



basic education

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HISTORY P2

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ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE PHILOSOPHY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS INFLUENCE THE SOWETO UPRISING OF 1976?**SOURCE 1A**

The source below is part of an article entitled 'The June 16 Uprising Unshackled: A Black Perspective' by Nelvis Qekema. It focuses on how the philosophy of Black Consciousness influenced black South African learners to challenge the use of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction.

... The Black Consciousness message was simple, 'Black man, you are on your own.' We had nothing to beg from our oppressors. Biko even introduced a practical disincentive (warning): 'Any black man who calls a white man "baas" is a non-white.'

... No matter how painful it might be, it is a fact of history that the 16 June 1976 uprising occurred under the direct influence of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), its ideology and its leadership. On 28 May 1976 the South African Students' Movement (SASM), a student component of the BCM, held its general students' council meeting where the issue of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was discussed. The minutes of the general students' council captured the spirit of the meeting and stated that the recent strikes by schools against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction is a sign of demonstration against systematised (organised) schools to produce 'good industrial boys' for the powers that be ... 'We resolve to totally reject the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction ...'

Seth Mazibuko gave this testimony at his 1977 trial: 'On 13 June 1976 I attended this meeting. Various schools from Soweto were present. The main speaker explained to us what the aims and objectives of SASM were. He also discussed the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and called upon the prefects of our schools to come forward and to explain what the position was [in their schools]. I stood up and told the congregation that the Phefeni [Junior Secondary] School refused to use Afrikaans and they had boycotted classes during May 1976.'

... Don [Tsietsi] Mashinini suggested that a mass demonstration should be held on 16 June 1976 by all black schools ... The election for the new [Soweto region] committee for SASM was then held. The following members were elected to the committee: President, Don Mashinini of Morris Isaacson; Vice President, Seth Malibu; myself, (Seth Mazibuko) Secretary; a female student [Sibongile Mkhabela] from Naledi High School ...

[From <http://azapo.org.za/the-june-16-uprising-ushackled-a-black-perspective/>. Accessed on 05 May 2016.]

SOURCE 1B

The source below is part of an eyewitness account of how events unfolded on 16 June 1976. This source was written by H Mashabela.

Earlier that day, Soweto schoolchildren had risen up against white authority and marched through Vilakazi Street alongside Phefeni Junior Secondary School and Orlando West High School in Soweto. The children had over the years witnessed the creation of urban Bantu councils, tribal schools and ethnic school boards by the country's white rulers and now Afrikaans was being imposed as a medium of instruction in the teaching of Mathematics, History and Geography.

As days and weeks passed without a response from the government, the South African Student Movement (SASM) decided to hold a peaceful protest march in solidarity with those pupils who were boycotting classes. Wednesday 16 June was chosen as D-day. Chanting slogans and waving placards, some of which read 'Away with Afrikaans,' 'Amandla Ngawethu' (Power to the People) and 'Free Azania' – the huge crowd had attracted scores of people, including police ...

Five uniformed white police officers stood side by side in the middle of the road some paces away, facing the sea of black faces. Behind them, more uniformed police, most of them black and riot squad men, armed with rifles accompanied by dogs, alighted from (got out of) the police trucks.

Suddenly one of the five officers stepped to the side, picking up what seemed to be a stone. He hurled the object into the throng (crowd). Instantly the children in front of the column scattered to the sides. They picked up stones and regrouped. They shouted 'Power, P-o-w-e-r!' as they advanced towards the police. And then the shooting began.

... Afterwards everybody seemed terribly shaken. The bewildered (confused) pupils then returned to the streets. Helped by motorists and journalists, they collected the dead and the wounded, removing them from the scene.

Mbuyisa Makhubu, a young activist, scooped (picked) up the pathetic body of Hector Pieterson, the child who had died and set off down the road, howling (crying loudly) with grief with Pieterson's sister in anguish at his side.

[From *A People On The Boil* by H Mashabela]

SOURCE 1C

The photograph below was taken by photojournalist Sam Nzima. It shows Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying a dead Hector Pieterse, who was shot by the apartheid police force on 16 June 1976 in Soweto. On the left-hand side of the photograph is Hector Pieterse's sister, Antoinette.



[From <http://rebeccafjellanddavis.com/june16/youth-day-in-south-africa>. Accessed on 27 April 2016.]

SOURCE 1D

This source focuses on how the apartheid government responded to the Soweto uprising of June 1976.

The next day (17 June 1976) the government closed down the schools and put the South African military on alert. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Andries Treurnicht (nicknamed 'Dr No'), announced: 'In the white areas of South Africa [including Soweto], where the government erects the buildings, grants the subsidies and pays the teachers, it is our right to decide on language policy.'

The Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, accused the learners of being communists: 'Why do they walk with upraised fists? Surely this is the sign of the Communist Party?' And Prime Minister, John Vorster, announced: 'The government will not be intimidated (threatened). Orders have been given to maintain order at all costs.' Those costs would include the lives of 174 Africans and two whites who were killed that day, as well as hundreds more who would be killed in the following months. News of the shootings swept around the world and the South African economy began to feel the shock with both gold and diamond shares dropping.

Nevertheless, the South African government was prepared to deal with protests as it always had, with extreme force and repression. The radicalisation (becoming revolutionary) of the African youth was evident in the violence that began in Soweto. Parents who had seen their children take to the streets, risking and sometimes losing their lives, were stirred into action. Throughout the urban African townships parents began to organise new political groups for the first time since the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s.

[From *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* by LC Clark et al.]

QUESTION 2: WAS THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCESSFUL IN DEALING WITH THE INJUSTICES OF THE PAST?**SOURCE 2A**

This source focuses on the role that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) played in attempting to establish the reasons for the disappearance of anti-apartheid activist, Nokuthula Simelane.

... After the fall of apartheid, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was instituted (established) as a way of bridging the divide (gap) between the oppressive National Party and the democratic South Africa ...

The Simelane family filed her (Nokuthula's) case with the TRC in the hope of resolving (deciding) her case. Five white men applied for amnesty relating to Nokuthula's abduction, torture and disappearance, Willem Helm Johannes Coetzee, Anton Pretorius, Frederick Mong, Frederick Williams and Jacobus Ross. At the TRC a former commander of the Soweto Intelligence Unit (SIU), Willem 'Timol' Coetzee, the man responsible for the disappearance and death of Nokuthula, stated that Nokuthula was alive when he last saw her. The unit had turned her into a spy and redeployed (sent) her back to Swaziland.

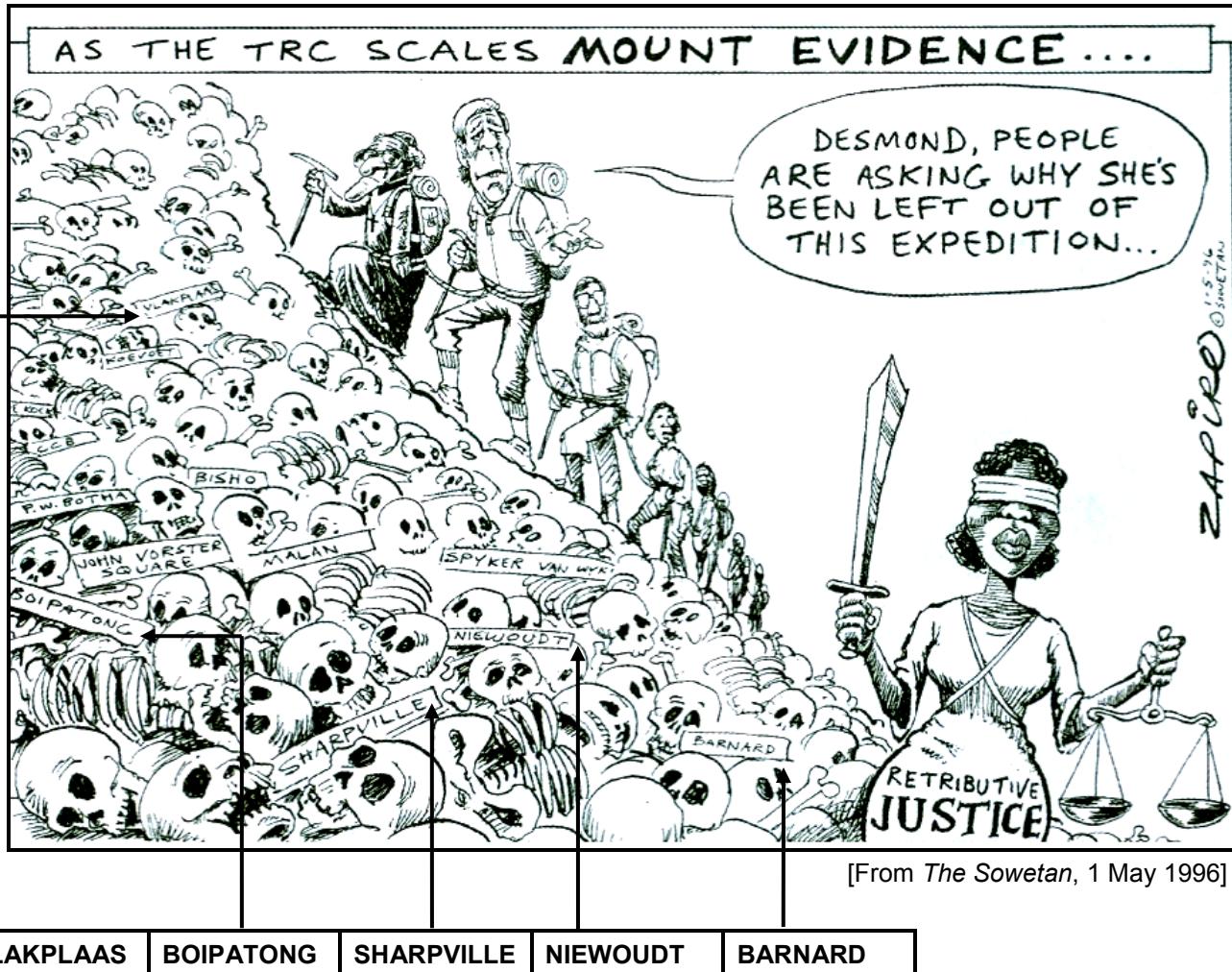
Coetzee's argument was countered (opposed) by his colleague, Nimrod Veyi, who confessed that she was tortured and brutally murdered and was buried around the Rustenburg area. The TRC ruled against Coetzee's amnesty with regard to torture, but he was granted amnesty for Nokuthula's abduction (kidnapping). The TRC further awarded amnesty to the other four men (Pretorius, Mong, Williams and Ross) for torturing her. Thus far, no one has come forth and taken responsibility for her disappearance; neither the ANC nor former apartheid security forces have revealed anything about her 'disappearance.'

On 28 November 2009 a life-size statue of Nokuthula was erected and unveiled in Bethal by the Mpumalanga government to honour her legacy and contribution towards the liberation struggle. Furthermore, a documentary on the life and disappearance of Simelane, entitled 'Betrayal', produced by Mark Kaplan, was televised on SABC 1 on 10 April 2006.

[From www.sahistory.org.za/people/nokuthula-orela-simelane. Accessed on 15 February 2016.]

SOURCE 2B

The cartoon below by Zapiro portrays Desmond Tutu and Alex Boraine leading the TRC up Mount Evidence.



SOURCE 2C

The article below appeared in *The Times* on 11 February 2016. It was entitled 'Where is my baby's grave?'.

For Ernestina Simelane it's now or never. She hopes that a murder trial will reveal what happened to her daughter, who disappeared 33 years ago on 26 February. She will face the apartheid security branch policemen, Willem Helm Johannes Coetze, Anton Pretorius, Frederick Barnard Mong and Msebenzi Timothy 'Vastrap' Radebe – who kidnapped Nokuthula Simelane and, the state believes, tortured and murdered the 23-year-old ANC courier.

Mong, Pretorius and Coetze applied to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for amnesty for her kidnapping and torture, but not for Simelane's murder. Radebe did not apply for amnesty.

'I am alone. Afraid of dying like my husband, crying out for answers that had never come,' said Simelane. On Monday the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) announced that Simelane's alleged killers would stand trial for murder. Radebe will also face kidnapping charges.

... It was a cold June morning when Nokuthula Simelane telephoned her mother. 'She called me to say she was safe in Swaziland and would return soon to collect her graduation gown, dress and shoes. I told her not to, that there was trouble, that the police were looking for her. They wanted to catch her to get information she had on the ANC.'

'... I am going to court to get answers. I want answers before they die, before they go to their graves with their horrible secrets. I go to bed and dream ... of Nokuthula calling me for help. I want to see my baby's grave, to talk to her, to bring her home and bury her with the dignity she deserves. If only someone can say something, just tell me where she's buried. These men must tell me, so I can die peacefully.'

[From *The Times*, 11 February 2016]

SOURCE 2D

The extract below focuses on Desmond Tutu's response to the National Prosecuting Authority's (NPA) decision to prosecute the alleged perpetrators in Nokuthula Simelane's murder.

Meanwhile Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu has welcomed the NPA's decision to prosecute Simelane's alleged killers.

'I welcome the decision of the NPA to prosecute some of the suspects implicated in the kidnapping, torture and murder of the young freedom fighter, Nokuthula Simelane, in 1983. It is a most significant and historic decision,' he said in a statement.

Tutu, however, questioned the delay in prosecuting. 'What has taken them so long? Why did the authorities turn their backs on the family of Nokuthula, and so many other families, for so many years? Why did the pleas (requests) of her family fall on deaf ears for decades? Why did it take a substantial application to the High Court to get the National Director of Public Prosecutions and the police to do their jobs? Why did successive South African governments take extraordinary steps to obstruct the course of justice?'

'... I understand that a police docket was opened in 1996 and that the amnesty process in relation to the Simelane case was finalised in 2001. Recommendations on more than 300 cases for prosecution, including this matter, were made to the NPA in 2002. Less than a handful of these cases had been pursued. The civil case brought by the Simelane family in 2015 to compel the NPA to take action reveals that almost immediately after the recommendations were made, the government took steps to close down truth and accountability.'

[From <http://www.tutu.org.za>. Accessed on 27 February 2016.]

QUESTION 3: HOW DID THE IMPLEMENTATION OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES (SAPs) BY INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AFFECT AFRICAN COUNTRIES?**SOURCE 3A**

This source is part of an article by A Ismi entitled 'Impoverishing a Continent: The World Bank and International Monetary Fund in Africa'. It focuses on how African countries became dependent on structural adjustment programmes that were made available by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The debt crisis in the 1980s gave Washington the opportunity to 'blast open' and fully subordinate (suppress) Third World economies through World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment programmes. Starting in 1980, developing countries were unable to pay back loans taken from Western commercial (profitable) banks which had gone on a huge lending binge (spree) to Third World governments during the mid to late 1970s when rising oil prices had filled up their coffers with petro-dollars.

The World Bank and the IMF imposed Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on developing countries who needed to borrow money to service their debts. The World Bank's SAPs were first instituted in 1980 which enforced privatisation of industries (including necessities such as healthcare and water), cuts in government spending and imposing (enforcing) user fees, liberalising of capital markets (which leads to unstable trading in currencies), market-based pricing (which tends to raise the cost of basic goods), higher interest rates and trade liberalisation.

SAPs evolved (changed) to cover more and more areas of domestic policy, not only fiscal, monetary and trade policy, but also labour laws, healthcare, environmental regulations, civil service requirements, energy policy and government procurement.

With the imposition of its own SAPs in 1986, the IMF became 'one of the most influential institutions in the world'. Its 2 500 staff dictated the economic conditions of life to over 1,4 billion people living in 75 developing countries. As one observer puts it, 'Never in history has an international agency exercised such authority.'

[From <http://www.halifaxinitiative.org/updir/ImpoverishingACContinent.pdf>.
Accessed on 16 November 2015.]

SOURCE 3B

This source is part of an interview entitled *A View From Inside: The World Bank*, conducted by Monte Leach, editor of *Share International*, with Ismail Serageldin, vice-president for Environmentally Sustainable Development at the World Bank. The interview focused on the controversy regarding structural adjustment programmes.

Monte Leach: One of the most controversial areas of involvement for the bank has been its structural adjustment programmes. Some people argue they hurt the poor by forcing governments to reduce or eliminate subsidies for basic goods in exchange for getting World Bank loans. Is that something that the bank is involved with?

Ismail Serageldin: Sure. But let me backtrack (to explain the background) a bit. The bank is a co-operative (co-worker) of member states. If I have a member state who is in a deep mess, which is usually the case, they don't come for structural adjustment on a pre-emptive (preventive) basis ... If they're in bad shape, there really is very little that you can do at that point in time except deal with the situation as it is. Sound advice up front is not always acceptable to a lot of people because sometimes it's unpleasant.

I had these discussions with a number of African leaders in the 1980s when I was working in Africa at the time. It's not a matter of ideology; it's a matter of arithmetic (mathematics). You have expenditure and you have income, and there's a gap between them. There are only three ways of filling the gap. One is to print money, and that would lead to hyperinflation, and we know what the results of that are. Incidentally, the poor suffer the most from that because the elites usually manage to dollarise (to make more expensive) their holdings. The second way is to borrow. But most of these countries have borrowed to the point where there is a debt crisis. They can't service their debts, and they can't borrow any more by the time they come to us. And therefore the third way that's possible is to reduce spending and increase revenues. There is no fourth way in public finance to deal with this issue ...

Monte Leach: Are you saying that structural adjustment programmes don't necessarily have to be a bad thing, that it depends on how they're implemented?

Ismail Serageldin: Exactly. There is a lot of difference in the manner in which you do adjustments.

[From http://www.shareintl.org/archives/economics/ec_mlview_wb.htm. Accessed on 15 November 2015.]

SOURCE 3C

This source is an extract from an article by R Naiman and N Watkins entitled 'Has Africa "Turned the Corner" in Recent Years?'. It focuses on the impact that structural adjustment programmes had on Africa.

In 1998, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) released a series of publications and public statements claiming credit for an 'African economic renaissance' (revival) and 'a turnaround in growth performance'. The claim from the IMF and World Bank is that structural adjustment is beginning to pay off, at least in microeconomic terms. But examining just-released growth projections by the World Bank, one discovers that the 'growth turnabout' has been short-lived. According to the World Bank, real gross domestic product (GDP) per capita grew by 1,4% in 1996, but by 1997 growth slowed to 0,4% and in 1998 per capita incomes fell by 0,8%. The World Bank projects a further decline of 0,4% in 1999. In short, if there was an 'economic renaissance' for Africa it appears to be over ...

The data reviewed in this study suggests that the IMF has failed in Africa, in terms of its own stated objectives and according to its own data. Increasing debt burdens, poor growth performance and the failure of the majority of the population to improve their access to education, healthcare or other basic needs has been the general pattern in countries subject to IMF programmes.

The core elements of IMF structural adjustment programmes have remained remarkably consistent since the early 1980s. Although there has been mounting criticism and calls for reform over the last year and a half, no reforms of the IMF or its policies have been forthcoming ...

In the absence of any reform at the IMF for the near future, the need for debt cancellation for Africa is all the more urgent. The enormous debt burden consumed 4,3% of sub-Saharan Africa's gross national product (GNP) in 1997. If these resources had been devoted to investment, the region could have increased its economic growth by nearly a full percentage point – sadly this is more than twice its per capita growth for that year. But the debt burden exacts another price, which may be even higher than the drain of resources out of the country: it provides the means by which the IMF is able to impose the conditions of its structural adjustment programmes on these desperately poor countries.

[From http://www.cerpr.net/documents/publications/debt_1999_04.htm.
Accessed on 15 November 2015.]

SOURCE 3D

This cartoon appeared in *Eritrean News* and was entitled 'How the World Bank and International Monetary Fund Destroy Africa'. The cartoonist and date of publication is unknown.



[From <http://www.tesfanews.net/how-the-world-bank-and-the-imf-destroy-africa/>. Accessed on 10 October 2015.]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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