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 source below focuses on the reasons for the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement.

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) emerged in 1968. This was a result of a political vacuum that was created by the banning and imprisonment of leaders from the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party by the apartheid regime.

Another factor responsible for the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement was the increasing frustration and marginalisation (disregard) that black students experienced by the mostly white student leadership of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). Led primarily by Bantu Stephen Biko and Barney Pityana, the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) was formed in 1969. It focused on advancing the cause of the oppressed in South Africa.

The SASO laid the foundation for what would grow beyond universities and student groups to become a wider movement. They drew upon the writings of Brazilian educationalist, Paulo Freire, who spoke about the idea 'to conscientise', in other words to awaken people to a critical awareness of their situation and to change it. Black Consciousness activists, such as Mosiuoa Lekota, Strini Moodley, Mamphela Ramphela and Saths Cooper, played a key role in ensuring that South Africans broke the 'yoke of oppression' so that they could look inward to build their capacity and realise their liberation.

Later SASO held youth leadership conferences at 'formation schools' where students were taught critical social analysis and organisational skills. This helped spread the philosophy of Black Consciousness among high school students …

[From Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement by A Hadfield]
SOURCE 1B

The extract from a newspaper article below focuses on the role that Onkgopotso Tiro played in shaping Tsietsi Mashinini's (student activist) political thinking.

Onkgopotso Tiro was a student at the University of the North, known as Turfloop. He was expelled for a fiery (powerful) speech he delivered at a graduation ceremony attacking Bantu Education.

Legau Mathabathe, principal at Morris Isaacson [High School], threw Tiro a lifeline when he gave him a teaching post. This is how mentor and mentee, Tiro and Mashinini, met. In Tiro, Mashinini encountered a fount (source) of knowledge about the Black Consciousness philosophy and the dream that one day South Africa would be free to be named Azania. Tiro influenced Mashinini's political thinking which explains the latter's acceptance of the philosophy of Black Consciousness. Tiro, who was Mashinini's English and History teacher, described him as a critical thinker of note with a passion for reading.

Mashinini was elected chair of the action committee, later renamed the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC). He was the first president and was succeeded by Khotso Seathlolo and later Tromfomo Sono and Dan Motisisi.

The liberation victories in Mozambique in 1974 and Angola in 1976 served to inspire the students of Soweto. A decision was taken to stage a peaceful march on 16 June 1976 against the introduction of Afrikaans as a teaching medium. The march drew more than 20 000 uniformed students. No violence was planned. The march, Mashinini emphasised, was to be peaceful and conducted with all due care to avoid provocation (incitement). But the South African police force responded with live ammunition.

[From Sunday Independent, 12 June 2016]
On 16 June 1976 the South African Police Force was sent into Soweto. The police, headed by a white man, began waving a stick and screaming: 'Away with you. We give you three minutes.' It was very tense. I separated myself from the crowd and put on a 'press' armband to identify myself. Then the students started singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

'We're going to shoot,' he said and pulled out his handgun. He pointed it directly at the students and fired two shots. All hell broke loose. He signalled and other policemen started shooting. Students ran in all directions. I don't remember how I got out of the firing range and into somebody's house, but I remember turning and seeing Hector Pieterson fall. He was the first one. I watched Mbuyisa Makhubu pick him up and start moving towards me, with Hector's sister, Antoinette, running beside him. As they came down the road, I took six pictures, including the famous photograph. In shock, I found myself working without thinking. People have since asked me why I didn't stop to help Hector, but I was a journalist, I was there to register what happened.

Mbuyisa put Hector in the car, and they drove to the clinic across the road. One of the students heard the doctor certify Hector dead on arrival and ran to tell the others. They were outraged and many began throwing stones at the police, others burned cars and buildings and looted bottle stores.

I rolled up my film and gave it to the driver to rush it to press before the police confiscated (removed) it. I never knew what impact it would have …

By three o'clock that day, my picture of Hector Pieterson was on the front page of every newspaper, here and overseas.

[From https://archive.cnx.org/contents/53c6c858-d33f-4e4f-9065-2927a5611edd@1.html. Accessed on 4 April 2018.]
The article below appeared on the front page of The World newspaper on 16 June 1976. The photograph on the left-hand side of the page was taken by Sam Nzima. It shows Antoinette Pieterson alongside Mbuyisa Makhubu, carrying Hector Pieterson.

QUESTION 2: DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) HELP VICTIMS OF POLITICAL CRIMES TO FIND CLOSURE?

SOURCE 2A

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

A key figure in the formulation of the law that established the commission (TRC) was then Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar. There was much public anxiety about the prospect of an anti-Afrikaner witch-hunt. He allayed (eased) these fears:

*I wish to stress that the objective is not to conduct a witch-hunt or to haul violators of human rights before court to face charges. It is … to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally acceptable basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation.*

Nor would the claims of abuses against the ANC be ‘glossed over or swept under the carpet’. Omar constantly emphasised the need to provide a forum for victims to speak the truth as they experienced it, and for perpetrators to reveal the truth as they knew it.

The TRC came into being early in 1996, under the joint leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and former cleric and liberal politician, Alex Boraine. Other commissioners spanned the racial and political spectrum.

Its task was to examine human rights abuses on all sides between 1960 and 1994, hear testimony from victims and perpetrators and, where there was full disclosure and political motivation was clearly present, grant perpetrators amnesty from prosecution or civil action. The objectives of the TRC were to encourage truth-telling and healing.

SOURCE 2B

The newspaper article below focuses on how Rick Turner was killed. It appeared in the Sunday Tribune on 7 January 2018 and was titled 'Who Killed Dr Rick Turner?'

It is 8 January 1978 after midnight and university academic and political activist, Rick Turner, hears a noise outside his home in 32 Dalton Road, in the Durban suburb of Bellair. Dressed in short pyjamas, he walks from his bedroom to investigate. A shot rings out and Turner collapses to the floor. His killing takes place just short of four months after the murder of another political activist, the Black Consciousness leader, Bantu Stephen Biko, by the South African security police.

Forty years later, Turner's killer is still walking free if he's still alive. But the consensus (agreement) is that this assassination was planned and executed by the apartheid regime's security force. In the decades after Turner's assassination, a sad story unfolds of the attitude of South Africans to the murder of those who paid the ultimate price in the struggle for a free and democratic country, for example Biko, Neil Aggett, Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto and Ashley Kriel.

Jann Turner (Rick's daughter) said her search, which began in 1989, was motivated by investigative journalist Jacques Pauw's exposé (disclosure) on the security police's death squad headquarters at Vlakplaas. In 2015, new hope emerged that Turner's killer would at last be identified with the release of the Section 29 hearings, testimony of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission previously unreleased.

But it did not identify a killer. There were plenty of pointers. Among those called to testify by the TRC was Chris Earle, a then murder and robbery captain, his commanding officer Major Christoffel Gert Groenewald, and Martin Dolinschek, a Bureau of State Security (BOSS) operative …

SOURCE 2C

The source below is a transcript of the evidence that Jann Turner gave at the TRC hearings regarding the assassination of her father, Rick Turner. It was held in Durban on 24 October 1996 and was chaired by Dr Alex Boraine.

CHAIRMAN: Again, when you are ready, take your time. We will listen. Thank you.

JANN TURNER: My name is Jann Turner. Thank you very much for hearing us today. I am going to talk a little bit about the night my father was killed, and then about my own attempts to find his killer in the years since then.

… It seems to me more than strange that the Durban Murder and Robbery Unit, a unit with an excellent record of solving crimes, has never come up with even a strong lead, let alone a murderer. It was rare for the killer of a white person in a white neighbourhood in 1978 not to be apprehended. Even more unusual, when the victim was under surveillance, as we know my father had been almost constantly for at least five years.

Whoever killed my father did so with extreme professionalism, efficiency and had the best assistance in covering up their tracks. It seems to me that the only people capable of acting in such a way were the members or handle-operatives of the then Bureau of State Security (BOSS) or security police. It is important to note that my Dad's assassination wasn't isolated. We have heard that just weeks before he was killed, shots were fired at Fatima Meer's house. Fatima had a lucky escape.

As ex-policeman, Dirk Coetzee, and Martin Dolinschek have explained to me, people like my father were not even accorded the dignity of being human, they were communist, terrorist scum (filth). They were literally sitting ducks …

Up to now all investigations have led us to the wall of silence surrounding BOSS and the security police. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission offers the first hope and probably the last that my father's assassination will be given a full official investigation. I want to know who killed my father and why. I don't expect you to come up with the killer, but I do expect you to try and investigate his murder … During the week after my father was killed, Leon Mellet, a crime reporter then on one of the Durban newspapers, and now a brigadier, penned several stories suggesting that my father was killed by the ANC …

SOURCE 2D

This cartoon portrays Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Alex Boraine climbing up MOUNT EVIDENCE. They were tasked to investigate the political atrocities that were committed between 1960 and 1994.

[From Sowetan, 1 May 1996]
QUESTION 3: HOW DID GLOBALISATION CONTRIBUTE TO JOB LOSSES IN SOUTH AFRICA’S CLOTHING AND TEXTILE INDUSTRY AFTER 1990?

SOURCE 3A

The source below focuses on how globalisation affected the clothing and textile industry in South Africa.

Globalisation has had a negative impact on the clothing and textile industry with serious repercussions (consequences). Although the industry only contributes 0,6% to South Africa’s gross domestic product (GDP), it directly employs 127 000 people, approximately 20% more than the automotive and component sector. Therefore, the livelihoods of many working class people depend on the industry’s survival. Prior to 1990, this industry depended on the domestic market; however, since South Africa’s integration (inclusion) into the global economy, the market has been flooded with cheap imports, primarily from China. Previously, South Africa’s uncompetitive textile and clothing industry had relied on import tariffs and quota restrictions to protect it from foreign imports. However, integration into the global economy included membership of the World Trade Organisation which restricted the country’s ability to use protectionist measures.

Large firms responded to the impact of globalisation by attracting investment to update machinery and processes. As a result, productivity improved and clothing exports increased from 4% in 1990 to 18% in 2000. However, such changes weren’t without their costs, as increased productivity involved reduced levels of employment. It is the small and medium enterprises (SMEs) who struggle the most, as they have been unable to attract the necessary investment. Without being able to increase production quantities, one possibility for survival would be to move up the value chain and perform functions that add more value ...

[From Industrialisation in South Africa: The Impact Of Globalisation by P Green]
The article below highlights the reasons and reaction to job losses in the clothing and textile industry in Cape Town. It is written by S Mangxamba and appeared in the Independent Online News on 29 October 2001.

THOUSANDS OF JOBS LOST IN CAPE RAG TRADE

Closures has wreaked (caused) havoc (devastation) with jobs in the clothing sector, Cape Town's biggest employer, with 19 companies shutting their doors and at least 2 249 jobs lost in the past 10 months alone.

The employer organisation, Cape Clothing Association, has attributed the drain of jobs in the Mother City to rising labour, raw materials and factory rental costs coupled with an increase of illegally imported goods.

However, the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (SACTWU) said it was 'absolutely not true' that labour costs had risen disproportionately.

SACTWU deputy general secretary, Andre Kriel, said: 'Labour costs have kept pace with the rate of inflation. It is simply not true that labour costs have skyrocketed over the past few years. The real costs of wage increases to clothing employers in the Western Cape have been 6 per cent and 1,87 per cent in 2000 and 2001 respectively.'

Gert van Zyl, director of the Cape Clothing Association, said at least 140 companies had either closed down or moved to sites in former homelands or other southern African states, such as Malawi, since 1991.

SACTWU said in the past 24 months alone, at least 33 963 jobs had been lost in the clothing and textile industry in South Africa, with the clothing sector losing a total of 22 756 jobs.

The union has attributed the number of job losses largely to the fast-tracked tariff programme, trade agreements concluded in Southern African Development Community countries and illegal imports and dumping.

SOURCE 3C

The poster below was produced by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 2015. It was in response to the thousands of workers who had lost their jobs as a result of the closure of clothing and textile factories in KwaZulu-Natal and Cape Town.

**SOURCE 3D**

The extract below focuses on the strategies that trade unions used to save jobs in the clothing and textile sector. It appeared on the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union's (SACTWU's) website.

Historically one of the biggest garment producers on the African continent, South Africa has experienced falling production over the last 15 years. But 2015 has seen new energy injected in the textile industry where new jobs, greater opportunities and increased productivity became evident.

Simon Eppel, researcher at SACTWU, tells how the union is working to save and increase decent jobs in South Africa's textile sector: 'The industry continues to lose jobs today, but the number is down substantially. At SACTWU we try to save jobs where they would otherwise be lost, and we have recently been able to actually grow jobs in the industry.' On balance employment in South Africa's textile industry is growing - it is up by 1,5 per cent in the last year … 

'This is an endorsement (confirmation) that government support for the industry, coupled with our union's active campaign for jobs, continues to bear fruit,' says Eppel. 'After a period of stability following years of job losses, employment in our industry appears poised for growth.'

Eppel adds that he is 'cautiously optimistic' of this tentative (temporary) turnaround, which is largely due to the energy put in to revive the industry. One example is the South African government advocating a greening of the industry [clothing and textile] to make it more sustainable. Another example is SACTWU's 'buy South Africa' campaign, where the union enters into agreements with major companies and institutions to support the local industry. Since the early 2000s, SACTWU has been running a campaign to buy locally-produced textile products by appealing to consumers on how buying South African will affect the community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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


Green, P. 2009. *Industrialisation in South Africa: The Impact Of Globalisation* (University of East Anglia)

Hadfield, A. 2017. *Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement* (Southern Africa Online)


http://www.industriall-union.org/a-turnaround-for-south-africas-textile-industry

https://apartheidperiod.wordpress.com/2014/12/04/primary-source-analysisi

https://archive.cnx.org/contents/53c6c858-d33f-4e4f-9065-2927a5611edd@1.html


*Sowetan*, 1 May 1996

*Sunday Independent*, 12 June 2016