This addendum consists of 15 pages.
QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE FORMATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT ORGANISATION (SASO) CHALLENGE THE APARTHEID REGIME'S POLICY OF BANTU EDUCATION IN THE 1970s?

SOURCE 1A

This extract describes the ideas of Black Consciousness that were put forward by Stephen Bantu Biko.

By 1969 African university students were especially frustrated with their deteriorating situation and broke away from the multi-racial National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) to form their own group, the South African Students' Organisation (SASO). Objecting to the fact that the avowedly (openly) anti-apartheid NUSAS still adhered to apartheid laws in its daily practice (for example requiring that black and white students occupy segregated dormitories (rooms) at its national convention), the founder of SASO, Stephen Bantu Biko, argued that blacks should take matters into their own hands in the following ways:

Firstly, they needed their own representative organisations. Blacks should work themselves into a powerful group so as to go forth and stake their rightful claim in the open society rather than to exercise that power in some obscure part of the Kalahari.

Secondly, they should not rely on whites, no matter how well meaning, as allies in the struggle against apartheid. White liberals vacillate (move) between the two worlds [of black and white] verbalising (speaking about) all the complaints of blacks beautifully while skilfully extracting what suits them from the exclusive pool of white privileges.

Thirdly, blacks had to remake themselves psychologically: as long as blacks are suffering from an inferiority (second-rate) complex – a result of 300 years of deliberate oppression, denigration (hate) and derision (mockery) ... What is necessary is a very strong grass-roots build-up of black consciousness such that blacks can learn to assert themselves and stake (demand) their rightful claim.

In developing the major tenets (beliefs) of Black Consciousness, Steve Biko defined 'black' as including people from all racial groups denied basic rights under apartheid, including Africans, Coloureds and Asians. In bringing about change, he stressed the need for 'blacks' to free themselves first from their psychological chains and then work together for liberation.

[From: South Africa: The Rise And Fall of Apartheid by NL Clark]
SOURCE 1B

This cartoon depicts the formation of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) in 1969.

[From: Biko: The Quest for A True Humanity by the Ministry of Education]
SOURCE 1C

This extract describes the influence that SASO had on the youth of South Africa in the 1970s.

On one of the programmes that left the BCM’s most enduring legacy, Ramphele wrote:

‘The programme for leadership development involved several levels of training and was undertaken as a joint venture by SASO and BPC ... Weekend “formation schools” were held to train university students in various skills. In addition, an extensive training programme for youth leadership was undertaken to address the needs of high-school- and township-based youth clubs in all the provinces of South Africa.’

By early 1972 SASO branches catering for students in high schools were either in existence or in formation in far-flung places such as Umtata, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth in the Cape; Pietermaritzburg in Natal; Pretoria and Springs in the Transvaal and Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State. In 1973 SASO held a leadership seminar in Durban, which gave birth to the Natal Youth Organisation. Another workshop was held in the Transvaal with similarly gratifying (pleasing) results. At these ‘formation schools’ students acquired critical, analytical skills and learnt about the political situation in other parts of the continent. They engaged in vigorous (lively) debates about events in South Africa. Murphy Morobe, one of the products of these ‘formation schools’, describes their importance in his political education as follows: ‘We got introduced to a way of thinking, a way of taking responsibility, how to take initiative ... leadership in the kinds of situations that we were involved in. Other graduates of the ‘formation schools’ who became significant leaders in the liberation movement and in a transformed South Africa include Amos Masondo, Mathe Diseko, Itumeleng Mosala, Khehla Mthembu and Cyril Ramaphosa. Training programmes provided ‘practical exposure to community development’ and ‘skills in administration, organisational dynamics, social analysis and public speaking’. They also taught students on how to resist Bantu education.

[From: The Road to Democracy in South Africa by M. Mzamane et al.]
SOURCE 1D

This photograph shows students protesting in Soweto against the use of the Afrikaans language, 16 June 1976.

[From: Through My Lens: A Photographic Memoir by A Kumalo]
**QUESTION 2:** DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) HELP SOUTH AFRICANS TO DEAL WITH THE PAST?

**SOURCE 2A**

This source focuses on the reasons for the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1995.

The main objective of the TRC is to establish as complete a picture as possible about gross human rights violations between March 1960, the month of the Sharpeville massacre and subsequent beginning of the armed liberation struggle, and 10 May 1994, the date of Nelson Mandela's inauguration as first democratic State President.

The Truth Commission shall investigate gross human rights violations related to the past political conflicts in South Africa inside and outside the Republic, irrespective of whether they were committed by the government's security forces or the liberation movements. A gross violation of human rights is defined by the TRC Act as 'the killing, abduction, torture or the severe ill-treatment of a person'. As a consequence the legalised injustices of apartheid, like forced removals or prolonged detention, were excluded from the scope of the TRC. Investigations of the Commission had to focus on the excesses of the apartheid system while the inherent (inbuilt) criminality of the apartheid legal order remained largely untouched. The Truth Commission is assisted by three subcommittees: the Human Rights Violation Committee, the Amnesty Committee and the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.

This poster was used by the TRC to invite both perpetrators and victims to testify against the crimes that were committed from the 1960s to 1994.

SOURCE 2C

This source consists of a visual and a written source.

**Written Source:** The extract below gives details of how anti-apartheid activist Tony Yengeni was tortured during interrogation. This was revealed at the TRC hearings that occurred in Cape Town on 14 July 1997.

The stories from the TRC reveal that restorative (healing) processes can serve as a spectacular catalyst (method) for introspection, remorse, magnanimity (fairness) and grace ...

When torture victim Tony Yengeni requested that Cape Town security officer Jeffrey Benzien re-enact the wet bag torture method he had used on him a decade ago, Benzien found himself squatting over a mock victim, twisting a bag around the windpipe, showing how easily a person could be brought close to death. Following this grotesque (ugly) demonstration, Benzien broke down and wept. When asked by Yengeni, 'What kind of man uses a method like this one on other human beings?', Benzien confessed that he had approached psychiatrists with similar inquiries. He admitted, 'If you ask me what type of person is it that can do that, I ask myself the same question.'

[From: *Healing Hearts or Righting Wrongs? A Meditation on The Goals Of 'Restorative Justice'* by EA Waldman]

**Turn over for the Visual Source.**
**Visual Source:** The photograph below shows a re-enactment by Jeffrey Benzien of the method that apartheid security agents used during the interrogation of anti-apartheid activists.

**SOURCE 2D**

This source evaluates the work of the TRC.

The TRC could not install (set up) a common commitment of all citizens to rectify past injustices. While victims expect compensation (payment), the beneficiaries are not prepared to share any burden. From the TRC's own analysis of a representative sample of victims' statements, it is obvious that monetary support, compensation, bursaries for school children and better housing have a high priority. The demand that victims of past atrocities (politically related killings) should be compensated is endorsed (allowed) in African communities.

However, most South Africans were happy about the work the TRC has done. Compared to other government institutions the TRC faired very well. In November 1998 fifty-seven per cent of all respondents said that it was good for the country to have had the Truth Commission. It could yield even more sympathy than the ANC-led national government. Compared to other legal institutions, like the police and the courts, the TRC is rather positively evaluated. Opinions about the TRC were, however, strongly polarised (spread) across racial cleavages (divisions). Seventy-two per cent of white respondents said that it was bad for the country to have had the Truth Commission.

QUESTION 3: HOW DID THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ECONOMIC POLICIES AFFECT SOUTH AFRICA AFTER 1996?

SOURCE 3A

This article by A Nowicki first appeared in *Z Magazine* in November 2004. It focuses on the South African government’s decision to adopt a neoliberal (market-driven approach) economic policy after 1996.

The forces of neomercantilist (policy that encourages exports and discourages imports) globalisation responsible for South Africa’s continuing economic and social chaos were entrenched (fixed) years before apartheid collapsed. Indeed, when the apartheid government was clearly doomed (hopeless), faced with overwhelming international protests and a strong sanction regime (government) at the climax of the Cold War in 1989, the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) stepped in. They were determined to influence the forces of social and economic change in the interests of international finance and business. In the early 1990s the World Bank sent advisors to South Africa to recommend neoliberal ideology and policies promising economic growth. In 1993 the International Monetary Fund (IMF) granted South Africa a 750 million dollar loan conditioned on the adoption of neoliberal policies.

Unfortunately, Nelson Mandela and the new ANC establishment in South Africa adopted elements of the neomercantilist agenda enthusiastically in the first post-apartheid national economic programme called the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The RDP did retain some redistributive elements, but these were rapidly abandoned in favour of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme in 1996, due to the growing influence of the neoliberals in the ANC.

GEAR was drawn up almost solely by 15 economists picked from the World Bank, neoliberal think tanks (brain trust) and various African development banks. The GEAR programme emphasised commercialising (profit-making) and then privatising all of South Africa’s public companies and services. It drastically cut government spending and secondary taxes on corporate profits. It meant substantially and prematurely reducing tariffs designed to protect South Africa’s key infant economic sectors, including textiles and value-added manufactured agricultural goods.

SOURCE 3B

The cartoon by Zapiro below was published in *Talk Left, Walk Right* in 2003. It focuses on the implementation of a neoliberal economic policy in South Africa by the African National Congress (ANC).

[From: *Talk Left, Walk Right* by P Bond]
SOURCE 3C

This article was written by M Bennett for the International Labour Organisation. It focuses on the impact that the implementation of neoliberal economic policies had on South African factory workers.

In 1994 South Africa was signatory to the Marrakech General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) agreement. In terms of its Marrakech commitments 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 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.

From the mid-1990s, under pressure from increased global competition, the industry restructured in a way that considerably changed the relationship between companies and increased the significance of informal production. Industry restructuring has had a dramatic impact on formal clothing production jobs.

All provinces where clothing manufacturing takes place were affected, with KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape being the hardest hit in absolute terms. Retrenchment primarily affected women workers as clothing industry employment is female dominated (an estimated 86% of clothing workers are women).

[From: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_emp_ent1@ifp-seed/documents/publication/ Accessed on 18 November 2013]
SOURCE 3D

The graph below shows the employment figures in South Africa's clothing industry from 1997 to 2004.

[Image: Employment in South Africa's clothing industry (1997-2004)]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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


http://www.edrc.net/ActivitiesText.htm


http://hemi.nyu.edu


http://www.sahistory.org.za


