



Province of the  
**EASTERN CAPE**  
EDUCATION

Iphondo leMpuma Kapa: Isebe leMfundo  
Provinsie van die Oos Kaap: Departement van Onderwys  
Porafensie Ya Kapa Botjhabela: Lefapha la Thuto

# **NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

**GRADE 12**

**SEPTEMBER 2024**

**HISTORY P2  
ADDENDUM**

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This addendum consists of 14 pages.

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**QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS (COSAS) RESIST APARTHEID IN THE 1980s?****SOURCE 1A**

The source below focuses on the aims of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) establishment at a conference held from 30 June to 1 July at Wilgespruit, near Roodepoort in 1979.

The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) devoted itself to informing its members about the history and struggle of the 'oppressed'. Ephraim Mogale, the organisation's first president, played a leading role in this respect. COSAS also devoted itself to the principles of non-racism and democracy.

The organisation's principle aims were the conscientising of students and the wider community to the repressive nature of education in South Africa, and to participate in the drawing up of an educational charter for a future, non-racial democratic education system. In order to show their commitment to education and to popularise their message COSAS launched the Education Charter campaign. The charter endorsed the education principles in the Freedom Charter. Its view was that a democratic education system could only be achieved in a democratic society based on the will of all the people. It recognised that Bantu Education was aimed at controlling and indoctrinating the youth and that this could only be changed by transforming the country's entire political system. Although it was primarily education-focused, COSAS identified the relationship between educational and social transformation in its statement of beliefs:

- Students must be organised through democratically elected SRCs
- Students must serve the community ...
- The duty of the students was to lend support to trade unions and community organisations

In 1982, COSAS adopted the theme 'Student-worker Action' and promoted the formation of youth congresses to serve the interests of young workers and unemployed youth. This facilitated cooperation between school students, young workers and the unemployed youth.

[From <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/congress-south-african-students-cosas>. Accessed on 6 January 2024.]

**SOURCE 1B**

The source below explains the activities COSAS embarked on to oppose the unjust system of apartheid in the 1980s.

In its early years, COSAS focused on educational issues, but with its alliance with the UDF, by the end of 1984, its students were making demands around educational as well as political issues. Throughout the 1980s, under the banner of COSAS students have staged a variety of resistance tactics like boycotts, strikes, negotiates and laid down demands.

COSAS which focused on the crisis in education in schools, aimed to fight against Bantu Education and to normalise relations between pupils, teachers and parents, which had significantly broken down since the school boycotts in the late 1970s. The boycotts began in coloured schools in the Western Cape but rapidly spread throughout the country, because of school-based issues. By 1985, school boycotts had rendered schools unworkable and ungovernable and saw the collapse of the Black Local Authorities in the townships. Their slogan 'Liberation before education' resulted in chaos across the country which resulted in the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) being formed in 1986. There were also protests in the rural areas between 1985 and 1986. Mass meetings became a regular feature of the boycotts. COSAS also campaigned for democratically elected SRCs.

Numerous other protests and boycotts were launched by COSAS. An anti-Republic Day campaign, centring around the slogan 'Forward to a People's Republic,' was organised in 1981. A national boycott of Wilson Rowntree and Fattis and Monis products was called in sympathy with the treatment of workers at these factories. However, it was events in the Vaal region that transformed student protests and made them part of a major political struggle. To oppose rent and service costs increases a stay-away in the Vaal was supported by more than 20 000 students and residents. School issues were now linked to the broader political struggle against apartheid and capitalism.

[From <https://karibu.org.za/from – Soweto-to-democracy/htm>. Accessed on 7 January 2024.]

**SOURCE 1C**

This is a poster that was created by COSAS members in 1985 at the Screen Training Project in Johannesburg in preparation for a mass meeting. This poster consists of the face of the late Bongani Khumalo, a student who was killed in 1984. COSAS placed his face on the upper right-hand of this poster to support their struggle against apartheid education.



[From <https://www.saha.org.za/imagesofdefiance/forward-with-democratic-srcs-down-with-apartheid-education.htm>. Accessed on 7 January 2024.]

**SOURCE 1D**

The source below explains how the government tried to crush the activities of COSAS, and how students responded to these measures. The extract was taken from a dissertation *Student organisation and Political resistance: An analysis of the Congress of South African Students, 1979–1985* by T. Matona, February 1992.

COSAS had not been in existence for a year before the entire corps of national leaders and many members were arrested. Mogale was accused of promoting the aims of the ANC and SACP and was imprisoned on Robben Island.

Throughout 1985, the boycotts widely disrupted the normal functioning of township schools. A national mass movement of students led by COSAS also spearheaded a national political struggle which developed into a crisis. In this context, the state intensified its attempt at suppression. This left many students, including COSAS members, dead, injured or detained. Although the government prohibited class boycotts, hundreds of schools throughout the country remained empty.

Resistance and repression in schools followed a general pattern of police action and detentions on peaceful boycotts. This spurred the boycotts, with the demands for the release of fellow students. Further police action escalated the conflict and funerals and commemorations of those who died became important sites of resistance. The funeral of a 15-year-old student who was killed when police clashed with pupils boycotting classes as they were demanding, among other things the removal of the age-limit law and the right to form Student Representative Councils (SRC), was attended by more than 10 000 students. The COSAS speaker at the funeral said: "We will prove in action that Bantu Education is evil. We will revolt against it until it has been utterly scrapped, dumped on the junk bin of history and buried once and for all."

Eventually, COSAS was banned in mid-1985 as the State of Emergency was declared by the South African government. While the COSAS organisation was affected, student mobilisation had become too powerful to be contained.

[From *Student organisation and Political resistance: An analysis of the Congress of South African Students, 1979–1985* by T. Matona]

**QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) DEAL WITH THE MURDERS OF THE GUGULETHU SEVEN?**

**SOURCE 2A**

The source below focuses on how the South African Police managed to infiltrate the Gugulethu Seven in 1985.

During 1985, there was a dramatic escalation in armed attacks by MK operatives, including a hand grenade attack on security forces in August resulting in casualties. This led Major General Griebenouw of the Western Cape security police to request the assistance of Vlakplaas. Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock deployed (organised) certain Vlakplaas personnel including Joe Coetzer, Riaan Bellingan and several askaris, including Gladstone Moss, Eric 'Shakes' Maluleke and Xola Frank 'Jimmy' Mbane.

The askari were briefed by members of the security police. They were shown photographs of some activists in Gugulethu who were alleged to be dangerous 'terrorists'. After an unsuccessful attempt to infiltrate Mbelo (an askari) into a group in Gugulethu, Jimmy and Eric Maluleke were sent in. They were given weapons and grenades and arrived at the home of squatter leader 'Yamile', claiming to be Commanders from exile. As proof they opened a concealed panel in the minibus, showing their guns. Yamile believed the askaris and, after introducing them to Christopher 'Rasta' Piet, they soon had the core of the group which became known as the 'Gugulethu Seven'.

On 3 March 1986, shortly after 07h00, seven men aged between sixteen and twenty-three were shot dead in Gugulethu. All sustained numerous gunshot wounds to their bodies: all were shot in the head: one had half his face blown away.

[From <https://sabctrc.saha.org.za/reports/volume3/chapter5/subsection35.htm>. Accessed on 7 January 2024.]



**SOURCE 2B**

The following is part of testimonies that Thapelo Mbele and Rian Bellingan gave at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearing in Cape Town on 18 November 1997.

One of the key testimonies in the 'Gugulethu Seven' case was that of Thapelo Johannes Mbelo, a member of the security branch. Mbelo in his affidavit said if the police wanted to arrest the group, it would have been easy because the askaris could have shown the police where to find them. He described to the committee how the police officers at the meeting were instructed to take up certain positions at the scene of the planned attack on the minibus.

After the attack did not occur, and they were withdrawing and dispersing, he noticed some of the suspects on the pavement. Since he thought they were intent on attacking policemen, he radioed this information to his colleagues. The shooting began soon afterwards. He saw one of the suspects, Christopher Piet, running with a gun and firing. Mbelo said he saw Piet being shot and falling to the ground, although he could not see who shot him. After stopping the vehicle, he was driving, Mbelo said an attacker came up to him with his hands in the air and in Xhosa said he would show the police where the others were. However, after the man was disarmed, a riot squad sergeant ordered him to shoot the man, which he did, shooting him in the head.

Mbelo told the committee he had seen Bellingan, his commander at the time, pull another suspect from a vehicle at the scene and shot him twice. Mbelo, asked the families of the deceased to forgive him and offered to meet them one by one to apologise.

Meanwhile, Bellingan denies most of Mbelo's testimony. He said the operation had not gone according to the plan to arrest the perpetrators when they moved towards the police staff minibus. He maintained that it had not been possible to arrest the group because they kept moving from place to place. However, he accepted full responsibility for the deaths of the seven.

[From <https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/hrvtrans/heide/ct00100.htm>. Accessed on 4 March 2024.]

## SOURCE 2C

This is a cartoon by Zapiro commenting on the achievements of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in July 1998.



[From Zapiro, *End of Part One* by J. Shapiro.]



**SOURCE 2D**

The following are extractions of two testimonies of the mothers of Gugulethu Seven, Cynthia Nomvewu Ngewu, the mother of Christopher 'Rasta' Piet and Notrose Konile the mother of Zaborke John Konile at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings on 27 November 1996.

In her 27 November 1996 Truth and Reconciliation Commission Gross Human Rights Violations testimony, Piet's mother Cynthia Nomveyu Ngewu said the trials in court were dissatisfying and she couldn't understand the language being spoken; the proceedings were in Afrikaans.

Ngewu said she had to see her dead son on television being dragged with a rope around his waist. They were dragging him from the van. The police told her that her son had shot at the police, and they later came to her home to look for weapons. She said they were told to bury their sons immediately, but their lawyers advised them to bury them at the time they want. After a long time and had already forgotten about this, they were told that there was going to be an inquest at Wynberg. They were told that Christopher was shot by Barnard and Coetzee. She said during the time when all these happened, she was too weak. She was full of hatred because of the way her son was killed. Ngewu later expressed her forgiveness and reconciliatory beliefs regarding her son's death. "We do not want to return the evil that perpetrators committed to the nation. We want to demonstrate humanness, towards them so that they in turn may restore their own humanity."

Mrs Konile began her testimony by sighing heavily six times within five seconds and said, "I am so tired – I am so tired even before this process of which I already despair begins. I wouldn't be able to talk to them, it is their fault that now I am in this misery, now I wouldn't know what to do with them. I can never tell them what to do. I have just given up everything. I do not want to lie – I did not forgive them."

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission granted the South African Police, Rian Bellingan, Thapelo Mbelo and Xola Frank 'Jimmy' Mbane amnesty for the killings.

[From [www.sabctrc.saha.org.za](http://www.sabctrc.saha.org.za). Accessed on 8 January 2024.]

**QUESTION 3: HOW DID GLOBALISATION AFFECT THE ECONOMIES OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES?****SOURCE 3A**

The source below focuses on the disadvantages of globalisation for developing countries.

In economics, globalisation can be defined as the process in which businesses, organisations and countries begin operating on an international scale. The rate of globalisation has increased in recent years, as a result of rapid advancements in communication and transportation. Advances in communication enable businesses to identify opportunities for investment. At the same time, innovations in information technology enable immediate communication and the rapid transfer of financial assets across national borders.

Globalisation provides businesses with a competitive advantage by allowing them to source (find) raw materials where they are inexpensive. Globalisation also gives organisations the opportunity to take advantage of lower labour costs in developing countries, while leveraging (exploiting) the technical expertise and experience of more developed economies. With globalisation, different parts of a product may be made in different regions of the world.

Not everything about globalisation is beneficial. Any change has winners and losers, and the people living in communities that had been dependent on jobs outsourced elsewhere often suffer. Effectively, this means that workers in the developed world must compete with lower-cost markets for jobs.

The situation is more complex in the developing world, where economies are undergoing rapid change. Indeed, the working conditions of people at some points in the supply chain are deplorable(unacceptable). The garment industry in Bangladesh, for instance, employs an estimated four million people, but the average worker earns less in a month than an American worker earns in a day.

[From <https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/effects-economic-globalization/>. Accessed on 11 March 2024.]

**SOURCE 3B**

The source below was written by a member of the Anti-Globalisation Movement. It focuses on the role that the World Trade Organisation (WTO) played regarding globalisation.

With the chants of, “Hey, hey, ho, ho, the WTO has got to go!” and “The people united, we’ll never be divided!”, the ‘Festival of resistance’ had commenced ... followed by a lively assemblage (gathering) of drummers and flute players kicking off the beat.

An inspiring, passionate grassroots coalition of the most unlikely of individuals was gathering in the streets of downtown Seattle to voice their strong displeasure toward a common foe (enemy); the destructive corporate rule of the World Trade Organisation ... the WTO.

The protesters included union steelworkers and their families, environmentalists, old hippies, college students, grandmas, migrant workers from Mexico, Tibetan monks, Pacific Rim sweatshop workers (factory workers who earn low wages, who work for long hours and under poor working conditions), animal rights activists dressed as sea turtles, and few wild n’ crazy nuns. What a party!

This beautiful motley(mixed) crew of humanity was also very well educated and informed on the issues concerning the WTO’s activities. They had done their homework. For the past four days that I had been in Seattle and for numerous weeks before that, various workshops and seminars on a variety of national and international issues were held at the local union halls and churches.

Issues discussed ranged from the production of genetically-engineered foods; the sweatshops in Indonesia, Pakistan, Mexico and the Philippines; the clear-cutting of forests; animal protection laws; beef hormones; poisoned air, water and land; the loss of American workers’ jobs to overseas markets (I’d call slave labour cheaper); ... Basically, the WTO’s primary agenda involves the raping of the planet and the exploitation of the workers by a few multinational companies CEOs and major shareholders ... in the name of blatant greed and power. And they wonder why so many people turned out in the streets to oppose them.

[From <http://pecoskid.com/my-writings/anti-globalization-movement-essays-battle-in-seattle/>. Accessed on 11 March 2024.]

## SOURCE 3C

This is a cartoon by an unknown cartoonist criticising the relocation of production from the USA to low-wage countries (Indonesia).



[From <https://www.pinterest.de/pin/366128644678749632/> Accessed on 11 March 2024.]

**SOURCE 3D**

The extract below highlights the impact that the multi-national companies had on the lives of ordinary people in developing countries.

Since the Second World War, more and more of the global production has been carried out by big companies that operate across borders. Multinationals have become increasingly global by locating manufacturing plants overseas, to capitalise on cheaper labour costs or to be closer to their markets. Companies have become more powerful than many nation-states.

While they bring much-needed foreign investment to developing countries, these companies often put profits before the rights of workers or the countries in which they are located. Supermarkets in developed countries have set up global supply chains and ensure cheap produce from all over the world. But the people who grow the produce are dependent on the prices they get, which in most cases has fallen significantly over the last few decades. This erodes (takes away) their ability to provide a basic standard of living for their families.

The problem is not that international trade is inherently (basically) opposed to the needs and interests of the poor, but that the rules that govern it are fixed in favour of rich countries. For poor people to benefit from global trade, the rules need to be reformed so that they guarantee fair access for poor people to national and international markets.

[From [http://www.deved.youth.ie/issues/globalisation\\_and\\_trade](http://www.deved.youth.ie/issues/globalisation_and_trade). Accessed on 11 March 2024.]

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

[http://www.deved.youth .ie/issues/globalisation and trade](http://www.deved.youth.ie/issues/globalisation_and_trade)

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[http://pecoskid.com/my-writings/anti-globalization-movement-essays-battle-in-seattle/.](http://pecoskid.com/my-writings/anti-globalization-movement-essays-battle-in-seattle/)

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[https://www.saha.org.za/imagesofdefiance/forward with democratic srcs down with apartheid education.htm](https://www.saha.org.za/imagesofdefiance/forward%20with%20democratic%20srcs%20down%20with%20apartheid%20education.htm)

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