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GRADE 12

HISTORY P2

FEBRUARY/MARCH 2018

ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

QUESTION 1: WHY DID THE APARTHEID REGIME DETAIN BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS LEADER, BANTU STEPHEN BIKO?**SOURCE 1A**

The source below focuses on the formation and impact of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM).

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was becoming a presence in the country and not only at tertiary institutions, they were visible in the media, at schools, at community theatres, and in events that broke the pattern of quiescence (calm) that followed the banning of the ANC and PAC. But the movement also began to suffer casualties, with Onkgopotse Tiro perhaps the first of these when he was expelled from the Turfloop University (Limpopo).

Another setback came with the tragic death of Mthuli Shezi in December 1972, when he was pushed onto the path of an oncoming train after defending Black women who were being abused by a railway official. This incident demonstrates the challenges BC activists faced in trying to achieve normal relations in an abnormal society.

In March 1973, the state cracked down, banning Drake Koka and Bokwe Mafuna (BC leaders), who were engaged in union projects. Steve Biko and Barney Pityana were also banned in the same month. In August 1973, Mosibudi Mangena was sentenced to five years in prison for allegedly recruiting two policemen to join the armed struggle. Tiro was killed in January 1974 by a parcel bomb after he went into exile in Botswana.

[From <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/stephen-bantu-biko>.
Accessed on 2 December 2016.]

SOURCE 1B

The source below explains how Bantu Stephen Biko and his friend, Peter Jones, were arrested and detained near King William's Town on 19 August 1977.

The South African police force set up roadblocks to arrest political activists. At a roadblock outside Grahamstown the police asked Steve Biko and Peter Jones to step out and to open the boot. Jones, who was driving, followed their orders but struggled to open the boot. The car's boot had to be opened in a special way, known only to Rams Ramokgopa at Zanempilo.

Whilst Jones tugged at the boot, the police kept accusing him of being a terrorist on his way to see Steve Biko, while Steve sat quietly in the passenger seat. Jones tried to make light of his struggle with the boot and invited one of the policemen to have a try.

After a while the senior officer, Colonel Alf Oosthuizen, ordered the unit to clear the roadblock and to take Steve and Jones to the nearby police station in Grahamstown. Oosthuizen drove with Steve in Ramokgopa's car while Jones drove with the other officers. The police searched the car thoroughly at the police station. Jones recalls that 'they even went through the ash in the ash-tray. It was now clear that this was not a joke'.

They found Jones's wallet, which, apart from an amount of R43,00, contained his identity document. And then Oosthuizen bellowed in Afrikaans: 'As jy Peter Cyril Jones is, dan wie is daai groot man?' (If you are Peter Cyril Jones, then who is that big man?) Steve realised how awkward the situation was for his friend. On principle, Jones would not reveal Steve's identity, exposing himself to torture and imprisonment. Yet in the end the police would find out anyway. Steve interjected: 'I am Bantu Steve Biko.'

And then there was silence. 'Biko?' retorted (responded) Oosthuizen, mispronouncing the B. 'No, Bantu Steve Biko,' retorted (responded) Biko, pronouncing the Bs in his name silently.

The two men were separated. Jones was taken to Algoa Police Station and Steve to Walmer Police Station, both in Port Elizabeth, about 250 km from King William's Town.

This was the last time I ever saw my comrade alive or dead.

[From *Biko, A Biography* by X Mangcu]

SOURCE 1C

This source focuses on Jimmy Kruger's response to the death of Stephen Bantu Biko. It is taken from an article titled *Young Black Leader Dies in Detention in South Africa, Raising Fears of New Unrest* by John Burns.

Mr Kruger's announcement said that Mr Biko had been detained on 18 August 1977 under a section of the Terrorism Act that provides for indefinite detention without trial. The Minister of Justice said that Mr Biko had been arrested on suspicion of fomenting (inciting) unrest among blacks in the Port Elizabeth area, 150 miles to the south of King William's Town and of drafting documents urging 'violence and arson' by blacks seeking to overthrow apartheid, the official system of racial subordination.

The statement said that Mr Biko had been held in prison at Port Elizabeth and remained there or in the prison hospital until he was transferred to a hospital in Pretoria, 800 miles to the northeast, on Sunday night. He died 24 hours later.

The statement said that Mr Biko had consistently refused to consume (eat) the food and water that was supplied to him after he began his hunger strike one week before his death. It said that he was examined by police doctors three times in the first four days of his strike but was found to be suffering from 'no physical problem'.

The statement added that by the seventh day of Mr Biko's hunger strike, on Sunday, he 'appeared to be unwell' and was transferred immediately to Pretoria, where he was examined again and given medical treatment, again by a police doctor. 'He died the same night,' the statement said.

[From <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/0912.html#article>.
Accessed on 10 December 2016.]

SOURCE 1D

The newspaper headline below appeared in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 7 October 1977. The article was written by Helen Zille after her investigation into the circumstances under which Bantu Stephen Biko was murdered.

The image shows the front page of the *Rand Daily Mail* from Friday, October 7, 1977. The newspaper's masthead "RAND Daily Mail" is prominently displayed at the top right. To the left of the main title is a small advertisement for "BARNETT GENERAL SALVAGE" offering "FIRE SALVAGE & INSURANCE CLAIMS". The main headline reads "No sign of hunger strike—Biko doctors". Below the headline is a box containing portraits of two men, Dr. Tucker and Dr. Lang, with the text "A 'Mail' special investigation" and "The doctors who saw Biko in detention — full report in tomorrow's Inside Mail." At the bottom of the page, there are two boxes with arrows pointing upwards to the corresponding portraits: one labeled "DR TUCKER" and another labeled "DR LANG". A caption at the bottom right states "[From *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 October 1977]".

QUESTION 2: WHY WAS THE AMNESTY PROCESS OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) REGARDED AS CONTROVERSIAL?**SOURCE 2A**

This source below focuses on the formation 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 democratically elected State President of South Africa.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is assisted by three subcommittees: the Human Rights Violation Committee, the Amnesty Committee and the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.

The 1993 Interim Constitution made specific provision for an amnesty process, but did not prescribe what this would entail. Although the undertaking to indemnify (protect) perpetrators was a bitter pill to swallow, especially for those within the anti-apartheid movement, most commentators agree that the momentum towards transition (change) would have been fundamentally undermined without it.

Amnesty was to be granted where applicants made full disclosure of all relevant facts and only for acts 'associated with a political objective committed in the course of the conflicts of the past'.

[From *Common Past, Divided Truth: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa – Public Opinion* by G Theissen]

SOURCE 2B

The source below evaluates the work of the amnesty committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The Amnesty Committee was one of the three committees set up by the TRC to deal with political crimes that were committed between 1960 and 1994. It received approximately 7 050 amnesty applications.

Not everyone agreed with this unique model of justice. Naomi Tutu, daughter of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said she was initially opposed to amnesty as she thought it 'was an easy way out,' and that 'it seemed like we were giving people a present'. She voiced the concerns that many South Africans had, that it was 'a feeling that these people were literally getting away with murder.' Many Afrikaners thought it would be counterproductive (destructive), keeping hatred alive in the country rather than moving forward and moving on from the past. In fact, in a 1998 survey, 72% of whites felt that the TRC made race relations worse.

According to Antjie Krog, the success of the TRC in South Africa is difficult to answer. She stated: 'If one regards the TRC as a mere vehicle to grant amnesty, it succeeded reasonably. ... If the TRC is seen as a body to establish the truth, it also succeeded fairly well in establishing factual truth, in determining 'what happened.' It was far less successful in convincing South Africans of the moral truth, in answering the question 'Who was responsible?' If the idea of the TRC process in South Africa was to prevent violations of human rights from ever happening again, the commission has failed. ... The biggest question, however, is whether or not the TRC process achieved reconciliation. Few people believe that it has.

[From *Country Of My Skull* by A Krog]

SOURCE 2C

The source below explains the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's decision to grant members of the African National Congress (ANC) amnesty. The South African Press Association (SAPA) issued the press release below on 2 December 1997.

CAPE TOWN: 2 December 1997 – SAPA

TRC STAYS MUM (QUIET) ON CONTROVERSIAL AMNESTY DECISIONS

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Amnesty Committee on Tuesday refused to explain how it arrived at its controversial decision to grant blanket amnesty to 37 African National Congress members, including Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

The refusal follows repeated attempts by, among others, the South African Press Association over the past two days to get clarity from committee members on their decision, which has been widely slated (criticised).

Many of the ANC applicants, including a number of cabinet ministers, were granted amnesty on the basis that they had accepted collective responsibility for actions outlined in the party's submission to the TRC.

However, observers have questioned how the ANC members were eligible for amnesty when they had not confessed to any offence or omission for which they could be criminally prosecuted or held civilly liable (personally responsible).

Newspaper editorials have called on the committee to explain how they arrived at their decision to grant amnesty to the ANC members, as well as to TRC chairman Archbishop Desmond Tutu's son, Trevor.

However, the Amnesty Committee on Tuesday made it clear it was not prepared to be drawn into any public debate.

Committee chairman, Judge Hassen Mall, stood by the committee's decision to grant amnesty to the ANC members on the basis of collective responsibility, the committee executive secretary, Martin Coetzee, told SAPA.

[From <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media%5C1997%5C9712/s971202c.htm>. Accessed on 23 November 2016.]

SOURCE 2D

The cartoon by Zapiro appeared in the *Mail and Guardian* on 19 March 1998. It depicts the issue of blanket amnesty.



[From http://truth.wwl.wits.ac.za/files/3_2/3129-1-4-001art.jpg. Accessed on 5 December 2016.]

QUESTION 3: HOW DO MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, SUCH AS McDONALD'S, EXPLOIT WORKERS?**SOURCE 3A**

The source below focuses on how multinational corporations (MNCs) conduct their business. It is an article written by J Skrocki titled *Broken Promises: Globalisation and BP Oil*.

In an ever-changing and interconnected world, there is opportunity for global corporations to operate by manipulating (abuse) and exploiting. They have the power to do this, and history demonstrates that cutting corners allows companies to maximise profits. The globalised trading system allows many countries to import goods they otherwise would not have access to. However, due to the rapidly globalising market, multinational corporations move their companies overseas to developing countries. This enables them to take advantage of cheap labour and to sell their products at a lower market price. By definition, a multinational corporation has its headquarters in one country, but conducts its businesses in more than one country. Multinational corporations operate in the following ways: franchising, branches, subsidiaries (companies), joint ventures ...

One could argue that many of the pillars of Western society also represent the foundations of multinational corporations. The consumerist (commercial) ideals of developed nations that produce these multinational corporations, indicate that economic success is given priority. Western society takes part in the production, consumption and disposal cycles, all functionaries (representatives) as parts of the materials economy. Multinational corporations step in to meet the high demand by selling products at the lowest possible prices.

[From <http://aese.psu.edu/students/research/ced-urj/news/2014/broken-promises-globalization-and-bp-oil>. Accessed on 12 December 2016.]

SOURCE 3B

The source below is the view of the environmental organisation Greenpeace. It focuses on McDonald's business practices in the global market.

McDonald's only interest is money, making profits from whomever and whatever they can, just like all multinational companies. McDonald's annual reports talk of 'Global Domination' – they aim to open more and more stores across the globe, but their continual worldwide expansion means more uniformity, less choice and the undermining of local communities.

McDonald's promote their food as 'nutritious', but the reality is that it is junk food high in fat, sugar and salt, and low in fibre and vitamins. A diet of this type is linked to a greater risk of heart disease, cancer, diabetes and other diseases. Their food also contains many chemicals, some of which may cause ill-health and hyperactivity in children. Do not forget too that meat is the cause of the majority of food poisoning incidents. In 1991 McDonald's were responsible for an outbreak of food poisoning in the United Kingdom (UK) in which people suffered serious kidney failure.

Workers in the fast-food industry are paid low wages. McDonald's do not pay overtime rates even when employees work very long hours. Pressure to keep profits high and wage costs low results in understaffing, so staff have to work harder and faster. As a consequence, accidents (particularly burns) are common. The majority of employees are people who have few job options and are forced to accept this exploitation, and they're compelled to 'smile' too! Not surprisingly staff turnover at McDonald's is high, making it virtually impossible to unionise and fight for a better deal, which suits McDonald's who have always been opposed to unions.

[From http://www.mcspotlight.org/campaigns/translations/trans_uk.html.
Accessed on 24 November 2016.]

SOURCE 3C

This cartoon depicts workers (on the left-hand side) at McDonald's striking for higher wages and overweight customers (on the right-hand side). It was drawn by M Lester for the *New York Daily News* on 31 August 2013 and is titled '*McDonald's Health Care*'.



[From <http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/bramhall-cartoons-august-2d3-gallery>
Accessed on 15 November 2016.]

McDonald's
customers

SOURCE 3D

The source below focuses on how civil society activists protested in the mid-1980s against the multinational food outlet, McDonald's. It is titled *What's Wrong with McDonald's?*

Criticism of McDonald's has come from a huge number of people and organisations over a wide range of issues. In the mid-1980's, London Greenpeace drew together many of those strands of criticism and called for an annual World Day of Action against McDonald's. This takes place every year on 16 October, with pickets and demonstrations all over the world. McDonald's, who spend a fortune on advertising every year, are trying to silence world-wide criticism by threatening legal action against those who speak out. Many have been forced to back down because they lacked the money to fight a case. But Helen Steel and Dave Morris, two supporters of London Greenpeace, defended themselves in a major United Kingdom (UK) High Court libel (offence) trial. No legal aid is available so they represented themselves. McDonald's engaged in a huge cover up, refusing to disclose masses of relevant documents. Also, the defendants were denied their right to a jury. Despite all the cards being stacked against them, Helen and Dave turned the tables and exposed the truth by putting McDonald's business practices on trial. Protests against the \$30 billion a year fast-food giant continues to grow. It's vital to stand up to intimidation (threats) and to defend free speech.

Together we can fight back against the institutions and the people in power who dominate our lives and our planet, and we can create a better society without exploitation. Workers can and do organise together to fight for their rights and dignity. People are increasingly aware of the need to think seriously about the food we and our children eat. People in poor countries are organising themselves to stand up to multinationals and banks which dominate the world's economy. Environmental and animal rights protests and campaigns are growing everywhere. Why not join in the struggle for a better world? Talk to friends and family, neighbours and workmates about these issues.

[From http://www.mcspotlight.org/campaigns/translations/trans_uk.html.
Accessed on 24 November 2016.]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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[http://aese.psu.edu/students/research/ced-urj/news/2014/broken-promises-globalization-and-bp-oil.](http://aese.psu.edu/students/research/ced-urj/news/2014/broken-promises-globalization-and-bp-oil)

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