NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
MAY 2021

HISTORY: PAPER II

SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C

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SOURCE A This is an extract from the writing of Steve Biko, founder of the Black Consciousness Movement.

Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life … the most positive call to emanate* from the black world for a long time. Its essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression … and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles* that bind them … It is based on the self-examination which has ultimately led them to believe that by seeking to run away from themselves and emulate* the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black …

[Adapted from: Steve Biko: I Write What I Like (1978), Chapter 14 Quoted in: From Apartheid to Democracy South Africa 1948–1994, T Nuttall et al, Shuter & Shooter, 1998 pp. 94]

*emanate – originate or come from
*shackles – chains
*emulate – imitate

SOURCE B An extract from Clive Glaser, a historian commenting on the influence of Black Consciousness in Soweto schools.

By the mid-1970s high school students were uniquely placed to assume political leadership in Soweto. Secondary schools … had a unifying influence. They drew together literate youths with similar experiences and grievances, on a large scale. High schools … were receptive* to the Black Consciousness ideology … School students, with energy and independence, and brimming with a self-belief inspired by Black Consciousness, occupied the political vacuum* left by the outlawed Congress movements.

[Adapted from: C. Glaser. "*Youth Culture and Politics in Soweto 1958–1976*", Unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge: Cambridge University (1994), p. 111]

*receptive – open and interested
*vacuum – space

SOURCE C This is an extract from Sibongile Mkhabela remembering her high school days in Soweto.

The church was central to our family life … The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) had facilitated a positive reawakening among young people. It was exciting to listen to people such as … Bro Tom Manthata of the Black People's Convention, George Wauchope and other South African Student Organisation (SASO) leaders who were organising students through the work of institutions such as the YWCA, and convening seminars which addressed the political and social issues of the day. It was as a result of these seminars that young minds began to shift more and more towards a critical awareness then promoted by, and linked to, the philosophy of Black Consciousness … We were feeling the impact of the activities of SASO as well as the University Christian Movement and Students' Christian Movement. Through my links to the YWCA and other township youth clubs, I was exposed to seminars … My schoolbooks started to bear slogans such as "Black man you are on your own", "Black and Proud", "Black is Beautiful" …

[Adapted from: South African Democracy Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa Volume 2 (1970–1980)*, UNISA Press, pp. 317–337]

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SOURCE D **This extract is from Nyanisile Jack, a student in Soweto in 1976 reflecting on the causes of the uprising.**

… Of course, the uprising itself in the beginning was limited to the students, the main or immediate issue being the question of the imposition of Afrikaans. You had to do half of your courses in Afrikaans; out of six subjects, half had to be done in Afrikaans and the rest in English. This was an affront*, you know, a direct affront by the Pretoria Government, on the students which they [the students] couldn't take, so they began to protest through meetings and so on. This was mainly in Soweto. Later on, it led to marches, which the police responded to by using firepower. And that whole thing sparked what you call "the uprising".

[Adapted from: <https://karibu.org.za/june-1976-the-uprising/> Accessed 8 January 2019]

*affront – insult

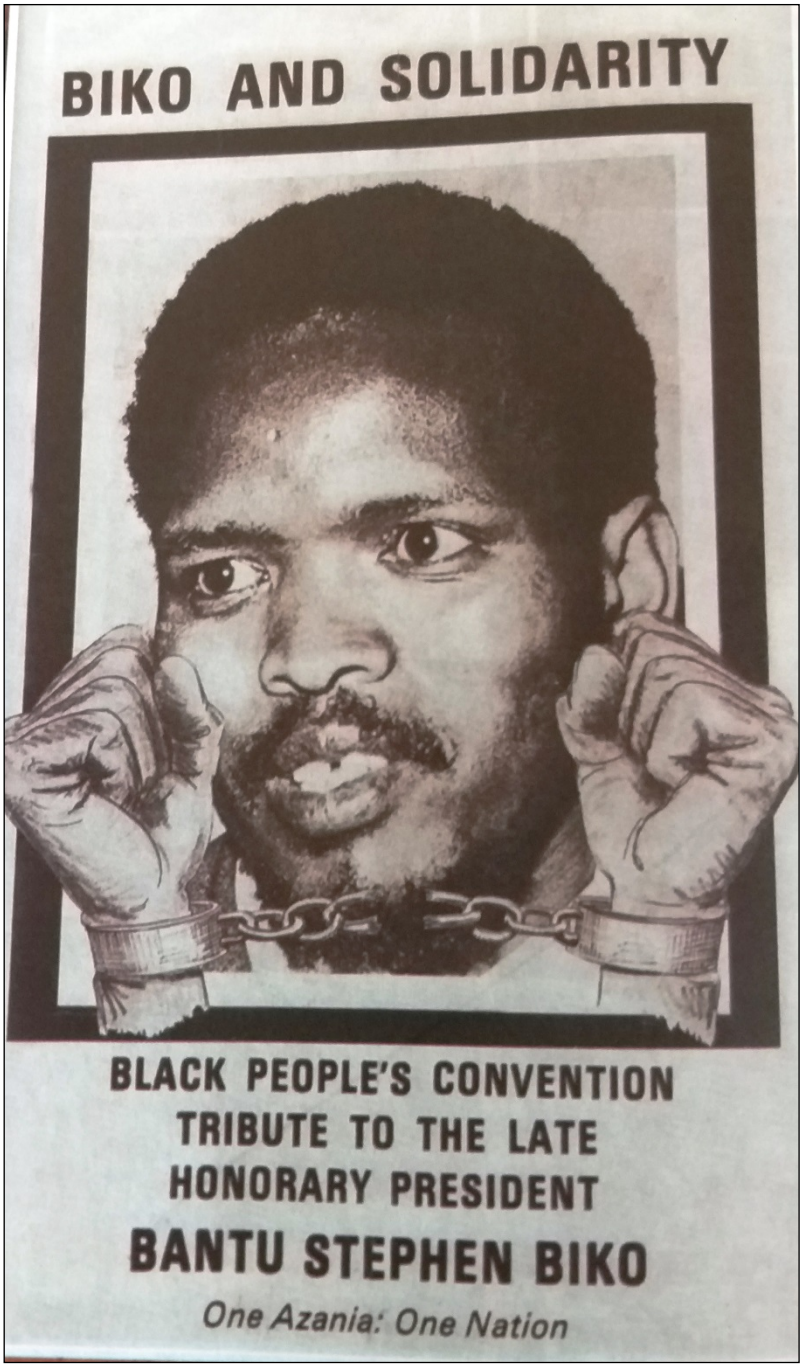
SOURCE E **This is an extract by a historian commenting on factors that caused the Soweto Uprising in 1976.**

… some of the younger teachers, also in Soweto, had come from the ethnically divided campuses of Fort Hare and the University of the North, where they had formed the South African Students' Organisation (SASO). The organisation was based on the philosophy of Black Consciousness and was associated with Steve Biko. These young professionals had a major impact on emerging student organisations such as the South African Student's Movement (SASM), which were founded in schools. Some accounts even refer to the SASM as a school-based branch of SASO. Statements by the SASM and the SASO reflected the growing excitement felt by young black people, inspired by the workers' strikes of 1973 in Durban, the fall of the Portuguese regimes in Angola and Mozambique in 1975, and the successes of resistance movements in the war in Rhodesia …

[Adapted from: Elsabe Brink, Gandhi Malungane, Dumisane Ntshangase, Steve Lebelo, Soweto 16 June 1976, Kwela, South Africa (2006) Available [ONLINE] <http://learn.mindset.co.za/sites/default/files/resourcelib> Accessed 7 January 2019]

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SOURCE F **This is a poster created by the Black People's Convention (BPC) as a tribute to Steve Biko after his death in 1977.**



[Steve Biko Available at: [ONLINE] <http://www.thedisplacedafrican.com/2008/03/my-heroes-steve-biko-and-malcolm-x/> Accessed 9 January 2019]

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SOURCE G

This is an extract from a South African online publication, *The Daily Maverick,* published 2 November 2018, regarding the Black Consciousness Movement.

The African National Congress (ANC) from its position in exile, was not capable of launching mass insurrection* as the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) had in the Soweto Uprising of 1976–1977, which quickly spread to all the urban areas of the country. An alliance had all the possibility of using the historical expertise* of the older ANC and the militant* mobilisation made possible by the BCM. It was this that the apartheid regime feared most [namely] a unity of the resistance groups fighting apartheid.

It must be remembered that the ferocity* of the youth resistance and the speed at which it spread to virtually* all the black townships in 1976–77 and across the country caught the apartheid regime on the back foot. It was further alarming that the BCM attracted the militant students and youth from the Indian and coloured communities. It was this unity and the clear possibility of an alliance of forces that … the entire apartheid intelligence community did their utmost to destroy.

[Adapted from: Craig Williamson's Trails of Death and Destruction: The Scandinavian Connection responds to exposures in Jyllands Posten, Prithiraj Dullay, 2 November 2018 [ONLINE] Available at: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-11-02-craig-williamsons-trails-of-death-and-destruction-the-scandinavian-connection-responds-to-exposures-in-jyllands-posten/> Accessed 2 January 2019]

*insurrection – revolt or rebellion
*expertise – know-how or knowledge
*militant – aggressive support
*ferocity – very fierce
*virtually – nearly

SOURCE H

This is an extract from a South African history book commenting on the role of Black Consciousness in Soweto in 1976.

The influence of Black Consciousness ideas and the African National Congress have been exaggerated. The central cause of the uprising was the rise of worker militancy.* The 1973 strikes showed South Africans what could be achieved through mass action and confrontation. The youth leaders of Soweto and elsewhere lost an opportunity in 1976 to unite effectively with workers in building a truly revolutionary struggle against the government and bosses.

[Adapted from: T Nuttall et al, From Apartheid to Democracy South Africa 1948–1994, Shuter & Shooter, 1998 pp.109]

*militancy – aggressive or revolutionary action

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