This addendum consists of 14 pages.
QUESTION 1: WHY DID THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT DECIDE TO INTRODUCE COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMMES IN THE 1970s?

SOURCE 1A

The extract below focuses on Stephen Bantu Biko's role in the formation of Black Consciousness-inspired organisations in the 1970s.

... Biko's early writings showed he had by this time worked out a set of ideas that would later congeal (set) into the theory of Black Consciousness.

The first organisation Biko founded was the South African Student Organisation (SASO) in July 1969. He was elected the first president. He also played an important role in other Black Consciousness formations, including the Black People's Convention (BPC), South African Students' Movement (SASM) and the National Youth Organisation (NAYO). Projects included the Black Community Programme, for which Biko worked in the early 1970s, and Zanempilo, a health facility outside King William's Town. The clinic, which employed Dr Mamphela Ramphela as a house doctor, was a Black Consciousness-inspired project.

After Biko was banned in 1973 the Black Community Programme continued to support him. His banning order persisted until his arrest in 1977. Even while banned, he served and promoted the organisations he had founded. Until his death in 1977 in police custody, he remained a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement he had helped to form.

[From New History by H Gilomee et al. 2010]
The extract below focuses on various community projects that were established as a result of the influence of the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

… essentially to answer [the] problem … that the black man is a defeated being who finds it very difficult to lift himself up by his boot strings. He is alienated (unstable) … He is made to live all the time concerned with matters of existence, concerned with tomorrow … Now, we felt that we must attempt to defeat and break this kind of attitude and instil once more a sense of dignity within the black man. So, what we did was to design various types of programmes, present these to the black community with an obvious illustration that these are done by the black people for the sole purpose of uplifting the black community. We believed that we teach people by example.

One of the more enduring (long-lasting) structures established as a Black Community Programme (BCP) initiative was the Zanempilo Community Health Centre with Ramphele as the driving force. Situated in Zinyoka, 10 km outside King William’s Town, it opened in January 1975. It was one of the first primary healthcare initiatives outside the public sector in South Africa and provided much-needed community health education. However, the centre was not solely a health facility; it became a meeting point and a training ground for activists, a place where the community could gather to discuss issues, but also a place for joy and celebration, an example of the communal life that Biko and Pityana had spoken about.

The success of the Zanempilo project led to a similar establishment on the South Coast of Natal, named Solempilo (Eye of Health), but the ban on Black Consciousness organisations in 1977 put an end to the project.

When Ramphele was banned and restricted to Tzaneen, Northern Transvaal, in 1977, she formed the Isutheng Community Health Programme with money from BCP. Through Isutheng, she set about empowering women and encouraging them to establish vegetable gardens and other economic initiatives. Almost all of such BCP health projects were housed on church land.

SOURCE 1C

This is a photograph of the Zanempilo Clinic, which was situated in Zinyoka village, 10 km outside of King William's Town. It was a project initiated by the Black People's Convention (BPC) in January 1975.

The extract below focuses on some of the reasons why black South Africans were reluctant to get involved in community development projects that were initiated by the Black People’s Convention (BPC).

Thus the main aims of our community development projects are to inculcate (instil) in our people a sense of self-reliance, initiative and solidarity that is essential in our struggle to free ourselves from white racism, capitalism, colonialism and psychological servitude (mental slavery) instilled in us during all these centuries of colonial emasculation (weakening).

One must, however, also be patient when one is involved in community development geared towards raising consciousness and political awareness. One should never assume that it is easy to eradicate (get rid of) psychological attitudes which took the oppressor centuries to cultivate.

... Perhaps one of the ugliest aspects of oppression is that the oppressor systematically cuts off meaningful communication amongst the oppressed. In fact, it is one of the essential aspects of the oppressor’s strategy to keep the oppressed divided and not to allow communication amongst them lest they plot against him.

Thus, police harassment, intimidation, banning orders and other means are employed to make it difficult for the oppressed to organise themselves. One must constantly fight against fear which is an ubiquitous (ever-present) factor in the black community and dogs (referred to as police informers) even the most ardent (eager) exponent (supporter) of Black Consciousness.

It is fear founded on the realities of the situation – fear of finding oneself on Robben Island or banned – that has led to the frightening silence in the black community in South Africa. The regime wastes no time in sustaining and perpetuating (continuing) this fear in order to preserve and perpetuate the status quo (maintain the present situation). Indeed, all the factors that create this fear in our community have become integral parts of the entire societal structure in South Africa.

[From The Meaning of Black Consciousness in the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, a paper written by R Nengwekhulu, SA History Online]
QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) DEAL WITH THE PROCESS OF REPARATIONS?

SOURCE 2A

This extract is a speech that Dullah Omar, former Minister of Justice, delivered in Parliament on 25 February 1999. It focuses on the South African government's decision on how to deal with the issue of reparations for victims who experienced human rights violations after 1960.

We acknowledge the suffering and pain to South Africa's countless victims. We are sorry. We will do what we can to heal their wounds, the wounds of their community and the wounds of the nation. We will do what we can to restore their dignity, that of the community and that of the nation. We will do what we can to provide a framework for reparation, a multifaceted (many-sided) framework, which will include monetary reparation in one or other form, community-based reparation, symbolic reparation, legal and administrative measures and provision of services. However, we will also bear in mind that our gallant (brave) sons and daughters did not participate in the struggle and did not sacrifice their lives for monetary compensation …

The TRC has recommended, in so far as reparations and rehabilitation are concerned, that a structure be developed in the President's office, with a limited secretariat and fixed life span, whose functions will be to oversee the implementation of reparation and rehabilitation policy proposals and recommendations, to facilitate mechanisms for financial reparation, to issue death certificates, to expedite (speed up) exhumations (digging up) and burials, to facilitate issues of declarations of death in cases where family members so request, to facilitate the expunging (wiping out) of criminal records, to facilitate the resolution of outstanding legal matter, to facilitate the renaming of streets and community facilities, to remember and honour individuals or significant events and build monuments and memorials. The commission further says that there should be a national day of remembrance.

We would urge that the over-concentration on individual monetary grants in relatively large sums should be discouraged. It creates false expectations. At the same time, financial awards cannot be excluded or may take different forms, for example special pensions.

[From Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa the Fundamental Documents by E Doxtader and PJ Salazar]
The last few weeks have seen a flurry (flood) of media reports on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s reparations policy. Victims who testified before the TRC accuse government of moving too slowly on the TRC's recommendations. The government blames the TRC for not spending all the money allocated to the reparations budget. In turn, the TRC is accusing the government of failure to act promptly on its recommendations.

Whichever way you look at it, the victims are getting a raw deal. They have been victimised by what happened to them in the past and have had to watch perpetrators getting amnesty. They waited for two and a half years for so-called urgent interim payments, which, on average, amount to little more than R3 500 for violations such as murder and rape. To make matters worse, the TRC's long-term reparations recommendations, tabled in October 1998, still await substantial discussion that moves beyond political posturing (bullying) towards exploring feasible (possible) options. The right to reparation for wrongful acts has long been recognised as a fundamental principle of law, essential to the functioning of legal systems.

Reparation is recognised under international treaties and customary law in decisions by the United Nations Human Rights Committee, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the European Court of Human Rights and National Law and Practice, as well as in a number of other international treaties. Recent developments suggest that soon reparation will become an international standard, not just a principle. Therefore, if reparations are not granted to victims in the long run, and let's hope this is not the case, it may be possible for them to test whether this would contravene (defy) South Africa's international obligations.

[From Sunday Independent, 25 June 2000]
SOURCE 2C

This cartoon by Zapiro depicts the challenges that the TRC faced regarding the process of reparations.

[From The Sowetan, 9 June 2000]
Reparation for trauma victims has by its own admission been the TRC's single biggest failure. Nearly seven years from the first testimony, victims have received nothing. In contrast, amnesty granted or declined has immediate effect. Government has said in so many words that all black people suffered under apartheid and that to pay reparation to a few (seventeen thousand) victims would be unjust. It has also stated that nobody opposed apartheid with the idea of receiving financial reward; worse still, a cabinet minister has suggested that there were many 'actors' among those victims who testified. Commissioner Yasmin Sooka reacted furiously to these statements.

When our country accepted that we should go the Truth Commission route, we accepted that we would pursue a model of restorative justice rather than retributive justice … This notion of restorative justice is in trouble. It is jeopardised (threatened) by our failure to make changes in the material circumstances of those who came forward to tell their stories … Sooka also pointed out that the Constitutional Court established that amnesty was only possible because of the commitment to reparations. Victims have now the right to go to court to set aside the grant of amnesty. It would be a tragedy if this fragile peace we experience is placed in turmoil …

[From Country of My Skull by A Krog]
QUESTION 3: WHY WAS SOUTH AFRICA’S MEMBERSHIP OF THE BRICS GROUP REGARDED AS CONTROVERSIAL?

SOURCE 3A

This extract is taken from a quarterly bulletin that was published by the Gauteng Provincial Treasury Department in 2013. It highlights the reasons for South Africa’s inclusion in the BRICS group.

South Africa's inclusion into the BRICS group follows a request by the country to join the group and also numerous state visits by the South African President to these countries during 2010. The country was invited to join the group for numerous reasons, including it having the largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and the fact that it accounts for about a third of the region's GDP (gross domestic product) …

The country is also viewed to have an influence on the rest of the continent. It does not literally 'represent' other African countries but it shares similar concerns of other SSA states like income inequality, poverty and unemployment. South Africa's inclusion would offer BRICS members improved access to a very large consumer base in the African continent and also mineral resources, including oil and platinum. According to Global Sherpa, South Africa is also the most developed country in SSA and serves as a gateway to Africa.

China, which is regarded as the most dominant constituent (part) of the BRICS group, in particular perceives South Africa as an attractive country because of the large number of consumers, many of whom are relatively wealthy. The country also has the largest energy production capacity and it is also the largest producer of precious metals, such as gold and platinum. Both these features are attractive to Chinese investment and trade interest. China has massive financial stakes in the country, mainly in banking, infrastructure, mining, transport and renewable energy. According to Gateway House, the Industrial Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) has a 20% stake (US$4,7 billion) in one of South Africa's largest banks, Standard Bank …

The inclusion of South Africa in the BRICS bloc has been met with mixed reactions. Some critics feel that other emerging economies with faster economic growth than South Africa could have been included, since 'fast economic growth' is a common denominator (factor) within the group.

SOURCE 3B

This cartoon by P Nath was published in the *The Khaleej Times* (United Arab Emirates) on 30 March 2012. It depicts the leaders of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa who attended the fourth BRICS Summit.

SOURCE 3C

This is part of a reported interview that S Naidoo, writing for the Mail and Guardian, conducted with J O'Neill, the global Chairman of Goldman Sachs Asset Management on South Africa's membership of the BRICS group.

If the argument is that South Africa's inclusion in BRICS is because of its influence on the rest of the continent, it is a flawed one. 'South Africa is already losing out on investment to other rising economic stars on the continent. Countries such as Nigeria carry more power now,' he said. 'Just look at what is happening in the African Union. South Africa can't claim any more, apart from its sound fiscal and financial systems, to be the superpower on the continent.'

Although South African authorities and BRICS converts will disagree and vigorously defend South Africa's position in the grouping, the statistics substantiate the investment banker's argument. Two of the BRICS nations are now among the six largest economies in the world. Last year China usurped (took over) Japan to become the second largest economy in the world, five years earlier than O'Neill had predicted. The Chinese economy now stands at about $5,9 trillion.

Similarly, three weeks ago Brazil overtook the United Kingdom (UK) as the sixth largest economy, about 10 years faster than projected. The International Monetary Fund's figures put Brazil's economy at about $2,52 trillion and the UK's at $2,48 trillion. India and Russia are just outside the top 10, but O'Neill believes they will probably climb the ladder soon. 'As we creep through the decade, their share of global GDP is set to rise,' he said …

South Africa on the other hand, is nowhere close to being among the top 20 biggest economies. With a population of just more than 50 million and GDP of $364 billion, it is just too small to be on Goldman Sachs' radar of growth markets. 'In fact, South Africa is a drag on the dynamics of the BRICS grouping,' O'Neill said.

[From Mail & Guardian, 23 March 2012]
SOURCE 3D

This source was written by W Yong on behalf of the South African Institute of International Affairs in 2012. He supports South Africa's role in the BRICS group.

South Africa has the potential to play a leading role in setting the agenda on Africa. It can make use of the BRICS to better represent the voice of Africa, and through the role of South Africa, BRICS countries can listen better to African voices. With a leading role played by South Africa, the BRICS (group) can extend more support to the advocacy of African countries on issues like reform of the United Nations, global financial and development institutions, the global trade system and Africa's sustainable development programmes.

More importantly, by developing their African agenda, the BRICS countries are expected to contribute more towards the economic development of Africa. Chinese experts suggest that Africa's trade with BRICS countries is booming. Africa's foreign trade grew by 4.6% in 1993 to 19% in 2009, which created a trade surplus of $20.2 billion for Africa. China is Africa's largest trading partner, accounting for two-thirds of the BRICS countries' trade with Africa. According to an analysis by the Standard Bank of South Africa, by 2030 the total trade of the BRICS countries with Africa will reach $400 billion. To help realise the growth potential, more BRICS participation in and assistance to Africa are badly needed.

On the political front, the BRICS countries can play a positive role as well. They support the African Union peace initiatives to resolve the crises of African countries. The BRICS countries fully support the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), Resolution 2033, on the close cooperation between the UN and the African Union, in support of South Africa's proposal to strengthen the role of the UN in conflict prevention.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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


http://www.cagle.com/tag/alliance/page/7/


http://www.treasury.gpq.gov.za/...south%20africa%position%20in%20BRICS


*Mail & Guardian*, 23 March 2012


*Sunday Independent*, 25 June 2000

*The Sowetan*, 9 June 2000