

Lang signed the following statement:

"This is to certify that I have examined Steve Biko as a result of a request from Colonel Goosen of the Security Police who complained that the abovementioned would not speak.

"I have found no evidence of any abnormality or pathology on detainee."

Goosen said that he requested a certificate because he knew that "there would be tremendous propaganda if anything would happen to" Biko. Goosen said that he thought of it "as a possibility" that Biko might have bumped his head during the struggle.

8 September

Snyman made the following entry in the Occurrence Book: "The detainee was very aggressive, then became beserk, threw a chair at me, and rushed with clenched fists at other members of the staff. After a tremendous struggle he fell with his head against a wall and sustained an injury to his body." This was irregular because standing orders provide that entries in the Occurrence Book about prisoners who are kept under restraint should be made immediately. Snyman's reason for the late entry was that he felt that Biko was shamming. Goosen felt that the Security Police use standing orders only "as guidelines", Biko's condition must have caused some anxiety because Goosen ordered Dr Lang to conduct another examination. Lang was accompanied by the Chief District Surgeon, Dr Benjamin Tucker. Goosen said: "I told Dr Tucker and Dr Lang of my suspicions because Biko had not taken food or liquid. We had here a man who would not eat, react or talk and who used no toilet facilities. I still thought he was shamming."

The doctors found Biko still manacled and they were told by Goosen that Biko had not passed urine for 24 hours. They found on examination that Biko's blankets were wet with urine and that they were smelling. They did not ask Biko why he wet his bed.

Biko, according to Lang's evidence, complained of vague pains in his head and back. Tucker said he found a doubtful 'possible extensor plantar reflex': this meant that when he stroked the side of Biko's foot, instead of his toes curling inwards, there was a sign that his big toe might be turning upwards.

Tucker's affidavit stated that there were abrasions around both wrists. He did not think it necessary to note any possible reasons for these

ON DEATH

You are either alive and proud or you are dead, and when you are dead, you can't care anyway. And your method of death can itself be a politicizing thing. So you die in the riots. For a hell of a lot of them, in fact, there's really nothing to lose — almost literally, given the kind of situations that they come from. So if you can overcome the personal fear for death, which is a highly irrational thing, you know, then you're on the way.

And in interrogation the same sort of thing applies. I was talking to this policeman, and I told him, "If you want us to make any progress, the best thing is for us to talk. Don't try any form of rough stuff, because it just won't work." And this is absolutely true also. For I just couldn't see what they could do to me which would make me all of a sudden soften to them. If they talk to me, well I'm bound to be affected by them as human beings. But the moment they adopt rough stuff, they are imprinting in my mind that they are police. And I only understand one form of dealing with police, and that's to be as unhelpful as possible. So I button up. And I told them this: "It's up to you."

We had a boxing match the first day I was arrested. Some guy tried to clout me with a club. I went into him like a bull. I think he was under instructions to take it so far and no further, and using open hands so that he doesn't leave any marks on the face. And of course he said exactly what you were saying just now: "I will kill you." He meant to intimidate. And my answer was: "How long is it going to take you?" Now of course they were observing my reaction. And they could see that I was completely unbothered. If they beat me up, it's to my advantage. I can use it.

They just killed somebody in jail — a friend of mine — about ten days before I was arrested. Now it would have been bloody useful evidence for them to assault me. At least it would indicate what kind of possibilities were there, leading to this guy's death. So, I wanted them to go ahead and do what they could do, so that I could use it. I wasn't really afraid that their violence might lead me to make revelations I didn't want to make, because I had nothing to reveal on this particular issue. I was operating from a very good position, and they were in a very weak position. My attitude is, I'm not going to allow them to carry out their programme faithfully. If they want to beat me five times, they can only do so on condition that I allow them to beat me five times. If I react sharply, equally and oppositely, to the first clap, they are not going to be able to systematically count the next four claps, you see. It's a fight. So if they had meant to give me so much of a beating, and not more, my idea is to make them go beyond what they wanted to give me and to give back as much as I can give so that it becomes an uncontrollable thing.

You see the one problem this guy had with me: he couldn't really fight with me because it meant he must hit back, like a man. But he was given instructions, you see, on how to hit, and now these instructions were no longer applying because it was a fight. So he had to withdraw and get more instructions. So I said to them, "Listen, if you guys want to do this your way, you have got to handcuff me and bind my feet together, so that I can't respond. And I'm afraid you may have to kill me in the process even if it's not your intention".



Biko in his coffin