein (International Defence and Aid Fund) 150pp. Paper £1.50

Steve Biko was the forty sixth political detainee known to have died under interrogation by the security police in South Africa, but the only case to have given rise to an inquest. This book painstakingly examines the contradictory and inconsistent evidence given at the inquest, and reconstructs the sequence of events leading up to Biko's horrible death. The strength of the book lies in its view that "it is possible to see the structure of a whole nation through the life and death of one person." At the same time as providing a portrait of Biko and the significance of the Black Consciousness Movement which he represented, the book does not lose sight of the society where a death like Biko's could occur. It makes it clear that Biko's

Labour Research August 1978



death was not an isolated event, but rather a product of the ruthless and oppressive nature of Apartheid.

DEATH BY DETENTION

No. 46—Steve Biko by Hilda Bernstein, International Defence & Aid Fund, 104 Newgate Street, London, E.C.1. £1.50

To date 47 political activists have been murdered by Vorster's fascist Security Police. Many like James Lenko, Alpheus Maliba and Joseph Mduli were silenced, after years of persecution and detention had failed to deter them from organising and mobilising the oppressed black majority under the banner of the banned African National Congress, the spearhead of the people's national liberation struggle.

Imam Haroun, a religious leader of the Moslem community in the Cape, a fearless opponent of the racist regime, was similarly killed during detention, as was Ahmed Timol—alleged after his murder to have been a member of an underground unit of the ANC. In every single case death resulted during detention, and post mortems, invariably insisted upon by relatives and friends with every opposition from the State, established incontrovertibly that severe torture and beatings had taken place.

Since 1964, when Looksmart S Ngudle, and ANC activist, became the first political detainee to have died at the hands of the Security Police, the ANC has campaigned internationally for condemnation of the torture and murder of political detainees, and against the fascist laws which enable the secret police to hold anybody incommunicado without having to answer to anyone except the Minister of Justice responsible for state security, not obliged to disclose the detention to anyone including relatives.

Steve Biko became the 46th such victim of the South African Security Police, and his death raised an international outcry. At last the western world, with its enormous economic, political, military and cultural ties with the racist regime, showed its concern for the plight of political detainees in Vorster's prisons.

And if there really were any doubts in the minds of the representatives of the western powers about the fate of political detainees, then Hilda Bernstein's excellent and penetrating account of Steve Biko's horrendous ordeal and

final death at the hands of the Security Police must surely dispel them. And who can argue with the impeccable source of her revelations?

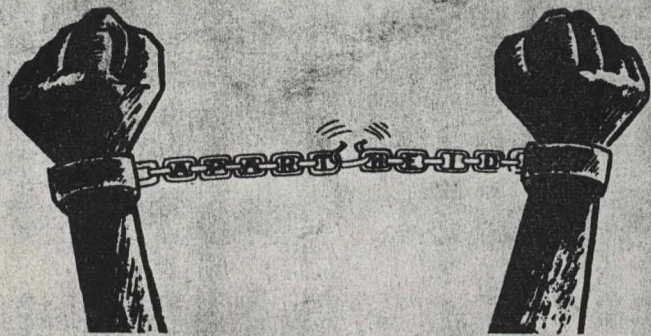
Hilda Bernstein, herself a political activist of long standing in the liberation struggle, lets the Security Police tell their own version of Biko's death. And that is all she had to do to convict Biko's murderers. For the first time ever, a public inquest was held, and Hilda faithfully records the essential evidence, thus enabling us to penetrate in some depth the veil of silence hung over the deaths of political detainees.

To locate Steve Biko within the struggle in South Africa she provides a fairly detailed account of Black consciousness—the ideology, if we can call it that, which Biko helped to articulate. "The inquest of Steve Biko was not simply an exceptional event; it was in a sense a 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 land".

THERESA NANNAN

Link - Autumn '78

BOOKS



Steve Biko

"No 46 Steve Biko," by Hilda Bernstein, published by International Defence & Aid Fund, 2 Amen Court, London EC4M 7BX; price £1.50.

FOR THOSE only vaguely aware of South African politics, the well published events around the Steve Biko inquest in November 1977 must have had a familiar ring about them. Here again was the familiar pattern of arrogant police brutality with its open and obvious political murder of yet another opponent of South Africa's apartheid. Significant about the Steve Biko incident, was that for the first time a public inquest revealed what opponents of South African apartheid have known for some time — the full horror and cruelty of that country's laws and those who uphold them.

For others less aware of South African politics, or those refusing to believe its reality, Hilda Bernstein's book is essential reading. For those involved in the daily struggle to assist the liberation movements in South Africa, the book is both a tribute to a fine man and through him a vivid description of the events surrounding his death.

The title of the book is derived from the fact that Steve Biko was the 46th known person to die in the hands of the South African Security Police. The others were relatively unknown and received little publicity. Similar events continue today, and everyday. In the relatively short period since the inquest, Hilda Bernstein has collected much essential information gleaned from the verbatim reports of the inquest in the Rand Daily Mail. The book dramatically illustrates the total lack of accountability of the Security Police, perhaps best illustrated by the Minister of Police, J. Kruger's comment, that prisoners have the "democratic right in South Africa to starve themselves to death". Written unapologetically as an exposure of South African apartheid, the book leaves no room for doubt in its presentation and breadth of detail that the outcome of the inquest was predetermined. As a final stamp of "respected" authority, Sir David Napley's report to the British Law Society is included. His conclusions differ only marginally from those more committed to the abolition of apartheid.

Steve Biko died on 12th September, 1977, he was 31 years old, educated, an

intellectual and articulate. He was a founder member of the Black Consciousness Movement whose influence spread among the black and some sections of the liberal white communities. Expelled from University for his political views, his adult life was a continual round of surveillance, harassment and detention by the police.

Steve Biko was never convicted of any crime while he lived and was never accused or arrested for inciting violence. Following his arrest in August 1977 for allegedly destroying inflammatory pamphlets, he was kept naked, manacled in solitary confinement for 20 days without exercise or fresh air and without any charges being brought. His interrogation began on 6th September and it was during this period that he received the blows that were to be fatal and the subject of the now infamous inquest.

Hilda Bernstein's book demonstrates how the whole events from then on degenerated into one of collusion and cover up, involving the doctors, pathologists and the secret police, aimed at concealing the extent of the violence inflicted on their victims.

As a martyr for the cause of black liberation, there is no doubt that much will be written about Steve Biko and what he believed in. This book crystallises many of the issues around his death and is a damning indictment of apartheid.

R.H.

Publicaties

"Steve Biko", Hilda Bernstein, International
Defence & Aid Fund Londen.

Hilda Bernstein, No. 46 "Steve Biko", International
Defence & Aid Fund, Londen 1978.

In aansluiting op vorige mededelingen betreffende
literatuur over Steve Biko, noemen we nog het
boekje van Hilda Bernstein. Na een kort over-
zichtje over het leven van Steve Biko en het
werk van de Black Consciousness bewegingen bestaat
het boekje (150 pagina's) hoofdzakelijk uit een
gedetailleerd onderzoek naar de doodsoorzaken.
Naast het al bekende gedrag van de politie komt
daarin ook duidelijk de beschamende onverschillig-
heid van de 'begeleidende' medici naar voren.
"Steve Biko" van Hilda Bernstein is voor de prijs
van fl. 6,70 incl. porti (fl. 5,- excl.) bij de
Werkgroep Kairos te bestellen.

Kairos Supplement to
Amanda, Aug./Sept. 1978

Biko, by Donald Woods. London, Paddington Press, 1978. 288pp. index. £5.95.

No. 46—Steve Biko, by Hilda Bernstein. International Defence and Aid Fund, 1978. 150pp. £1.50.

The Killing of the Imam, by Barney Desai and Cardiff Marney. Quartet Books, 1978. xi+146pp. appen.+index. £1.95.

All these books are the work of exiles from South Africa. In that country they could not have been published, and it would have been dangerous even to write them.

Excerpts from David Woods's book have told us ~~about~~ of his friendship with Steve Biko, his harassment by the South African Police for this and other reasons and his eventual escape over the border. The Minister of Police, J. T. Kruger, said when discussing Biko's death, 'It leaves me cold' (it seems that the phrase

African Affairs, Oct. 1978

means something slightly less shocking in Afrikaans). Woods calls him 'the greatest man I ever had the privilege to know'. He was only thirty when he died. The book is written, its author says, 'in grief and anger', but it is by no means confined to personal reminiscence. It sets the Black Consciousness movement in its place in the history of African protest, and quotes Biko at length, emphasizing the insistence on self-reliance which led him, without any feeling of racial hatred, to reject the support of White liberals; emphasizing too, his rejection of violence. It ends with a call for the international ostracism of South Africa until its government will 'meet in honest negotiation with the chosen leaders of the majority of its citizens'.

A large part of the book is given to the story of an inquest conducted in a manner that would seem incredible were it not that South Africa can show plenty of other examples. This is the theme, also, of Hilda Bernstein's book. It is called *No. 46 - Steve Biko* because he was the 46th person to die in police detention. Where Woods unfolded the story as it proceeded from day to day, she gives extracts showing the main points made by the various interests represented, and thus makes the issues clearer for the reader. An appendix gives the report of Sir David Napley, of the British Law Society, who was invited by the Association of Law Societies of South Africa to attend the inquest as an observer.

Abdulla Haron was one of Biko's 45 predecessors. A 'Cape Coloured', he was Imam of the Muslims in Claremont, a suburb of Cape Town from which Coloured people were removed under the Group Areas Act. After Christian Action was banned from operating its Defence and Aid Fund in South Africa, he undertook to carry on its work in secret. He was also involved in a plan to send young men abroad for guerrilla training. This biography too is largely devoted to prison experiences, and it gives some details of torture. At first one feels some doubts about the description of scenes that the authors could not have witnessed; then one remembers that not all detainees die, and some are even released. There are parallels available to draw on.

The inquest verdict on Haron was that he died from a fall downstairs. That on Biko was that he died from a blow on the head during a scuffle with the police, but that there was nothing to prove 'that death was brought about by an act or omission involving an offence by any person'.

London

LUCY MAIR

LIST OF BOOKS REVIEWED

The Communist Challenge to Africa: an analysis of contemporary Soviet, Chinese and Cuban policies, by Ian Grieg (Christopher Stevens, p. 572); *Sir Alfred Jones: shipping entrepreneur par excellence*, by P. N. Davies (Andrew Porter, p. 572); *Regional Planning and National Development in Tropical Africa*, edited by Akin L. Mabongunje and Adetaye Faniran, and *Perceptions of Development*, edited by Sandra Wallman (both by Lucy Mair, p. 573); *Educational Aid and National Development: an international comparison of the past and recommendations for the future*, by Nancy Parkinson, and *Mother Tongue Education: the West African experience*, edited by Ayo Bamgbose (both by K. R. Cripwell, p. 574); *The Industrialization of Egypt 1939-1973: policy and performance*, by Robert Mabro and Samir Radwan (J. A. Allan, p. 575); *Island of the Blessed: Islam in a Libyan oasis community*, by J. P. Mason (B. G. Martin, p. 576); *Colonial West Africa: collected essays*, by Michael Crowder (D. H. Jones, p. 577); *The Africanization of the Labor Market: educational and occupational segmentation in the Camerouns*, by Remi

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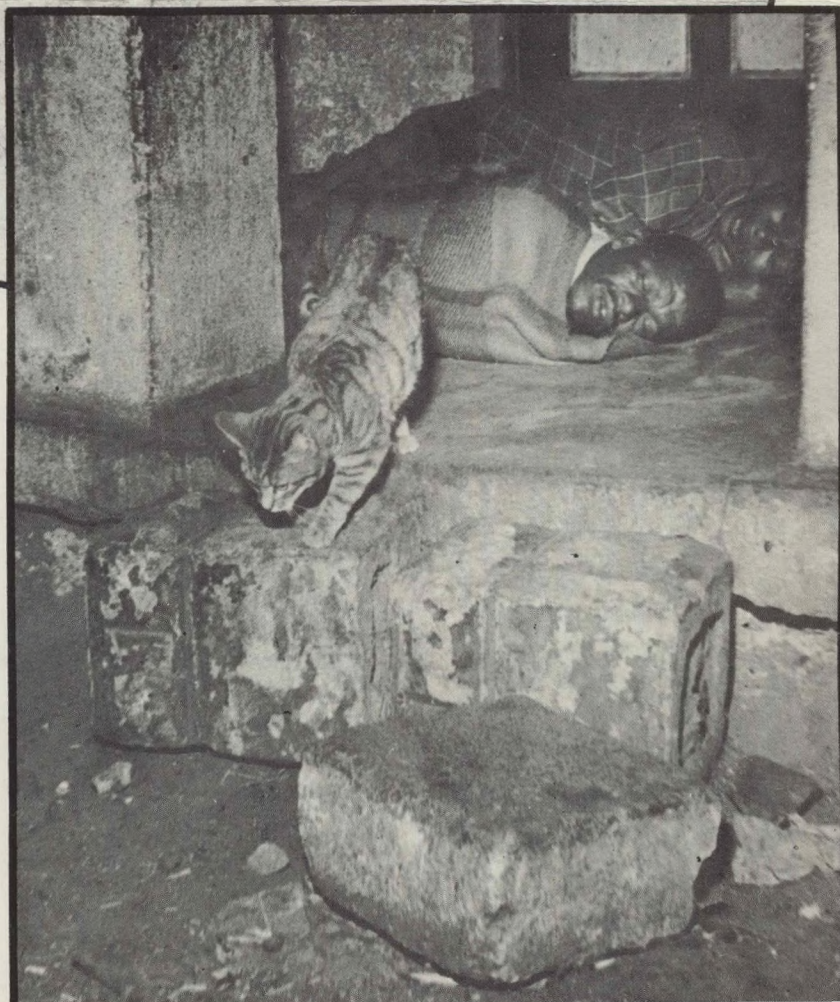


BIKO
**UN UOMO
DI PACE**



**Condividere è un gesto
che ha una portata
che si estende
a tutta la famiglia umana.
Una redistribuzione delle ricchezze
non richiede soltanto
che i paesi industrializzati
diano del loro superfluo.
Bisogna cambiare ad ogni costo
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Il punto di riferimento
è il bisogno reale
di tutti gli uomini,
fino all'ultimo degli ultimi,
e nient'affatto
la soddisfazione dei bisogni
dell'uomo occidentalizzato.**

(Roger Schutz)



UN UOMO DI PACE



Un anno fa, il 12 settembre, in una prigione di Pretoria (Sudafrica), moriva Steve Biko. « Il pericolo numero uno del paese », per i suoi nemici; un uomo di pace, un convinto cristiano, un fautore della non violenza, un sostenitore della riconciliazione razziale per chi lo conobbe. « Avevo avvertito James Kruger, il ministro della difesa sudafricano — ha detto un amico — che Steve era l'ultima speranza di una pace razziale in Sudafrica: ora questa speranza non esiste più ».

di ESTHER PEPI

Pretoria, prigioni di Stato, 12 settembre 1977: un uomo nudo giace rantolando sul pavimento di una cella. Si cerca un dottore, ma è ormai tardi. Al suo arrivo, il medico si limiterà a constatare l'avvenuto decesso del detenuto.

Così un anno fa, moriva Steve Biko. Un altro nome che si aggiunge alla lunga lista delle scomparse « misteriose » di prigionieri politici avvenute nei meandri delle carceri sudafricane. Vittime più o meno note di una lotta contro l'assurdo della discriminazione applicata in base al colore della pelle.

« Non siamo perseguitati come individui » aveva affermato Biko alcuni mesi prima del suo arresto, « siamo perseguitati perché siamo neri ».

All'indomani della morte del leader nero, Donald Woods, giornalista del Daily Dispatch, dichiarava commosso: « Avevo avvisato James Kruger, il ministro della difesa, che Steve Biko era l'ultima speranza di una pace razziale in Sudafrica: ora questa speranza non esiste più ».

Subito dopo, anche Woods pagava per le sue dichiarazioni e atteggiamenti troppo « liberali »: veniva infatti allontanato dalla direzione del suo giornale e iscritto nelle « liste nere » dei servizi di sicurezza sudafricani.

La notizia della morte di Biko riusciva a scatenare un'ondata di indignazione in ogni parte del mondo. Di fronte a questa reazione unanime, è spontaneo chiedersi chi sia stato realmente Biko, per attirare su di sé l'attenzione dell'opinione pubblica internazionale, quella stessa che si era limitata a lanciare appena uno sguardo tra le quinte in occasione delle precedenti quarantacinque scomparse in carcere di detenuti politici sudafricani dal 1963 fino ad oggi. Era in verità un semplice sovversivo (« il pericolo numero uno del paese », come ha sostenuto il ministro Kruger), o un sostenitore della pace e della riconciliazione razziale, come affermano coloro che, bianchi o neri, hanno avuto occasione di trovarsi a contatto con lui?

Vita in attivo

Stephen Biko nasce nel 1946 a King William's Town, una cittadina della provincia del Capo. Intelligente e brillante negli studi, si iscrive alla facoltà di medicina dell'università di Natal. Partecipa subito alle attività dell'Unione Nazionale degli Studenti Sudafricani (NUSAS): un'organizzazione che riuniva giovani di ogni razza, in lotta per un Sudafrica libero dall'apartheid.

Ma la sensazione che gli studenti bianchi, più numerosi dei neri nelle università, influenzassero in modo troppo preponderante le decisioni del movimento, induce Steve ad uscire dal NUSAS e a fondare, nel 1968, l'Organizzazione degli Studenti Sudafricani (SASO), formata unicamente da giovani di colore.

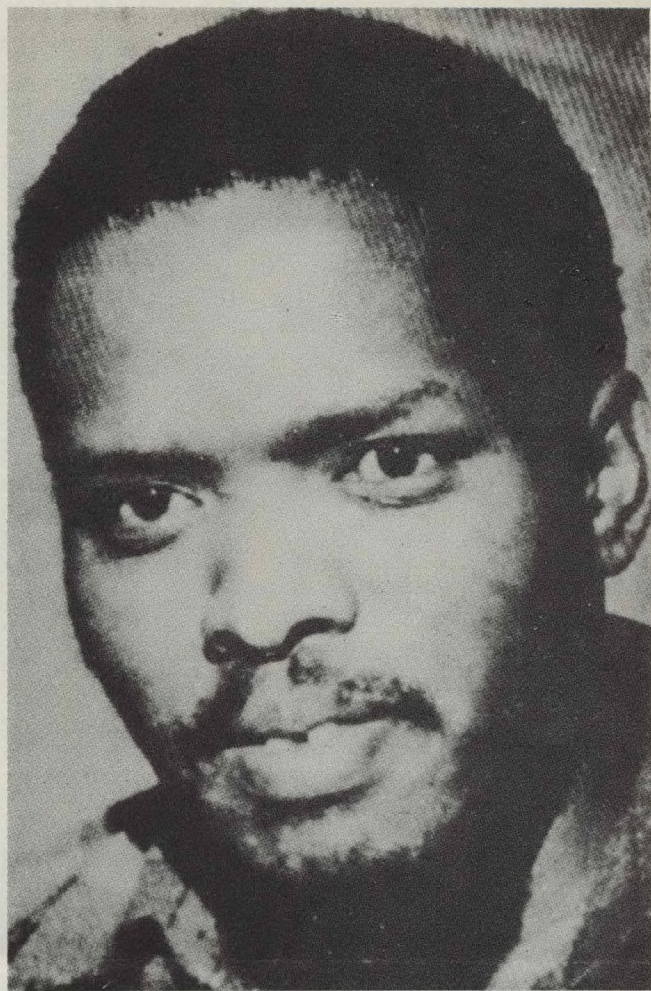
« Ci accusano di essere contro i bianchi — aveva dichiarato Biko parlando del suo movimento — ma noi abbiamo solamente bisogno di tempo per esaminare i nostri problemi, e non lasciarli risolvere da chi non conosce la terribile esperienza di vivere nelle riserve per gente di colore ».

Scocca così la scintilla della « *Black Consciousness* », la « coscienza nera ».

Si tratta di un vero e proprio capovolgimento di valori: la presa di coscienza di essere un nero diventa, secondo le stesse parole di Biko, la forza irresistibile che spinge a « combattere contro tutti quelli che cercano di usare il nostro colore della pelle come un marchio che ci condanna ad essere considerati uomini di seconda categoria ».

La pericolosità di un ideale che unisca la popolazione nera sudafricana non passa inosservato agli occhi della polizia. Biko viene espulso dall'Università per attività sovversive, e gli appartenenti alla SASO e al BPC (Convenzione del Popolo Nero, il movimento fondato per sostenere politicamente gli ideali della coscienza nera) vengono messi al bando.

Biko diventa così un « banned man », un proscritto. E ci sono un'infinità di cose che un proscritto per motivi politici non può fare: è costretto al domicilio coatto, non può viaggiare, non può partecipare a raduni, non può comunicare con altri



Steve Biko

proscritti, può ricevere la visita di una sola persona alla volta, e la polizia non manca di andarlo a trovare di frequente.

Biko però non si scoraggia. Nel 1975 infatti fonda lo *Zimele Trust Fund*, per aiutare le famiglie dei prigionieri politici, e il *Ginsberg Educational Trust*, che assiste gli studenti neri.

Gli arresti tra i giovani militanti si fanno più serrati. Steve Biko viene più volte imprigionato.

Nel 1976 il congresso della Convenzione del Popolo Nero lo elegge presidente « ad honorem » dell'organizzazione. La sua fama aumenta: i suoi arresti non fanno che moltiplicarla.

Fino al 18 agosto 1977: è l'ultimo atto. Biko viene catturato e trasferito nelle carceri di Port Elizabeth.

La Coscienza nera

Quattro milioni e mezzo di bianchi, 18 milioni di neri, oltre 2 milioni di *coloured* (meticci) e 850.000 asiatici, per lo più indiani. Questa la popolazione del Sudafrica oggi. E tre quarti di questa popolazione non ha diritto di voto, non può liberamente scegliere la propria residenza, non può contrarre matrimonio con bianchi.

A tutte queste vittime dell'apartheid era rivolta l'instancabile predicazione di Steve Biko. Mentre alcuni leader del tipo del nazionalista nero A. M. Lembede (le cui idee furono riprese nel 1958 dal Congresso Panafricanista), rigettavano la coopera-

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