

SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS

HISTORY P2

2018

ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

QUESTION 1: WHAT IMPACT DID THE PHILOSOPHY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC) HAVE ON SOUTH AFRICANS IN THE 1970s?

SOURCE 1A

The source below outlines the philosophy of Black Consciousness and how it influenced the formation of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO).

According to Bantu Stephen Biko, 'Black Consciousness seeks to show the black people the value of their own standards and outlook. It urges black people to judge themselves according to these standards and not to be fooled by white society who have white-washed themselves and made white standards the yardstick (measure) by which even black people judge each other.'

... As a supporter of the Black Consciousness (BC) philosophy, together with other literate Africans residing in the major urban centres, Biko developed into a highly respected intellectual in the 1960s. Biko began his search for self-identity and hoped to build up the pride of black culture, a culture that was scornfully (disrespectfully) viewed by the settler regime. Biko and his student colleagues had been receptive (open) to the political ideas expressed by many Black intellectuals, and learned to use the emotional power of the message of Black Consciousness.

... Black university students had tried for many years to make progress through the multiracial and liberal National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). In particular, NUSAS was outspoken in its criticism of government actions, especially at English-speaking universities where its membership was strong.

Young black students were inspired by Biko's ideology and wanted to establish an exclusively all-Black movement. In 1969, African students launched a blacks-only student union, the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) to which Biko was elected president.

[From http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/defining-black-consciousness. Accessed on 8 February 2018.]

SOURCE 1B

The review below is of a speech delivered by Anne Heffernen of Onkgopotse Tiro (member of SASO) at Turfloop University in 1972. It focuses on how members of SASO felt about Bantu Education.

... By the early 1970s, thanks to SASO's organisation on the campus, Turfloop was a hotbed (centre) of activism. Boycotts and protest marches became a regular feature of student life. In 1972 the rural campus came to national attention. At the university's graduation that year, Onkgopotse Tiro, a SASO member and former president of the SRC, gave a fiery (powerful) speech condemning Bantu Education and its implementation at Turfloop. Tiro attacked the fact that a supposedly black university was controlled by white leadership, that white companies received contracts to supply the campus and that white dignitaries took seats from black parents who came to see their children graduate.

The speech sparked controversy at Turfloop and beyond. The all-white council of the university expelled Tiro. Black academic staff walked out of the meeting where that decision was announced, in protest. In response to Tiro's expulsion, Turfloop students boycotted classes until administrators shut down the university and sent all the students home. Meanwhile, students on other black campuses around the country participated in solidarity protests and boycotts. SASO strengthened its national links between campuses through this process.

[From http://aidc.org/turfloop-soweto-back-dialectic-1976/. Accessed on 9 February 2018.]

SOURCE 1C

The photograph below shows students marching and demanding the release of fellow students who were detained by the apartheid regime.



[From https://image.101.co.za. Accessed on 10 February 2018.]

WE ARE NOT FIGHTING YOU
JUST RELEASE OUR FELLOW STUDENTS

SOURCE 1D

The extract below is a response by Bantu Stephen Biko on the success of the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

We have been successful to the extent that we have diminished the element of fear in the minds of black people. During the 1960s black people were terribly scared of involvement in politics. The universities were putting out no useful leadership to the black people because everybody found it more comfortable to lose themselves in a particular profession, to make money. But since those days, black students have seen their role as being primarily to prepare themselves for leadership roles in the various facets of the black community. Through our political articulation (expression) of the aspirations of black people, many black people have come to appreciate the need to stand up and be counted against the system.

There is far more political talk now, far more political debate and far more condemnation of the system from average black people than there has ever been. I'm referring here to the whole oppressive education system that the students are talking about. After complaining about it, the apartheid government wants to further entrench what the students are protesting about by bringing in police and Saracens (armoured cars) and dogs.

Now, the response of the students then was in terms of their pride. They were not prepared to be calmed down even at the point of a gun. And hence, what happened, happened. Some people were killed. These uprisings just continued and continued.

[From I Write What I Like: STEVE BIKO by A Stubbs ed.]

QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) DEAL WITH THE DEATH OF BANTU STEPHEN BIKO?

SOURCE 2A

The extract below focuses on the reasons for the formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was formed in 1995 to investigate human rights violations since 1960 and to grant amnesty to those perpetrators who made full disclosure. The commission also had to foster reconciliation and unity among South Africans. In exchange for full confessions of politically motivated crimes, the TRC promised amnesty for those who came forward. In 1997 the five former security officers who interrogated Steven Biko on 6 September 1967 applied for amnesty from the TRC. The TRC's mandate was to be even-handed, but its composition was hardly balanced. The chairman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was a patron of the United Democratic Front, the ANC's internal front since the early 1980s ...

At the time, the TRC was the first restorative justice process of its kind to conduct public hearings and provide space for survivors to tell their stories in their own words. These hearings served as an important symbolic function in a country where the system of governance had been premised (founded) on the denial and silencing of, in particular, black voices.

Altogether the commission received some 21 300 statements from victims and recorded some 38 000 gross violations of human rights. More than one thousand perpetrators received amnesty after full disclosure. Instead of concentrating on the context of a deed, the commission focused on the perpetrator or victim, with the result that the context was in most cases only scantily (poorly) sketched (addressed). Cross-examination of victims was not allowed in the victim hearings, but hearsay evidence was.

[From Race and Reconciliation by D Herwitz]

SOURCE 2B

The extract below is part of a statement that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission issued. It focuses on the application for amnesty by the five security policemen who were responsible for the killing of Bantu Stephen Biko.

In January 1997, a group of notorious (ruthless) security policemen from the regional headquarters in Port Elizabeth applied for amnesty for a string of murders in the Eastern Cape. For years their names had struck terror in the townships as they cruised (went) about acting with impunity (without approval). Now their only hope of avoiding prosecution was to testify before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Their most famous victim was Bantu Stephen Biko, a dynamic young leader from the Eastern Cape whose short life had a profound impact on black politics and thinking and whose lonely death was to stand as a permanent monument to police brutality.

Twenty years later the death of Biko was to be tested at a TRC amnesty hearing. Five members of the interrogation (questioning) team were present: Major Harold Snyman, Captain Daniel Siebert, Warrant Officer Johan Beneke, Warrant Officer Rubin Marx and Detective Sergeant Gideon Nieuwoudt.

The five policemen applied for amnesty for culpable homicide (murder). George Bizos, on behalf of the Biko family, opposed the amnesty. 'The applicants', he said, 'had not made a full disclosure of what had happened.' Statements made at the inquest have merely been modified (altered) to try and explain away concrete evidence which did not fit in with the false evidence given at the inquest. Nor did they have a political motive when they fatally injured Biko. Torturing helpless detainees for the purposes of extracting information to the point that they end up dead is not a political objective.'

[From http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/pr/1999/p990216a.htm. Accessed on 9 December 2017.]

SOURCE 2C

This source focuses on why amnesty was not granted to four security policemen responsible for the killing of Bantu Stephen Biko.

AMNESTY DECISION ON DEATH OF STEVE BIKO

Four former officers of the security branch, who applied for amnesty for the murder of Black Consciousness leader Bantu Stephen Biko in September 1997, were this week refused amnesty by the Amnesty Committee of the TRC and their applications were dismissed.

The four officers who interrogated (questioned) Biko were Daniel Siebert, Warrant Officer Johannes Beneke, Warrant Officer Rubin Marx and Harold Snyman. Their accomplice and fifth applicant, Gideon Johannes Nieuwoudt, whose application was heard by a different amnesty panel, was refused amnesty in December last year.

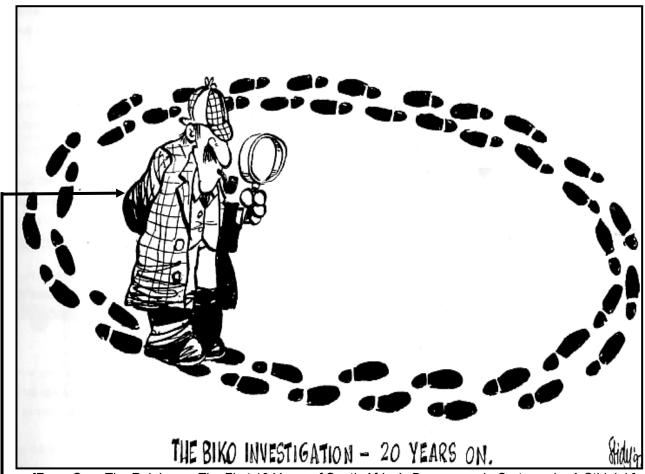
In refusing amnesty to the four applicants, the committee based its decision on the following reasons:

- 1. The killing of Biko was not an act associated with a political objective, as required by the Amnesty Act.
- 2. The committee was not satisfied that the applicants had made a full disclosure, as further required by the Act.
- 3. It was not satisfied that the applicants testified truthfully to the events leading to the injury of Biko.
- Finally the committee said it was satisfied that the killing of Biko was wholly (entirely) disproportionate (unbalanced) to any possible objective pursued by the applicants.

[From http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/pr/1999/p990216a.htm. Accessed on 28 November 2017.]

SOURCE 2D

The cartoon below by Stidy depicts the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the killing of the Black Consciousness leader Bantu Stephen Biko. It appeared in *Over The Rainbow – The First 10 Years of South Africa's Democracy in Cartoons* and was produced on 12 September 1997.



[From Over The Rainbow – The First 10 Years of South Africa's Democracy in Cartoons by A Stidolph]

ADVOCATE GEORGE BIZOS

QUESTION 3: HOW WAS SOUTH AFRICA'S CLOTHING AND TEXTILE INDUSTRY AFFECTED BY GLOBALISATION?

SOURCE 3A

The article below focuses on the impact that trade liberalisation had on the clothing and textile industry in South Africa. It was written by the Minister of Economic Development, E Patel, for *The Journalist*.

Before the transition (change) to democracy, the clothing and textile industry employed roughly 250 000 workers. It was supported by very high tariffs that kept foreign goods out, very low wages that kept costs down and substantial financial subsidies that kept businesses alive, particularly in the old homelands areas ... which were not sustainable from the mid-1980s onwards.

In 1993, on the eve of the new democracy, South Africa took part in talks on a new global trade deal aimed at setting lower tariffs and opening markets across the world. South Africa was represented by the out-going government, which had little interest in long-term development and which offered to dramatically slash protection for local industry. Even though the trade unions, with the support of Nelson Mandela (before he became president of the country) tried to reverse this, they were only partially successful.

The result was that over the first decade of the democracy, protection for the clothing and textile industry was lowered every year, from a high of 100% to 40% by 2002. At the same time, China was building a massive, very competitive clothing industry geared at export to other parts of the world. The result was that locally-made clothing began to be replaced increasingly with imported goods, mainly from China.

As imports started pouring into South Africa in the late 1990s, it led to very deep destruction of jobs and the closing of factories. The effect of opening our markets as quickly and as widely as this, were devastating (shocking).

[From http://www.thejournalist.org.za/spotlight/unravelling-the-fabric-of-the-industry-south-africasclothing-and-textile-business. Accessed on 20 January 2018.]

SOURCE 3B

The source below is a part of a transcript of an interview that E Vlok, the Director of Research, Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, gave on *Cape Talk Radio* on 6 April 2017. It outlines how globalisation impacted on South Africa's clothing and textile industry.

SOUTH AFRICAN CLOTHING AND TEXTILE INDUSTRY DROPS FROM 200 000 JOBS TO 19 000

6 April 2017, 15:55: CAPE TALK

Ettienne Vlok, Director of Research at the Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, spoke with Azania Mosaka about the challenges facing the textile industry.

Vlok says the impact of cheap imports on the local clothing industry has created a significant decline in the number of people being employed.

'About 15 years ago we had approximately 200 000 people in the clothing and textile industry and we're down to about 19 000 now. Beyond the statistics it means that a lot of people have been retrenched, a lot of factories have closed down.'

Vlok adds that these numbers have contributed to the high numbers of unemployment and inequalities in South Africa. He says the industry is unique (different) in many ways, one being that four out of every five workers are women compared to other manufacturing sectors. This had a major impact on poverty eradication (removal) among working class communities.

'If we grow this industry, we are able to contribute to gender equity.' Vlok also addresses the potential of major clothing and textile hubs in rural areas being able to create jobs. He says another major challenge is the inability to compete with countries such as China, which uses ways (low production cost) to make their products much cheaper.

[From http://www.702.co.za/articles/251378/sa-clothing-and-textile-industry-drops-from-200-000-to-19-000-jobs-researcher. Accessed on 20 January 2018.]

SOURCE 3C

The photograph below, by K Mogale, appeared on the web blog of *Eye Witness News*. It shows members of the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) and the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) marching in Cape Town on 7 October 2017.



A NEW GROWTH PATH FOR DECENT WORK IN THE CLOTHING, TEXTILE, FOOTWEAR AND LEATHER INDUSTRY

South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU)

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)

SOURCE 3D

This article focuses on the measures that the South African government took to bring about a turnaround in the clothing and textile industry. It appeared in the *City Press* on 11 October 2017.

The Minister in the Presidency for Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, Jeff Radebe, highlighted the clothing and textile industry as one of the sectors where the economy could most effectively be bolstered (boosted).

This is something of a miraculous turnaround, particularly in the face of investment downgrades and economic and socio-political instability. The clothing and textile industry was one of the hardest hit by globalisation and increased competition following the opening of South Africa's borders to global markets post 1994.

Facing high import duties and the increased illegal imports and cheap textiles from China, Pakistan and elsewhere, coupled with insufficient investment, the industry went into decline.

Fortunately a number of conscious interventions were implemented that have helped to turn things around.

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) developed a nation-wide clothing and textile competitiveness programme (CTCP) whose broader objective is 'to assist the industry in upgrading processes, products and people to re-position it so as to compete effectively against other low-cost producing countries ...'

In fact the South Africa Conference (on clothing and textiles) brought to light that the CTCP had created some 12 000 jobs and assisted more than 400 companies.

According to Ebrahim Patel, local manufacturing industry sales in clothing, textiles, footwear and leather increased from about R41,8bn in 2010 to over R50bn in 2015; an increase of 21% over five years.

[From https://www.fin24.com/Opinion/the-great-textile-turnaround-20171011. Accessed on 20 January 2018.]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Visual sources and other historical evidence were taken from the following:

Herwitz D. 2003. *Race and Reconciliation* (University of Minnesota Press)

http://aidc.org/turfloop-soweto-back-dialectic-1976/

http://ewn.co.za/2015/10/07/Cosatu-marches-underway-in-CT-and-JHB

http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/pr/1999/p990216a.htm

http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/defining-black-consciousness

http://www.thejournalist.org.za/spotlight/unravelling-the-fabric-of-the-industry-southafricas-clothing-and-textile-business

http://www.702.co.za/articles/251378/sa-clothing-and -textile-industry-drops-from-200-000-to-19-000-jobs-researcher

https://image.101.co.za

https://www.fin24.com/Opinion/the-great-textile-turnaround-20171011

Stidolph A. 2003. Over The Rainbow – The First 10 years of South Africa's Democracy In Cartoons (Pietermaritzburg)

Stubbs A. (ed.) 2004. I Write What I Like: STEVE BIKO (Picador Africa)