



# basic education

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

## **NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

**GRADE 12**

**HISTORY P2**

**EXEMPLAR 2014**

**ADDENDUM**

**This addendum consists of 12 pages.**

**QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE IDEAS OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT CHALLENGE THE APARTHEID REGIME IN THE 1970s?**

**SOURCE 1A**

The extract below focuses on the philosophy of Black Consciousness (BC).

Black Consciousness (BC) became a doctrine of self-emancipation and a strategy for escape from the political doldrums (state of stagnation) into which South Africa had been cast in the 1960s. BC was also the breeding ground for a new generation of leaders and the training ground for imparting organisational skills. BC succeeded in popularising self-reliance as a viable (practicable) liberation strategy. Its initiatives in launching a student movement and adult political organisations, leadership training programmes, and in enunciating (uttering) a philosophy which accorded with the dignity of the downtrodden (burdened) and oppressed, served to demonstrate that self-reliance was attainable. The tasks BC set were to uplift sagging spirits; raise battered self-esteem; affirm identity and assert human dignity; fight off apathy and stagnation; turn racial stereotypes on their heads; exorcise (to get rid of) the arsenal (collection) of complexes that haunted and kept down individuals and communities; instil self-confidence and self-reliance and reinvigorate (revive) the masses in their struggle for emancipation (freedom).

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

**SOURCE 1B**

This source describes the organisations that were established as a result of the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

In addition, some of the younger teachers, also in Soweto, had come from the ethnically divided campuses of Fort Hare and the University of the North, where they had formed the South African Student's Organisation (SASO). The organisation was based on the philosophy of Black Consciousness and was associated with Steve Biko. These young professionals had a major impact on emerging student organisations such as the South African Student's Movement (SASM), which were founded in schools. Some accounts even refer to the SASM as a school-based branch of SASO. Statements by the SASM and the SASO reflected the growing excitement felt by young black people, inspired by the workers' strikes of 1973 in Durban, the fall of the Portuguese regimes in Angola and Mozambique in 1975, and the successes of resistance movements in the war in Rhodesia ...

[From: *Recollected 25 years later Soweto 16 June 1976* by E Brink et al.]

**SOURCE 1C**

This extract focuses on the reaction of the apartheid government to the philosophy of Black Consciousness in the 1970s.

... SASO's ability to pull off simultaneous boycotts contributed to the government's perception that Black Consciousness was a threat. It did not act immediately, but in early 1973, the Minister of State Security followed by the banning of eight NUSAS leaders by banning the leadership of the SASO and the BPC. The banned leaders included Nengwekhulu, Biko, Pityana, Cooper, Moodley and Mafuna, nearly all of whom had been critical in Black Consciousness philosophical development from the outset ... Banned to their hometowns and forbidden to attend public meetings or publish, the founders of Black Consciousness essentially vanished from public life they had only recently attained. They were still consulted, but these and subsequent bannings paved the way for a new generation of leaders that included people like Tiro, who had made a name for themselves not only by organising or theorising but also by confronting the state ...

This new generation of leaders expressed glee (excitement) when the 'junta of national salvation' overthrew the Portuguese government in April 1974 ... Thousands of Africans freely celebrated in Lourenço Marques (Maputo) and Prime Minister Vorster conceded, with considerable understatement, that the events would 'affect' white South Africa.

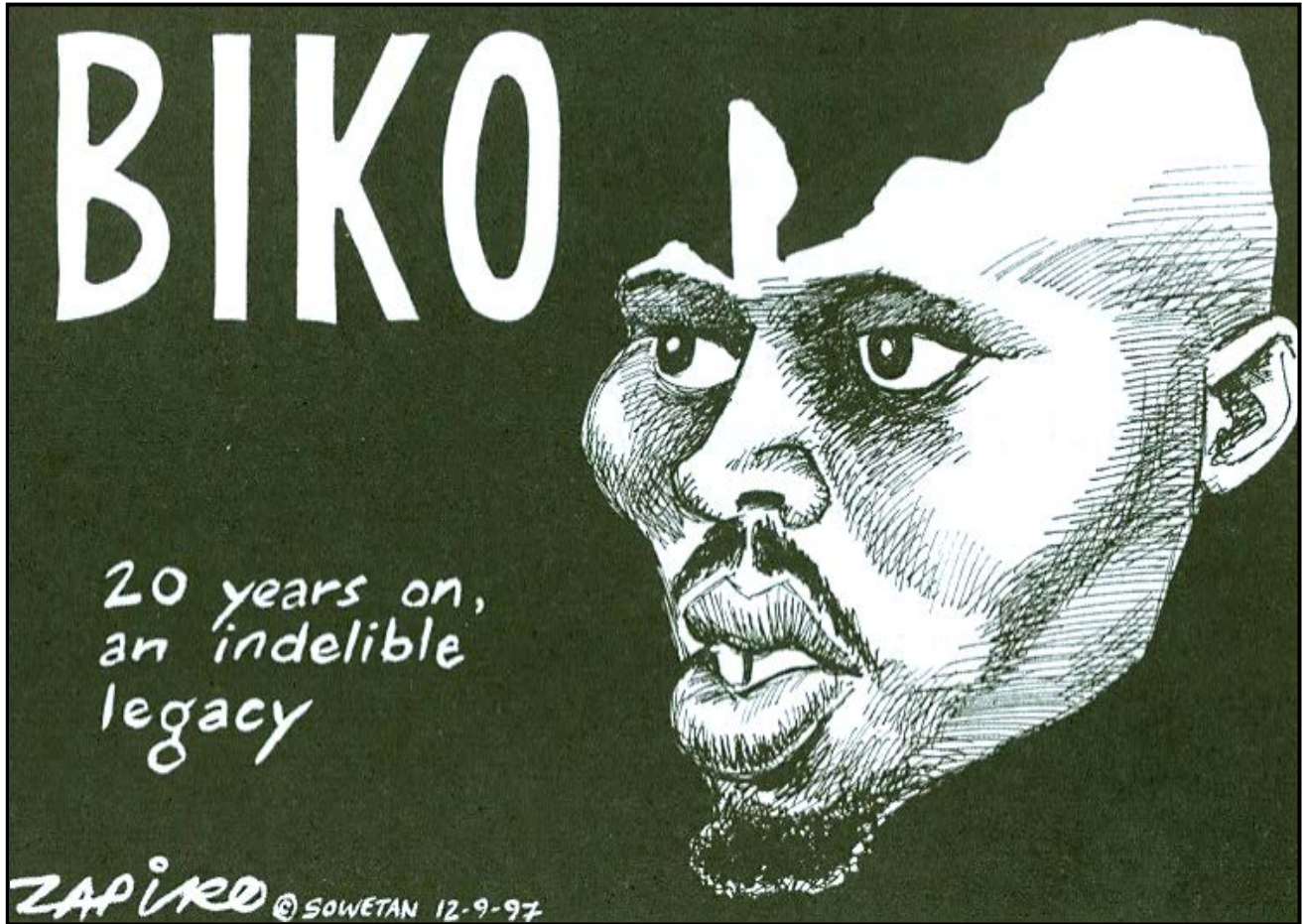
As winter turned to spring, the movement announced a nationwide series of rallies to commemorate the occasion, in Durban at Currie's Fountain Sports Ground, in Johannesburg, and at still highly organised and militant University of the North.

Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of State Security, pledged that these rallies would not take place ... When dust settled in late September and early October, the fears of the King William's Town contingent had been realised. Police raids broke up rallies of a thousand people each at Currie's Fountain and Turfloop, and dozens of leaders were detained, including previously banned individuals such as Cooper and Moodley, as well as the entire leadership of SASO, BPC and the University of the North SRC. As 1974 closed, more than sixty Black Consciousness activists remained in detention.

[From: *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968–1977* by DR Magaziner]

**SOURCE 1D**

This cartoon, drawn by Zapiro, commemorates the legacy of the former Black Consciousness leader, Stephen Bantu Biko's struggle against the apartheid regime.



[From: The Sowetan, 12 September 1997]

**QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) ASSIST SOUTH AFRICA TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE PAST?**

**SOURCE 2A**

The source below focuses on the role of the TRC in the process of 'healing' and the regeneration of human rights in post-apartheid South Africa.

The TRC was nevertheless aware that there is 'no quick fix to healing the nation' and what it was offering was one step in a longer-term process. However, within the TRC itself at least two intertwining discourses (linking discussions) were shaping these 'healing' practices ... On the one hand, many victims did gain considerable recognition and validation (confirmation) of their pain and anguish (torture). On the other hand, many victims believed the rhetorical (symbolic) discourse of 'healing', which evoked (suggested) people's fantasies of being completely 'cured' through 'forgiveness'. These notions were explicit (clear) within the vocabulary of Archbishop Tutu.

We have stared the beast of our dark past in the eye and we have survived the ordeal. And we are realising that we can indeed transcend (rise above) the conflict of the past, we can hold hands as we realise our common humanity ... Forgiveness will follow confession and healing will happen and so contribute to national unity and reconciliation.

But the TRC was characterised by different strands of thinking such as staffers who distinguished between 'physiological', 'spiritual' and 'psychological healing' ...

For all its limitations, the TRC made major contributions. As Ignatieff said, 'All that a truth commission can achieve is to reduce the number of lies that can be circulated unchallenged in public discourse.' Evaluated by this modest measure, the TRC was a success. Since the TRC, it is difficult for racists and conservatives to question the occurrence of apartheid atrocities. Many survivors experienced public recognition and did establish considerable 'truth' about what happened to them and their loved ones ...

[From: <http://www.riehr.com.ar/archivos/Investigacion/PoliticsofDisappointment.pdf>.  
Accessed on 17 September 2013]

**SOURCE 2B**

This cartoon by Zapiro portrays the former Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar's attempt at establishing the TRC in 1995.



[From: [http://sthp.saha.org.za/resources/images/Archbishop\\_Tutu/Tutu\\_TRC-1.jpg](http://sthp.saha.org.za/resources/images/Archbishop_Tutu/Tutu_TRC-1.jpg).  
Accessed on 5 February 2013]

**SOURCE 2C**

This testimony by Nonhle Mohapi was made at the TRC hearings in East London in 1996.

In 1976, I was widowed; I became a widow of the apartheid regime. When the TRC began I was sceptical (doubtful), not knowing what to expect from the process, yet I was forward looking. I persistently (patiently) reminded myself that my main purpose in choosing to be a witness at the TRC was to unlock the truth of how my beloved husband Mapetla Mohapi died. I expected to get the whole truth from the TRC process. It is true that the TRC was a political process forging the concept of nation-building and the rainbow nation. But did it do so at the expense of thousands of African victims and families living in South Africa ...?

As a doting (loving) mother and wife I welcomed the opportunity after waiting patiently for nearly 20 years to stand before the commission and ask for the truth.

[From: *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: 10 Years On* by C Villa-Vicencio and F du Toit]

**SOURCE 2D**

This account by Gobodo-Madikizela focuses on the value of the TRC.

'And so I think it's important to realise that sometimes there's a very thin line between history and reality. And what we're trying to do in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is to make real that history. Not to make it just an object of the past but something that is real. There's a lot of controversy about how the Truth Commission is embracing reconciliation, and sacrificing justice for truth, and how, in fact, reconciliation is an embrace of evil. But being in the Truth Commission and having watched several victims walk up to the witness box and talk about their story, I'm reminded every day how the way we define concepts such as justice, for example the way we frame those definitions, decides the conclusions we make about those concepts. Justice, as far as many victims who have come to the Commission are concerned, is something totally different from what someone who has not had that experience would define as justice.

'I have been struck many times at the Truth Commission [by] how, in fact, victims look at justice as a validation (confirmation) of themselves, as a reaffirmation (confirmation) of themselves, something that tells them that, "You were right. You were right. The system that demonized (threatened) you, the system that took away all that you had was wrong, but you were right!" And the opportunity for these victims to come and tell their stories, to talk about their loss and their pain – in fact, the pain of silence about talking about the pain – that is broken for the first time at the hearings of the Truth Commission, is, on its own, sufficient validation for family members. And that, for me, is superior to any quest for justice because that embodies justice in a very meaningful way. It is reparative justice; it is justice nonetheless.'

[From: [www.facinghistoryandourselves.org](http://www.facinghistoryandourselves.org). Accessed on 18 September 2013]



**QUESTION 3: HOW DID ORDINARY PEOPLE RESPOND TO GLOBALISATION AFTER THE 1990s?****SOURCE 3A**

This source focuses on the results of globalisation for both rich and poor nations.

Globalisation has resulted in: increased international trade; a company operating in more than one country; greater dependence on the global economy; freer movement of capital, goods and services; recognition of companies such as McDonald's and Starbucks in less economically developed countries (LEDC).

Although globalisation is probably helping to create more wealth in developing countries, it is not helping to close the gap between the world's poorest countries and the world's richest. Globalisation has resulted in many businesses setting up or buying operations in other countries. Companies that operate in several countries are called multinational corporations (MNCs) or trans-national corporations (TNCs). The US fast-food chain McDonald's is a large MNC – it has nearly 30 000 restaurants in 119 countries.

Globalisation operates mostly in the interests of the richest countries, which continue to dominate world trade at the expense of developing countries. The role of LEDCs in the world market is mostly to provide the North and West with cheap labour and raw materials. There are no guarantees that the wealth from inward investment will benefit the local community. Often profits are sent back to the more economically developed country where the TNC is based. Trans-national companies may drive local companies out of business. If it becomes cheaper to operate in another country, the TNC might close down the factory and make local people redundant.

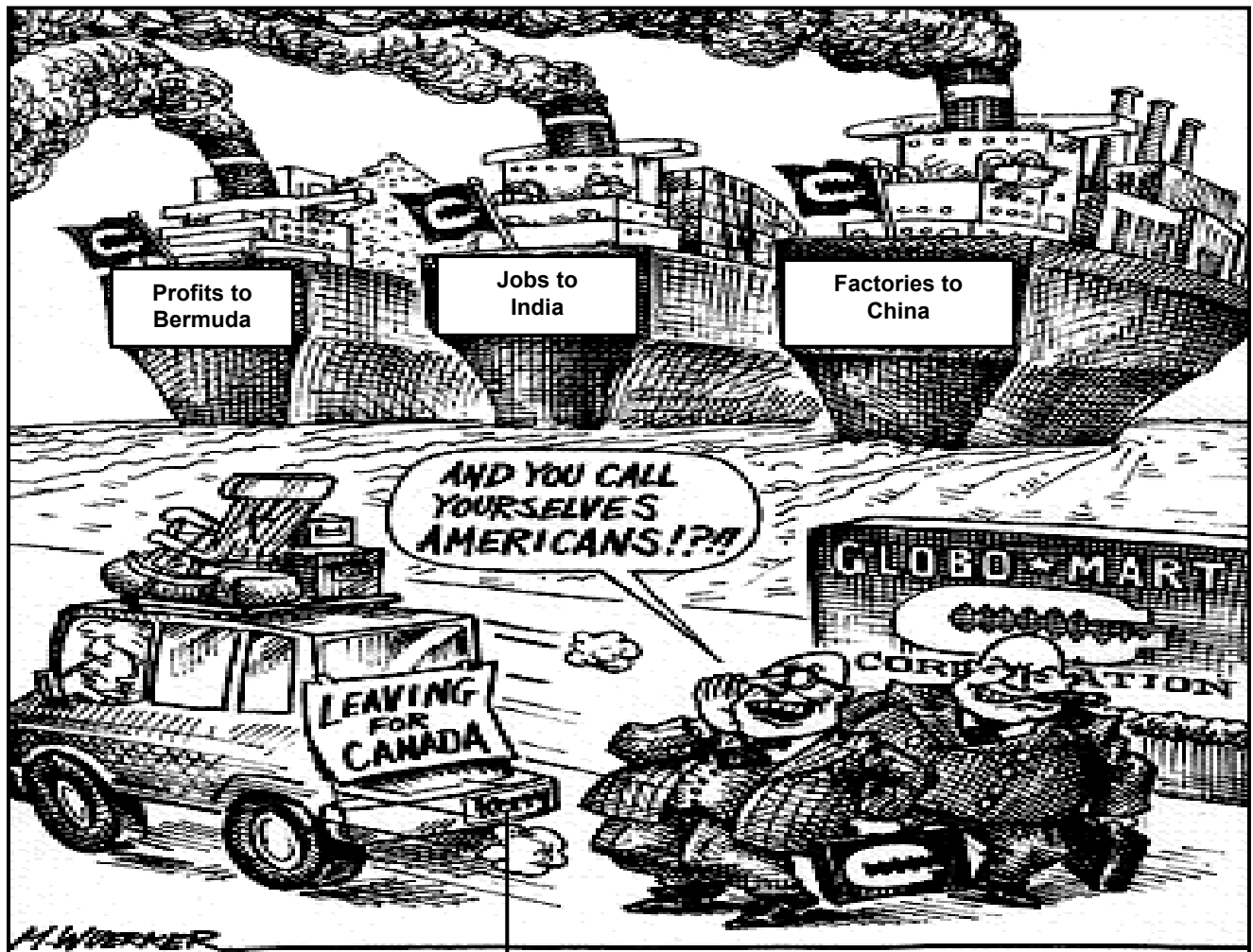
An absence of strictly enforced international laws means that TNCs may operate in LEDCs in a way that would not be allowed in a more economically developed country. They may pollute the environment, run risks with safety or impose poor working conditions and low wages on local workers.

[From: [http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/geography/globalisation/globalisation\\_rev5.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/geography/globalisation/globalisation_rev5.shtml). Accessed on 20 September 2013]



**SOURCE 3B**

The cartoon below was drawn by M Wuerker on 8 December 2004. It portrays how multi-national companies in the United States of America did business in the globalised world.



KERRY

[From: <http://www.cartoonistgroup.com/subject/TheGlobal+Economy-comics-and-cartoons-by-Matt+Wuerker's+Editorial+cartoons.php>. Accessed on 20 September 2013]

**SOURCE 3C**

The source below was written by a member of the Anti-Globalisation Movement. It focuses on the role that the World Trade Organisation (WTO) played regarding globalisation.

With the chants of 'Hey, hey, ho, ho, the WTO has got to go!' and 'The people united, we'll never be divided!', the 'festival of resistance' had commenced ... followed by a lively assemblage (gathering) of drummers and flute players kicking off the beat.

An inspiring, passionate grassroots coalition of the most unlikely of individuals was gathering in the streets of downtown Seattle to voice their strong displeasure toward a common foe; the destructive corporate rule of the World Trade Organisation ... the WTO.

The protesters included union steel workers and their families, environmentalists, old hippies, college students, grandmas, migrant workers from Mexico, Tibetan monks, Pacific Rim sweatshop workers (factory workers that earn low wages, who work for long hours and under poor working conditions), animal rights activists dressed as sea turtles, and few wild n' crazy nuns. What a party!

This beautiful motley crew of humanity was also very well educated and informed on the issues concerning the WTO's activities. They had done their homework. For the past four days that I had been in Seattle, and for numerous weeks before that, various workshops and seminars on a variety of national and international issues were held at the local union halls and churches.

Issues discussed ranged from the production of genetically-engineered foods; the sweatshops in Indonesia, Pakistan, Mexico and the Philippines; the clear cutting of forests; animal protection laws; beef hormones; poisoned air, water and land; the loss of American workers' jobs to overseas' markets (I'd call slave labour cheaper); ... Basically, the WTO's primary agenda involves the raping of the planet and the exploitation of the workers by a few multinational companies' CEOs and major shareholders ... in the name of blatant greed and power. And they wonder why so many people turned out in the streets to oppose them?

[From: <http://pecoskid.com/my-writings/anti-globalization-movement-essays-battle-in-seattle/>.  
Accessed on 20 September 2013]

**SOURCE 3D**

This photograph shows members of the Anti-Globalisation Movement protesting against the World Trade Organisation. This photograph was taken in 1999 at the protest march in Seattle (USA).



[From: <http://pecoskid.com/my-writings/anti-globalization-movement-essays-battle-in-seattle/>. Accessed on 20 September 2013]

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

Brink, E et al. 2001. *Recollected 25 years later Soweto 16 June 1976* (Kwela Books)

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[http://sthp.saha.org.za/resources/images/Archbishop Tutu/Tutu TRC-1.jpg](http://sthp.saha.org.za/resources/images/Archbishop_Tutu/Tutu_TRC-1.jpg)

[http://www.cartoonistgroup.com/subject/TheGlobal+Economy-comics-and-cartoons-by-Matt+Wuerker's Editorial+cartoons.php](http://www.cartoonistgroup.com/subject/TheGlobal+Economy-comics-and-cartoons-by-Matt+Wuerker's+Editorial+cartoons.php)

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[www.facinghistoryandourselves.org](http://www.facinghistoryandourselves.org)