This addendum consists of 14 pages.
QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE PHILOSOPHY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS INFLUENCE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS IN THE 1970s?

SOURCE 1A

The extract below focuses on the emergence of the philosophy of Black Consciousness and its impact on South Africa during the 1970s. It was written by Gregory Maddox.

After 1969, the Black Consciousness Movement called for blacks to liberate themselves psychologically first. It claimed many black people had internalised (adopted) ideas of inferiority and dependency from the racism of apartheid. Once black people came to believe that they had the right and power to stand up for themselves, they would be able to take power in their own hands. The targets of the movement were to eliminate (remove) the dependence of blacks on white liberals to speak for them and not to depend on white liberal organisations. Biko stated, 'Merely by describing yourself as black, you have started on a road towards emancipation (liberation), you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient (passive) being.' Biko argued that only blacks (and he included the non-African people of colour in South Africa in this definition) were truly oppressed in South Africa …

The resonance (importance) of Black Consciousness's call for pride and self-reliance helped create the conditions that led to a wave of anti-apartheid unrest by students in 1976, despite the absence of leaders, like Biko, from the active political stage. A wave of strikes by black workers swept through the country in 1975 and 1976, and they were often led by 'unofficial' unions affiliated with the Black Consciousness Movement.

**SOURCE 1B**

The extract below explains the influence that the philosophy of Black Consciousness had on students in the 1970s. It is taken from an article that appeared in *The Daily Maverick* and was written by J Brooks Spector.

| In April 1976, the government finally decided to enforce existing regulations that would ensure half the education of Africans, notably in tougher specialised subjects like Mathematics and the sciences, would henceforth take place in South Africa’s other official language, Afrikaans, rather than in English. Most Soweto headmasters and teachers pledged not to carry out such an arbitrary (unfair) diktat (order). Moreover, students generally had so little command of Afrikaans they would be doomed (ruined) to educational failure should such a decision become the reality of education in Soweto’s high schools. The imposition (implementation) of this rule seemed precisely designed to destroy what little education was available under the harsh regimen (programme) of ‘Bantu Education’, thereby dashing (ending) any students’ hopes that they could achieve the education needed for success in the modern economy. Students began to organise their own opposition to this new regimen; held meetings and thereafter scheduled a march to protest against this, heading out of Morris Isaacson and Orlando West High schools. But this peaceful students’ march was met with real police muscle and well over a hundred students were killed on that day, and many more were wounded. | [From *The Daily Maverick*, 16 June 2016] |

[From *The Daily Maverick*, 16 June 2016]
SOURCE 1C

The photograph below shows members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) confronting students with dogs in Soweto on 16 June 1976. The photographer is unknown.

SOURCE 1D

The extract below focuses on the outcome of the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

Although the government backed down on its Afrikaans language policy in July 1976, schools throughout the country continued to be disrupted until the following year. Many student leaders were detained, over a thousand were killed, mainly through police action, and many thousands more were wounded.

During the uprising the African National Congress (ANC), although banned, maintained contact with students and issued pamphlets, but it had been the ideas of Black Consciousness which had inspired the protests. However, the ANC was boosted (increased its membership) when over 12 000 students left the country to join the ANC in exile and receive military training. After Soweto, armed activity in South Africa increased, as the armed wings of the ANC (Umkhonto we Sizwe) and the Pan Africanist Congress (Poqo) were able to use their new recruits on sabotage missions in the country.

The Soweto Uprising had a very negative impact on South Africa’s image overseas. Dramatic television coverage of police action in the townships was screened around the world. It shocked the international community. This international criticism destroyed the government’s attempts to end its isolation by establishing economic and diplomatic ties with other African countries. The events [Soweto uprising] and the world’s reaction shook white business leaders, who began to put pressure on the government to reform. In 1977 the government banned 17 anti-apartheid organisations, including South African Student Organisation (SASO), the South African Student Movement (SASM) and the Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC). The banning of all organisations with links to the Black Consciousness Movement suggests that the government had no doubt that the ideology posed a threat to white domination and was behind the 1976 uprising.

**QUESTION 2:** HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) DEAL WITH PERPETRATORS SUCH AS BRIAN MITCHELL?

**SOURCE 2A**

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

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that emerged in 1995 was born inevitably (evidently) out of compromise. The commission's main focus was to investigate gross human rights violations, break the silence on the past, create a culture of accountability and provide a safe space for victims to tell their personal stories in the thirty-four-year period from 1960 onwards. The violations were defined as the killing, abduction, torture, or severe ill-treatment of any person, or any attempt, conspiracy (plan), incitement (provocation), instigation (influencing), command, or procurement (order) to commit those acts. Thus the wider injustices of the apartheid system, such as the forced removal of some 3 million people from their homes, the imprisonment of millions of pass-law offenders, and the widespread use of detention without trial, would not be addressed.

… The most contentious (critical) part of the TRC’s remit (responsibility) involved the amnesty clauses. During the final stages of the negotiations that ended white rule, De Klerk had insisted that a guarantee of amnesty be written into the new constitution; Mandela was obliged (forced) to concede (accept). Without amnesty, the white establishment might not have agreed to give up power. Amnesty therefore became the price for peace.

[From Coming To Terms: South Africa’s Search For Truth by M Meredith et al.]
The source below focuses on Brian Mitchell's role in the Trust Feed massacre and his subsequent application for amnesty to the TRC.

Both at his trial and at the TRC amnesty committee hearing in 1996 Brian Mitchell describes how he regarded himself as a 'soldier engaged in a civil war'. As the new station commander at New Hanover and as head of the local Joint Management Centre, his task had been to turn the tide of war against the United Democratic Front (UDF). He was convicted for killing political activists such as Mseleni Ntuli, Dudu Shangase, Zetha Shangase, Nkoyeni Shangase, Muzi Shangase, Filda Ntuli, Fikile Zondi, Maritz Xaba, Sara Nyoka, Alfred Zita and Sisedewu Sithole.

Brian Mitchell, who was serving a thirty-year sentence for his role in the Trust Feed massacre, also applied for amnesty. In his judgement in December 1996, Andrew Wilson, the same judge who had sentenced Mitchell to death for murder, accepted that his activities had been 'part of the counter-revolutionary (against change) onslaught against the African National Congress (ANC) and United Democratic Front (UDF) activists' and that 'he had acted within the course and scope of his duties as an officer in the South African police force'. Wilson was also satisfied that Mitchell had made a full disclosure of the facts. Accordingly, he was granted amnesty.

There was outrage (anger) that Mitchell was allowed to walk free, particularly among the residents at Trust Feed who had opposed amnesty.

[From Coming To Terms: South Africa's Search For Truth by M Meredith et al.]
SOURCE 2C

The cartoon below, by Zapiro, depicts Brian Mitchell accepting the TRC’s 'ONCE-ONLY OFFER!!' of amnesty. It was published in the Mail and Guardian on 12 November 1996.


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SOURCE 2D

The source below focuses on Brian Mitchell's decision to meet with the members of the Trust Feed community, near Pietermaritzburg, to ask for forgiveness.

Brian Mitchell decided to meet the people from Trust Feed after he was granted amnesty. Mitchell's first attempts to meet people from the Trust Feed were firmly turned down. They did not want to have anything to do with him. And when the gathering had eventually been arranged, it was clear that there were many people who were not willing to forgive the policeman.

TRC commissioners attended the gathering as facilitators. ... while one song after the other had been sung and several inhabitants of the town came forward to speak, Brian Mitchell, alone on a chair, sat in front of the hall. Finally he rose and addressed the audience.

'And I can just ask the people that were involved directly or indirectly and who have been affected by this case to consider forgiving me ... I just want to express my gratitude towards the community for allowing me to come here today and for the goodwill that I've experienced so far. There were people that warned me that I mustn't come here today. But, despite those warnings, I have come here because I know it's the right thing to do.'

... After Mitchell had finished talking, many questions followed. It was clear that everybody was not satisfied. But the majority in the hall were willing to extend an olive branch to the ex-policeman.

Jabulisiwe Ngubane, who had lost both her mother and a few children in the attack, told journalists, 'It is not easy to forgive, but because he stepped forward to ask forgiveness, I have no choice. I must forgive him.'

[From Chronicle of the Truth Commission A Journal Through the Past and Present – Into the Future of South Africa by P Meiring]
QUESTION 3: WHAT IMPACT DID TRADE LIBERALISATION HAVE ON SOUTH AFRICA'S CLOTHING AND TEXTILE INDUSTRY?

SOURCE 3A

The extract below focuses on the impact that trade liberalisation had on South Africa's clothing and textile industry in the 1990s.

In the early 1990s there was considerable debate over what South Africa's external tariff policy should be. South Africa, after years of isolation due to its apartheid policies, was to be reinstated as a member of the international community and participate in international trade. In 1994, South Africa was signatory to the Marrakech General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) Agreement. In terms of its Marrakech agreements, South Africa agreed to embark upon a massive liberalisation of tariffs on most agricultural and manufactured goods, including those of the clothing and textile sectors.

Soon after signing the Marrakech Agreement, the South African government, anxious to put pressure on its local industries to become even more internationally competitive, reduced the duties on clothing. Its tariff liberalisation programme, which set new most-favoured-nation (MFN) duty rates, saw domestic clothing and textile tariffs fall to levels significantly below its 1994 WTO commitments.

Inefficiency and corruption in South Africa's customs administration intensified the impact of tariff liberalisation. Large quantities of clothing, mainly from China, India and Pakistan entered the country without any duties being levied (imposed) at all, or without the relevant 'rules of origin' being adhered to.

[From A Case Study of the Clothing Industry in South Africa by Mark Bennett]
SOURCE 3B

The source below shows workers at a clothing and textile factory in KwaZulu-Natal that was later closed as a result of the policy of trade liberalisation. It appeared on the Independent Online news website on 28 January 2013.

450 KZN FACTORIES FACE CLOSURE

The article below focuses on the impact that trade liberalisation had on Hammarsdale’s economy. Hammarsdale is located in the Mpumalanga township in KwaZulu-Natal. The title of the article is ‘Death of a Town’ which was written by P Harper. It appeared on the NEWS 24 website on 5 February 2014.

Located towards Durban’s western boundary, Hammarsdale was the home of KwaZulu-Natal’s textile industry from the 1950s, with the Mpumalanga township having been set up by the apartheid government to house workers brought in to work in the factories. But, from the late 1980s, the inflow of cheap textiles from countries such as China and the movement of employers to areas with lower labour costs began to eat away at Hammarsdale’s economy. Massive employers, such as the textile giant the Frame Group, pulled out of the town, shedding thousands of jobs.

Mthetheleli Mjilo, a local landscaping contractor and a leader of the Hammarsdale Business Forum, grew up in the area and saw it during its heyday. ‘When I grew up here, there were jobs in the textile industry. In 1994, when Nigeria played in the Soccer World Cup, my older brother was working in the factory here that made their shirts. This place had jobs,’ he says. Mjilo adds that the level of prosperity in the area has gradually declined ...

In 2005 Mjilo noted that 'the area cannot take much more of this'. He stated that, 'The textile industry went first. For every job that is lost, you can say another six people are going to bed with nothing to eat. That’s another 7 000 people going hungry in this area. We have a very big problem here. This is the last kick of a dying horse for Hammarsdale. We already have thousands of young people who are finishing school and who cannot get jobs locally.'

SOURCE 3D

The article below outlines how the South African government helped to stabilise the local clothing and textile industry. It was written by N Magwaza and appeared on the Independent Online news website on 10 March 2016.

Johannesburg: The South African clothing and textile industry had regained its strength and if supported, it would be able to compete with global manufacturers with respect to price, quality and availability according to Economic Development Minister, Ebrahim Patel.

Patel was speaking at the annual bargaining council meeting of the Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) in Durban on Thursday. 'We are not there yet, but we have achieved a lot in saving jobs and creating jobs in this industry,' Patel said.

The industry had suffered job losses between 2002 and 2012 as a result of cheap imports, poor training and a lack of investment by companies, among other factors.

Patel said that the sector had benefited from about R4 billion spent either in the form of loans or incentives (motivation). The production incentives fall under the Clothing and Textile Competitiveness Improvement Programme, which helps companies improve competitiveness and pay for capital upgrading. Through the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), the government had approved the R2,2 billion production incentive fund for the clothing, textile, footwear and leather sector, which Patel said had saved 63 000 jobs and created 8 000 additional jobs.

The KwaZulu-Natal Clothing and Textile Cluster has also benefited from the government's intervention. Johann Baard, the executive director of Apparel Manufacturers (a South African company), said his observations were that the industry had improved over the past 18 months. 'Since the sector received support from the government four years ago, we have witnessed the creation of 8 000 additional jobs and the expansion of clothing industries,'

Accessed on 4 August 2018.]
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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


http://science.jrank.org/pages/7530/Black-Consciousness.html


https://www.zapiro.com/cache/com_zoo/images/m_961212mg_6e19e617dc4891b33abe9e607c4159cb.jpg


Meredith, M. et al. 1999. *Coming To Terms: South Africa’s Search For Truth* (Perseus Books Group, USA)

*The Daily Maverick*, 16 June 2016