



# basic education

Department:  
Basic Education  
**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

## **NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

**GRADE 12**

**HISTORY P2  
NOVEMBER 2014  
ADDENDUM**

**This addendum consists of 13 pages.**

**QUESTION 1: WHAT IMPACT DID THE PHILOSOPHY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS (BC) HAVE ON THE STUDENTS OF SOWETO IN THE 1970s?****SOURCE 1A**

The extract below is part of a paper entitled 'White Racism and Black Consciousness' which was delivered by Steven Bantu Biko at a student conference in Cape Town in January 1971.

The call for Black Consciousness is the most positive call to come from any group in the black world for a long time. It is more than just a reactionary (narrow-minded) rejection of whites by blacks. The quintessence (most important part) of it is the realisation by the blacks that, in order to feature well in this game of power politics, they have to use the concept of group power and build a strong foundation for this. Being an historically, politically, socially and economically disinherited (disowned) and dispossessed (excluded) group, they have the strongest foundation from which to operate. The philosophy of Black Consciousness, therefore, expresses group pride and the determination of blacks to rise and attain the envisaged (expected) self. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realisation by the blacks that the most potent (powerful) weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. Once the latter has been so effectively manipulated and controlled by the oppressor as to make the oppressed believe that he is a liability (burden) to the white man, then there will be nothing the oppressed can do that will really scare the powerful masters. Hence thinking along lines of Black Consciousness makes the black man see himself as a being, entire in himself and not as an extension of a broom or additional leverage (control) to some machine. At the end of it all, he cannot tolerate attempts by anybody to dwarf (reduce) the significance of his manhood. Once this happens, we shall know that the real man in the black person is beginning to shine through.

[From: *Steve Biko: I Write What I Like* edited by A Stubbs]

**SOURCE 1B**

This extract focuses on the reaction of the apartheid government to the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

Government had begun to crack down on SASO and the BPC with banning orders served on the leaders of the two organisations. By the end of 1973, however, the BPC boasted 41 branches countrywide. An early setback for the BCM occurred in December 1972 when Mthuli Shezi, BPC vice-president, died from multiple injuries sustained when he was pushed in front of an oncoming train at Germiston station following a scuffle (fight) with a white railway official. Shezi's death and the banning in March 1973 of fellow trade-union organisers, Mafuna and Koka, also crippled the BCM's efforts to move into the field of labour unions.

Other SASO/BPC activists banned in March 1973 included Biko and Pityana, while many more suffered constant detention or went into exile, leading to the fragmentation (breakdown) of BCM structures. In August 1973 BPC permanent organiser, Mangena, received a five-year sentence for allegedly recruiting two policemen for military training, thus becoming the first BPC member to be imprisoned on Robben Island. A steady trickle (flow) into exile began in 1973 and gathered momentum in 1974, with some former BCM cadres such as Keith Mokoape, who had all along argued in favour of military training, eventually finding their way into the ranks of the ANC in exile. The haemorrhage (loss of cadres) continued even beyond South Africa's borders. Abraham Onkgopotse Tiro, who had gone into exile in Botswana after being hounded (harassed) by the Special Branch following his attack on Bantu Education in his April 1972 graduation address at Turfloop, died in January 1974.

[From: *The Road to Democracy in South Africa Vol. 2* by M Mzamane et al.]

**SOURCE 1C**

This extract highlights the influence that the philosophy of Black Consciousness had on the youth of Soweto in 1976.

Sibongile Mkhabela, a leader of the SASM (South African Students' Movement) at Naledi High, recalls that 'there was serious mobilisation in the schools and this was done mainly through SASM. SASM members were saying that this situation could not be allowed to continue. That was the build-up to the meeting on 13 June'.

Nearly 400 students attended the meeting in Orlando on Sunday 13 June. It was there that Tsietshi Mashinini, 19-year-old leader of the SASM branch at Morris Isaacson (school), proposed a mass demonstration against Afrikaans on the following Wednesday. Mashinini was an extremely powerful speaker and his suggestion was greeted with cheers of support. An action committee was formed under the leadership of Mashinini and Seth Mazibuko, another charismatic (charming) Form 2 (Grade 9) student who had led the initial class boycott at Orlando West Junior Secondary School. 'We thought that if we leave those classrooms and come as a big group and show the world that now it was tough out there in the classrooms,' recalls Seth Mazibuko, 'something would be done' ...

On the cold and smoggy (misty) morning of Wednesday 16 June, groups of excited students assembled at the different points throughout the township ... Columns of students converged on Orlando West from all over the township. By 10:30 over 5 000 students had gathered in Vilikazi Street and more were arriving every minute.

[From: *Soweto, A History* by P Bonner and L Segal]

**SOURCE 1D**

This photograph shows the students of Soweto protesting against the use of the Afrikaans language, 16 June 1976.



**DO NOT WANT  
AFRIKAANS**

**TO HELL WITH  
AFRIKAANS**

[From: *Every Step of the Way: The Journey to Freedom in South Africa* by M Morris]

**QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) DEAL WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S DIVIDED PAST?****SOURCE 2A**

This extract explains the aims of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was established in 1995.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established to, amongst other goals, facilitate the 'rehabilitation and the restoration of the human and civil dignity of victims of violations of human rights'. Primarily through the public hearings undertaken by the Human Rights Violations Committee, the Commission intended to restore voice and dignity to those previously marginalised (sidelined) and in the process confer public acknowledgement, widely regarded as a key contributor to the healing process.

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 an important symbolic function in a country where the system of governance had been premised (grounded) on the denial and silencing of, in particular, black voices.

... The TRC sought to address the issue of marginalised (sidelined) voices amongst the broader framework of victims, and was conscious of gender distortions (biases) in the processes and presentation of its work. Although the bulk of those who testified before the Commission were women, in most cases their testimonies focused on the experiences of their husbands, sons and fathers. Women as victims represented only a small number of the cases presented.

[From: [www.wvl.wits.ac.za](http://www.wvl.wits.ac.za): Traces of Truth – The South African TRC.  
Accessed on 18 November 2013.]

**SOURCE 2B**

The two testimonies below were presented at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in Johannesburg on 29 April 1996.

**Testimony 1: The following is the testimony of Rokaya Saloojee, wife of slain activist Suluman Saloojee. He was killed by the police force in Johannesburg on 9 September 1964.**

The widow of Suluman Saloojee, who died in police custody in 1964, said his death had left her with a lingering (lasting) hatred for some whites. 'If I see a white policeman I hate him, I am sorry to say,' Rokaya Saloojee told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the second day of its hearings in Johannesburg.

Suluman Saloojee, a 32-year-old solicitor's (lawyer's) clerk, was active in the Transvaal Indian Congress and the ANC. He was detained by the police on 6 July 1964 and on 9 September allegedly fell to his death from the seventh floor of the police headquarters. The inquest (investigation) into Saloojee's death lasted about five minutes, Rokaya said. The magistrates had not allowed her to ask questions and said 'That is all' when she asked why her husband's clothes were full of blood.

**Testimony 2: The following testimony was presented by James Simpson, a survivor of the Church Street bomb in Pretoria on 20 May 1983.**

On 20 May 1983 James Simpson was injured by a car bomb in Church Street, Pretoria. The bomb, probably planted by the ANC, killed 19 people. Simpson told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that he had been working in his office when the car bomb went off. Shards (pieces) of window glass had sprayed across the room, cutting his face and leaving splinters in his eyes. 'When I got to the street, I saw cars burning and injured people lying around. My sympathies are with the injured who have never fully recovered.' In order to forgive the bombers, Simpson said, he needed to know who they were. The two men who planted the bomb were killed in the explosion. Asked by the Commission chairman, Archbishop Tutu, what he wanted for the people who ordered the bombing, Simpson said, 'Simply that they would admit that they gave the orders.'

[From: *The South African Press Association Report on the TRC, 30 April 1996.*  
Quoted in C Culpin, *South Africa since 1948*]

**SOURCE 2C**

The table below shows how South African citizens responded to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The survey was conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council in 1998 after the TRC report was released. The table below was re-typed for clarity.

<b>SOUTH AFRICANS' RESPONSES TO THE TRC</b>	<b>VERY BAD THING</b>	<b>BAD THING</b>	<b>NEITHER/ DON'T KNOW</b>	<b>GOOD THING</b>	<b>VERY GOOD THING</b>
<b>AFRICAN</b>	6%	6%	15%	21%	51%
<b>COLOURED</b>	10%	12%	34%	27%	17%
<b>INDIAN</b>	23%	28%	9%	22%	18%
<b>WHITE</b>	55%	17%	13%	12%	3%

[From: *Common Past, Divided Truth: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South African Public Opinion* by G Theissen]

**SOURCE 2D**

The extract from *Ubu and the Truth Commission* below highlights the criticisms of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Although it was intended to salve (ease) the wounds embedded (rooted) within the country's history and bring voices to the injuries suffered, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission received a great deal of criticism. Critics questioned whether the commission efficaciously (effectively) exposed or merely bandaged previous injustices. Some resented the commission's exploitation (abuse) of individual trauma; the commission often made painful, personal accounts of loss and struggle into public examples in order to legitimise a collective claim, which stirred emotion but did little to mobilise (activate) change. Due to the inherent discrepancy (differences) between the emotions of the witnesses and translations of their accounts, much of the impassioned (emotional) impact was lost in translation; witnesses were eventually inured (hardened) to the harrowing (disturbing) testimonies of tragedy. In addition, the pardoning of the apartheid government's human rights abuses angered many black South Africans who believed prosecution and conviction were the only ways justice would prevail. Most notably, the family of anti-apartheid activist Steve Biko opposed amnesty for his killers, arguing the commission to be unconstitutional. Despite structural flaws and shortcomings, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission proved essential to the reconciliation of both nation and state.

[From: *Ubu and the Truth Commission* by J Taylor]



**QUESTION 3: WHAT IMPACT DID GLOBALISATION HAVE ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES SITUATED IN THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN HEMISPHERES?****SOURCE 3A**

The following is based on a speech, 'Working for a Better Globalisation', that was delivered by Horst Köhler, the managing director of the International Monetary Fund at the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops in Washington DC on 28 January 2002.

Globalisation is the process through which an increasingly free flow of ideas, people, goods, services and capital leads to the integration of economies and societies. It is often viewed as an irreversible (permanent) force which is imposed upon the world by some countries and institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. However, that is not so. Globalisation represents a political choice in favour of international economic integration, which for the most part has gone hand-in-hand with the consolidation of democracy. Precisely because it is a choice, it may be challenged, and even reversed but only at great cost to humanity. The IMF believes that globalisation has great potential to contribute to the growth that is essential to achieve a sustained reduction of global poverty ...

Trade liberalisation is the best form of help for self-help, both because it offers an escape from aid dependency and because it is a win-win game; all countries stand to benefit from freer trade. The true test of the credibility of rich countries' efforts to combat poverty lies in their willingness to open up their markets and phase out trade subsidies in areas where developing countries have a comparative advantage as in agriculture, processed foods, textiles and clothing, and light manufacturers.

[From: <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2002/031502.htm>.  
Accessed on 15 December 2013.]

**SOURCE 3B**

This speech by the former President of South Africa, TM Mbeki, was delivered on 25 May 2007 at the Vietnam Institute of International Relations. The title of his speech was 'Globalisation and Related Matters'.

Today the rich have become richer and more extravagant (wasteful) while billions of people continue to live in misery, a point succinctly (briefly) put by the then administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Mark Malloch Brown, when he said, 'In large parts of the world inequality is increasing, both within and particularly between rich and poor countries'. Our Human Development Report estimates that the income gap between the fifth of the world's people living in the richest countries and the fifth in the poorest was 74 to one in 1997. This is up from 60 to one in 1990 and 30 to one in 1960.

The rich and the powerful from the developed world, who 'must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere', may see the phenomenon (occurrence) of globalisation as an important platform from which to increase their wealth and entrench their power and through this perpetuate (maintain) the all-round subjugation (suppression) of the poor regions of the world. To those of us from the developing countries globalisation must clearly mean the opportunity to leapfrog (move forward) our countries into the critical stage of development and therefore defeat poverty and underdevelopment while resisting foreign cultural domination and retaining our political and socio-economic independence.

Together, we have the duty to ensure that our people enjoy a better life. One of the things we have to do to achieve this objective is to forge strong south-south partnerships that harness (connect) our comparative advantages in this globalised world and among other things, utilise our capacities to change the trend whereby most developing countries are the exporters mainly of raw materials.

[From: <http://www.dirco.gov.za/docs/speeches/2007/mbeki0531.htm>.  
Accessed on 15 December 2013.]

**SOURCE 3C**

This article by A Shah describes how Structural Adjustment Plans contributed to the poverty of countries in the Southern Hemisphere and how countries in the Northern Hemisphere were enriched.

**STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT – A MAJOR CAUSE OF POVERTY**

Following an ideology known as neo-liberalism, and spearheaded (led) by these and other institutions known as the 'Washington Consensus' (based in Washington DC), Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) have been imposed to ensure debt repayment and economic restructuring. But the way it has happened has required poor countries to reduce spending on things like health, education and development, while debt repayment and other economic policies have been made the priority. In effect, the IMF and World Bank have demanded that poor nations lower the standard of living of their people.

As detailed further below, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank provide financial assistance to countries seeking it, but apply a neo-liberal economic ideology or agenda as a precondition to receiving the money.

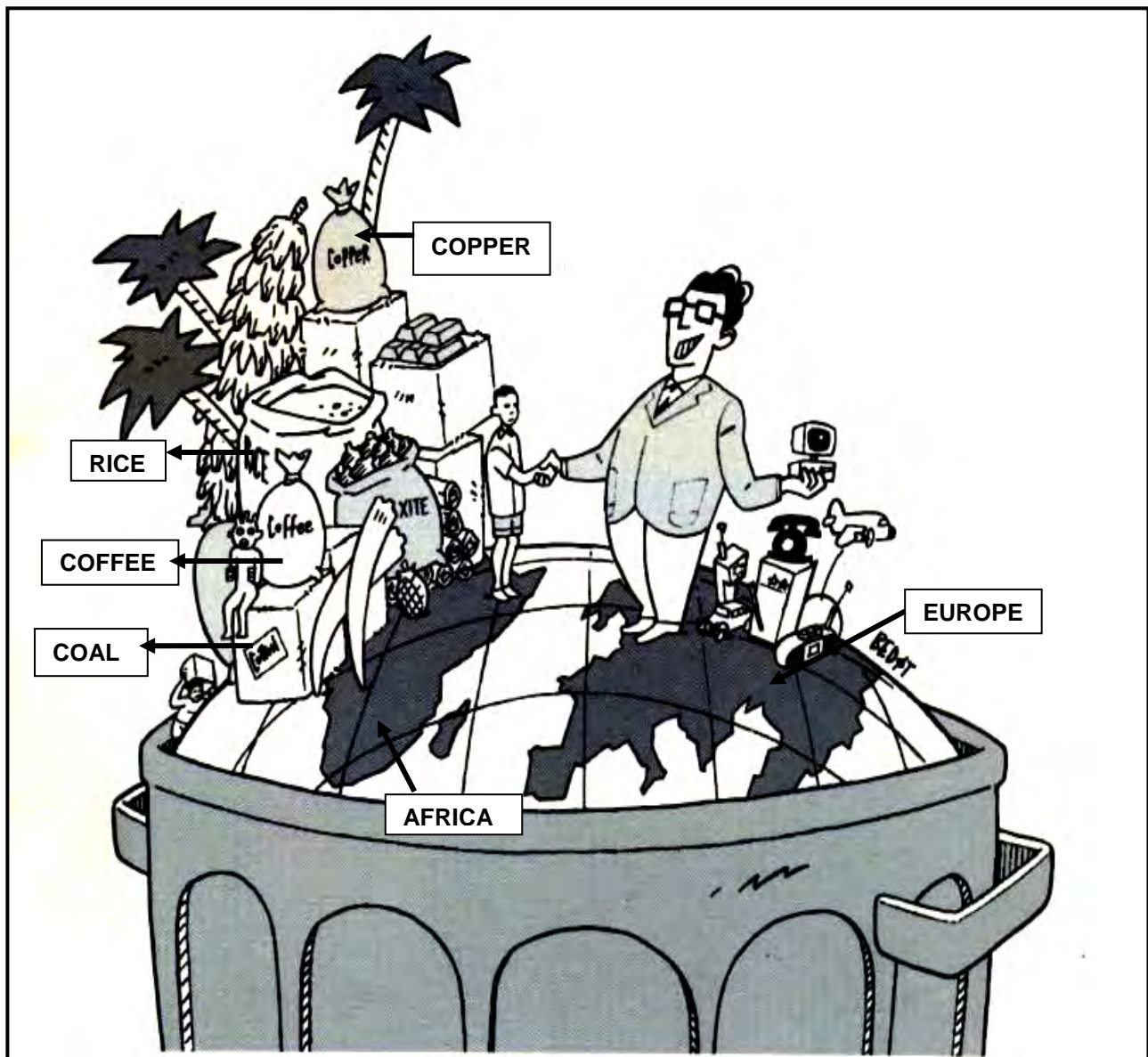
For example: One of the many things that the powerful nations (through the IMF, World Bank, et cetera) prescribe is that the developing nation should open up to allow more imports in and export more of their commodities. However, this is precisely what contributes to poverty and dependency ...

Developed countries grow rich by selling capital-intensive (thus cheap) products for a high price and buying labour-intensive (thus expensive) products for a low price. This imbalance of trade expands the gap between rich and poor. The wealthy sell products to be consumed, not tools to produce. This maintains the monopolisation of the tools of production, and assures a continued market for the product. (Such control of tools of production is a strategy of a mercantilist (capitalist/business) process. That control often requires military might.)

[From: <http://www.globalissues.org/article/3/structural-adjustment-a-major-cause-of-poverty>.  
Accessed on 15 December 2013.]

**SOURCE 3D**

This cartoon entitled 'Striking a Green Deal' was used on the blog of the Economic Development and Research Centre in Brussels (Belgium) in November 1993, during their International Conference on Environmental Aspects of Europe's North-South Economic Relations. The date and author of the cartoon are unknown. Some words have been retyped for clarity.



[From: <http://www.edrc.net/ActivitiesText.htm>. Accessed on 15 December 2013.]

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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