



# basic education

Department:  
Basic Education  
**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

## **NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE**

**GRADE 12**

**HISTORY P2**

**NOVEMBER 2025**

**ADDENDUM**

**This addendum consists of 14 pages.**

**QUESTION 1: WHAT WERE THE DIFFERENT RESPONSES TO THE ATTEMPTS OF THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU) TO MOBILISE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKERS IN THE 1980s?**

**SOURCE 1A**

The extract below was taken from an article titled, 'The Struggle: Power and Politics in South Africa's Black Trade Unions', written by A Cowell, a journalist, and appeared in *The New York Times* magazine on 15 June 1986. It sheds light on the formation of COSATU in 1985.

In November 1985, more than 33 unions joined together to form the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest federation (grouping) of black workers in South African history, with a total membership of some 500 000 workers.

Far from being tamed (obedient), COSATU and other black labour groups have sought (wanted) the political high ground in what unionists' call 'the struggle' against white rule, desperately seeking to catch up with the protests of the youthful and violent black radicals of the townships. COSATU has forged (established) important links with the United Democratic Front, the largest non-parliamentary opposition group in the country, and has allied itself to the aims, if not formally to the structures, of the banned and exiled African National Congress, which is dedicated to overthrowing the white government by force.

In a country that is Africa's most industrialised nation, the challenge now posed by the black unions is profound (overpowering); holding out the possibility of a large-scale withdrawal of labour from a modern economy that is increasingly dependent on black skills. Farm and domestic workers are not protected under South Africa's new labour laws. In other areas, from the country's textile mills to its steelworks, the unions are strong and growing. And, in the critical mining industries, labour leaders claim the support of almost half the 600 000-man black work force.

[From *The New York Times* magazine, 15 June 1986]

**SOURCE 1B**

The photograph below was taken during a rally organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in the Western Cape on 1 May 1986. It shows workers participating in a protest under the banner of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA), which was an affiliate of COSATU.



[From *History of Trade Unionism in South Africa* by L. Gentle, et al.]

**CLENCHED FISTS**

**FORWARD WITH THE  
WORKERS' STRUGGLE**

**CCAWUSA**

**SOURCE 1C**

The extract below was taken from a \*memoir, *War in Peace: The Truth about the South African Police's East Rand Riot Unit 1986–1994*, written by N Howarth, a former East Rand Riot Squad member. It explains how the crowd control riot unit clashed with COSATU members who were conducting a living wage campaign at the Germiston railway station in March 1987.

COSATU members had been out on strike for several weeks in March 1987 over grievances that none of us either understood or cared about. It turned out they were conducting a 'living wage' campaign heavily backed by the African National Congress (ANC). There was a security clampdown on all such activities but this didn't bother COSATU, which was busy organising and mobilising union members to take part in the campaign. This added to the number of strikes and stoppages around the country that were already crippling (weakening) the South African economy. A large percentage of the strikers, some 18 000, belonged to South African Transport (SAT).

I was part of a group of 14 young recruits, none older than myself, who had formed a line at the top of the stairs that led up to the station platform from an underground tunnel. The thunder of political jingles (struggle songs) being sung in the deep angry voices of 300 strikers resonated (echoed) down the tunnel and up the stairway towards us. At first, we could not see them, but the sound almost scared the life out of me. Then they appeared at the bottom of the stairs and swung in our directions. It was a terrifying sight. They were armed with knobkerries, whips, knives and a whole variety of vicious (dangerous) weapons.

We clashed with the mob in hand-to-hand fighting. I was stabbed in the arm without even knowing it and there was blood all over me. Nevertheless, the physical damage was minor. I punched, kicked and fought with everything I had. Fortunately, the crowd began to disperse (go away) as we got the better of them. The next day COSATU held a meeting at the World Centre in Germiston, which was about 500 metres down the road from the railway station.

[From *War in Peace: The Truth about the South African Police's East Rand Riot Unit 1986–1994*  
by N Howarth]

**\*memoir:** a book written by a person about their past experiences

**SOURCE 1D**

The source below was extracted from a book titled *Confessions of a \*STRATCOM Hitman*, by P Erasmus, former Security Branch policeman. It explains how the Security Branch officers raided and destroyed COSATU House in 1987.

On 23 April 1987, after a shooting incident involving members of the Riot Unit, COSATU HOUSE was raided by a throng (crowd) of policemen who, having secured the building, handed it over to the Security Branch. What followed was the demolition (destruction) job, the likes of which were unprecedented (extraordinary) and unparalleled (unmatched). It was as if the accumulated (increased) rage (anger) and frustration of the police, caught as usual in the middle of the ongoing political conflict, were vented (expressed) on the building and its contents.

Doors were promptly closed, and then filing cabinets filled with documents and records rained (fell) down like confetti (scatterings of pieces of paper) from balconies of the ten-storey building, office equipment was smashed, personal computers were tossed (thrown) out of the windows and over the balconies into the courtyard, video monitors and an expensive security system were destroyed, and what wasn't smashed or broken was stolen. ... I found COSATU's printing machine in the basement and I smashed the plates and control panel.

Some hours later I returned to the basement to find that the printing machine had been completely destroyed, and cars in the basement had likewise been seriously damaged. Security Branch members started a fire on the eighth floor and, when the Johannesburg Fire Department arrived, fire-fighters ended up running from floor to floor, they were told [by Security Branch members] that the blaze was upstairs, then downstairs, then out and so on.

[From *Confessions of a STRATCOM Hitman* by P Erasmus]

**\*STRATCOM (STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION):** a secret apartheid-era unit that engaged in propaganda, disinformation and violence against anti-apartheid activists and organisations

**QUESTION 2: WHY DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) REJECT THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS OF THE PERPETRATORS WHO TORTURED REVEREND TSHENUWANI FARISANI?**

**SOURCE 2A**

The extract below was taken from the funeral programme of Reverend Tshenuwani Farisani. The funeral took place on 7 June 2025. It focuses on Farisani's political activism against the apartheid government which led to his imprisonment in the 1980s.

Farisani was a founding member of the Black People's Convention (BPC) and served as its president from 1973 to 1975. He worked closely with Stephen Bantu Biko and other leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). He co-founded the Black Evangelical Youth Organisation (BEYO) in the 1970s with current South African President Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa, Tshifhiwa Muofhe and Lawrence Khorombi. This initiative evolved into the Bold Evangelical Christian Organisation (BECO) and later the Evangelical Christian Outreach (ECHO).

Between 1977 and 1987, Farisani was detained without trial on four separate occasions as a result of his outspoken opposition to apartheid. During these incarcerations (imprisonment), he was subjected to brutal torture, including beatings, electric shocks and prolonged isolation. His 1982 detention, one of the most widely documented cases of political abuse under apartheid, drew international condemnation (criticism). Amnesty International\*, having declared him a prisoner of conscience, spearheaded (organised) a global campaign demanding his release, which ultimately succeeded.

His suffering became emblematic (symbolic) of the regime's cruelty and helped expose the extent of state-sponsored violence. In 1986, Farisani testified before US congressional committees, recounting his experiences in chilling detail; a testimony that led to formal resolutions in both the Senate and House of Representatives urging the South African government to end its persecution of him and other activists.

[Source: Funeral Programme of Reverend Tshenuwani Farisani, 7 June 2025]

**\*Amnesty International:** a global human rights organisation that works to protect and promote human rights around the world

**SOURCE 2B**

The source below is part of a testimony given by Farisani at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Human Rights Violation Committee hearing held in Venda on 4 October 1996. It is a recollection of Farisani's experiences at the hands of the Venda Security Branch policemen during his period of detention.

... I was interrogated every day. There where I was tortured. I was interrogated because the first thing which was said was the letter which was written by Mr JAM Silimela and Mr Magwaba, Venda Security Branch policemen. I don't hate them, they must tell the truth.

They put a bag on me, they poured some glue-like things, you know they were just sticky. In my imagination when they were shocking, I couldn't feel the electricity in the substance, properly. Well they tied those electrical devices on my ears, they poured water, some water just on the floor. My whole body was just feeling pain. I fell in the water and I was just falling down, rising and taking off the bag, asking me a lot of questions. The electric devices were taken from the head to the toes and the thighs and even in my private parts. My intestines were jumping. As it was happening, Ramaligela (member of the Venda Security Branch police) started a song, 'Hallelujah. Call on your God. He'll come and help you.' I am not lying about Ramaligela. Why should I lie about him, he knows very well that is true?

I was made to do press-ups, to stand on my head, how can I stand on my top, you know I was very stout (short and heavy)? They took me and made me stand on my head and then they kicked me. Could I just say one final thing? One reason I bring the family here, one reason I want to support is that many of these evil people, and I don't use the word 'evil' easy as a pastor, but we should dwell over (speak about) evil and brutal men and women, because unless they come out and confess, sooner or later they will come back ...

[From *TRC Final Report*, Volume 5, Chapter 2, 1998]



**SOURCE 2C**

The source below is an extract from the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission Special Report of Case No. AC/99/0238*, dated 5 May 1999. It highlights why the TRC's Amnesty Committee rejected the application of three Venda Security Branch policemen, T Nesamari, P Managa and M Ramaligela who assaulted and tortured Reverend Farisani and other victims.

... The TRC Amnesty Committee is satisfied that the applications comply with the formal requirements of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 (Act 34 of 1995) hereinafter referred to as 'The Act', and finds that all the acts in respect of which amnesty is sought by the applicants were committed with a political objective as required by the Act.

All three of the applicants (T Nesamari, P Managa and M Ramaligela) testified at the hearing. Both in their written applications and in their oral testimonies, it became clear to the TRC Amnesty Committee that these three applicants were constantly playing down their role and involvement in the assault and torture of the victims who were tortured separately, but from whose evidence a picture of consistency in the methods employed became apparent (obvious).

The use of a bag filled with water over their heads, the application of electric shocks to their ear lobes and private parts, the pulling of hair from various body parts, the instructions to do strenuous (tiring) exercises and vicious assaults by the applicants by using their bare hands, emerged during the evidence of the victims so consistently that the Committee could not accept the truth of their testimonies.

The Committee is not satisfied that the above three applicants have made a full disclosure of all relevant facts as required by section 20(1) of the Act and their applications must consequently FAIL.

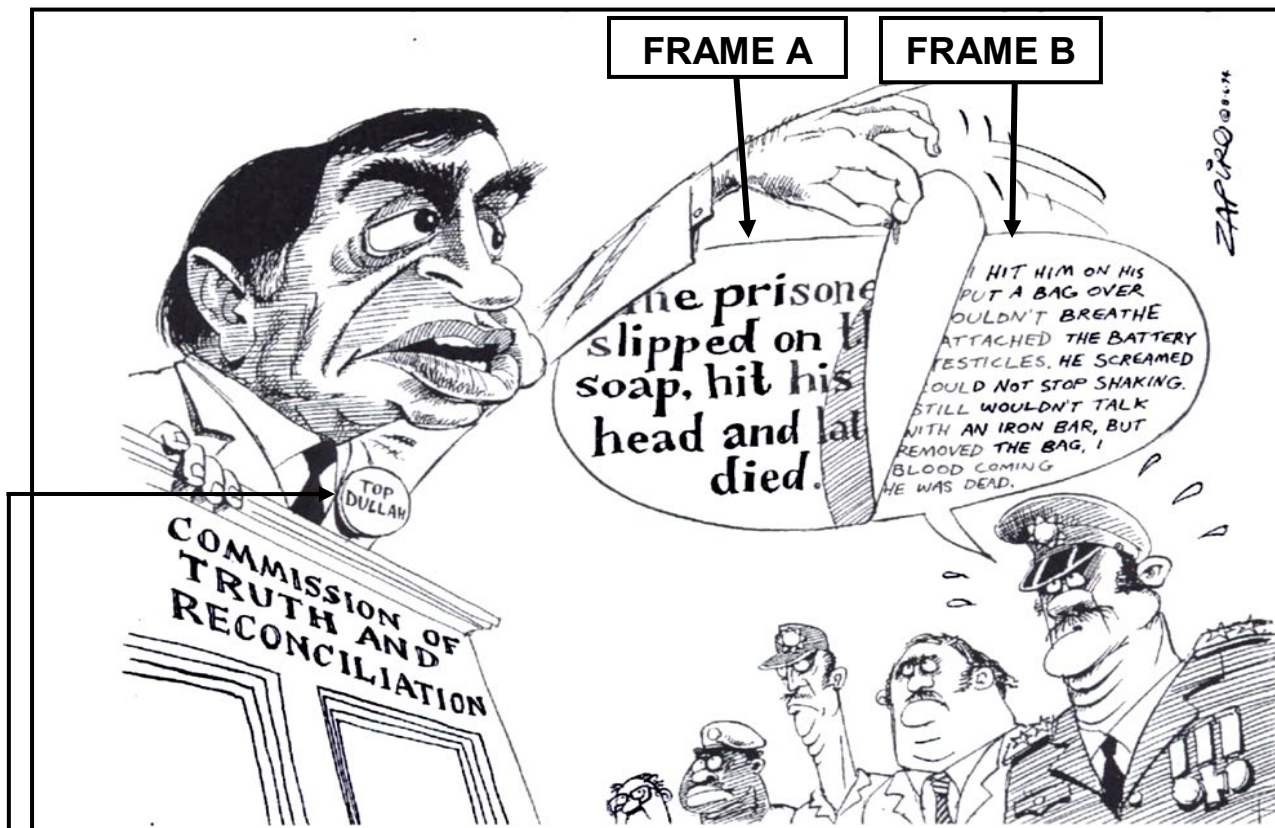
[From *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Special Report, Decisions*, 1998]



**SOURCE 2D**

The cartoon below is by J Shapiro, taken from the book *Truths Drawn in Jest: Commentary on the TRC Through Cartoons*, edited by W Verwoerd and M Mabizela. It depicts Dullah Omar, the former Minister of Justice, who was responsible for the TRC, revealing the truth about human rights violations of political activists during the apartheid era.

The information in both frames (FRAME A and FRAME B) have been re-typed below the cartoon for clarity.



[From *Truths Drawn in Jest: Commentary on the TRC Through Cartoons*, edited by W Verwoerd and M Mabizela]

**TOP DULLAH**

**FRAME A**

he prisoner  
slipped on the  
soap, hit his  
head and later  
died.

**FRAME B**

HIT HIM ON HIS  
HEAD, PUT A BAG OVER  
HIS HEAD, HE COULDN'T BREATHE  
I ATTACHED THE BATTERY  
TESTICLES. HE SCREAMED  
HE COULDN'T STOP SHAKING.  
I STILL WOULDN'T TALK  
WITH AN IRON BAR, BUT  
I REMOVED THE BAG, I  
SAW BLOOD COMING  
OUT OF HIS EARS.  
HE WAS DEAD.

**QUESTION 3: HOW MIGHT THE EXPANSION OF BRICS COUNTRIES BE SEEN AS A THREAT TO THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE GLOBAL NORTH (WESTERN COUNTRIES) AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH (BRICS COUNTRIES)?**

**SOURCE 3A**

The source below is an article titled 'BRICS Intergovernmental Organization', taken from records of the BRICS summit held in Kazan in Russia in October 2024. It focuses on the reasons for the formation of BRICS and its history since 2006.

The first meeting in the BRIC format took place on 20 September 2006 on the side-lines of the 61<sup>st</sup> session of the UN (United Nations) General Assembly in New York. The meeting was attended by the ministers of foreign affairs of Russia, Brazil and China and the minister of defence of India, who all agreed to develop multifaceted (multi-sided) cooperation between the four countries.

The BRIC summit took place on 16 June 2009 in Yekaterinburg in Russia. The final Joint Statement stated the desire of BRIC countries to develop 'an incremental (slowly increasing), proactive (hands-on), pragmatic (practical), open and transparent dialogue and cooperation' that is 'conducive (suited) not only to serving common interests of emerging market economies and developing countries, but also to building a harmonious (friendly) world of lasting peace and common prosperity'.

With the accession (joining) of the Republic of South Africa (the first summit with South Africa took place on 14 April 2011 in Sanya, China), the abbreviation 'BRICS' was established as the name of the association. One of the priorities of BRICS activities is to promote the formation of a multi-polar (many-centred) democratic world and strengthen global security and stability around the world. The association consistently advocates (encourages) for compliance (agreement) with the principles of international law with the UN in the central role, and the rejection of unilateral coercive (forceful) measures. On 1 January 2024, Egypt, Iran, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Ethiopia joined BRICS.

[From 'BRICS Intergovernmental Organization', the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2024]

**GLOBAL NORTH:** broadly refers to wealthier, more developed nations in Western Europe, North America, parts of Asia and Oceania (Western countries)

**GLOBAL SOUTH:** broadly encompasses the rest of the world, often characterised by lower incomes and developing economies (including BRICS countries)

**SOURCE 3B**

The source below is from an article titled, 'The BRICS Challenge to the G7 Established International Order' by MG Mooradian, published by the Foreign Policy Research Institute on 20 September 2024. It highlights the strategies adopted by BRICS to challenge the Global North.

BRICS is launching (starting) three strategic initiatives that aim to challenge the established international order: an \*artificial intelligence (AI) governance framework, an independent economic system and regional security coalitions (alliances). BRICS's current goal is to reshape the international order to allow nations to act independently, without involvement or enforcement from Western countries.

One of BRICS's primary objectives is to establish an independent payment system using member currencies to promote de-dollarisation (replace the US dollar in international trade), thereby diminishing (reducing) the impact of Western sanctions. The first step of this process is the attempt to influence specific vital international markets to gain economic leverage (advantage). One example of this new strategy is BRICS's involvement in the energy market, with the organisation aiming to create an energy partnership between its members. With the recent inclusion of energy-rich nations such as Saudi Arabia, Iran and the United Arab Emirates, BRICS could achieve a level of influence in the global energy market comparable to that of OPEC (Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries), potentially altering the dynamics by controlling a significant portion of the world's oil and gas supplies.

Another critical market BRICS is attempting to influence is the agricultural sector, whose first objective is to create an independent grain trading system that was introduced by Russia. This initiative would increase the organisation's negotiating power in grain prices and combat sanctions by the United States and its \*\*G7 partners (other wealthy Western nations). BRICS seeks to alter (change) the existing global power structure which could result in diminished (reduced) US influence and the destabilisation of the international order.

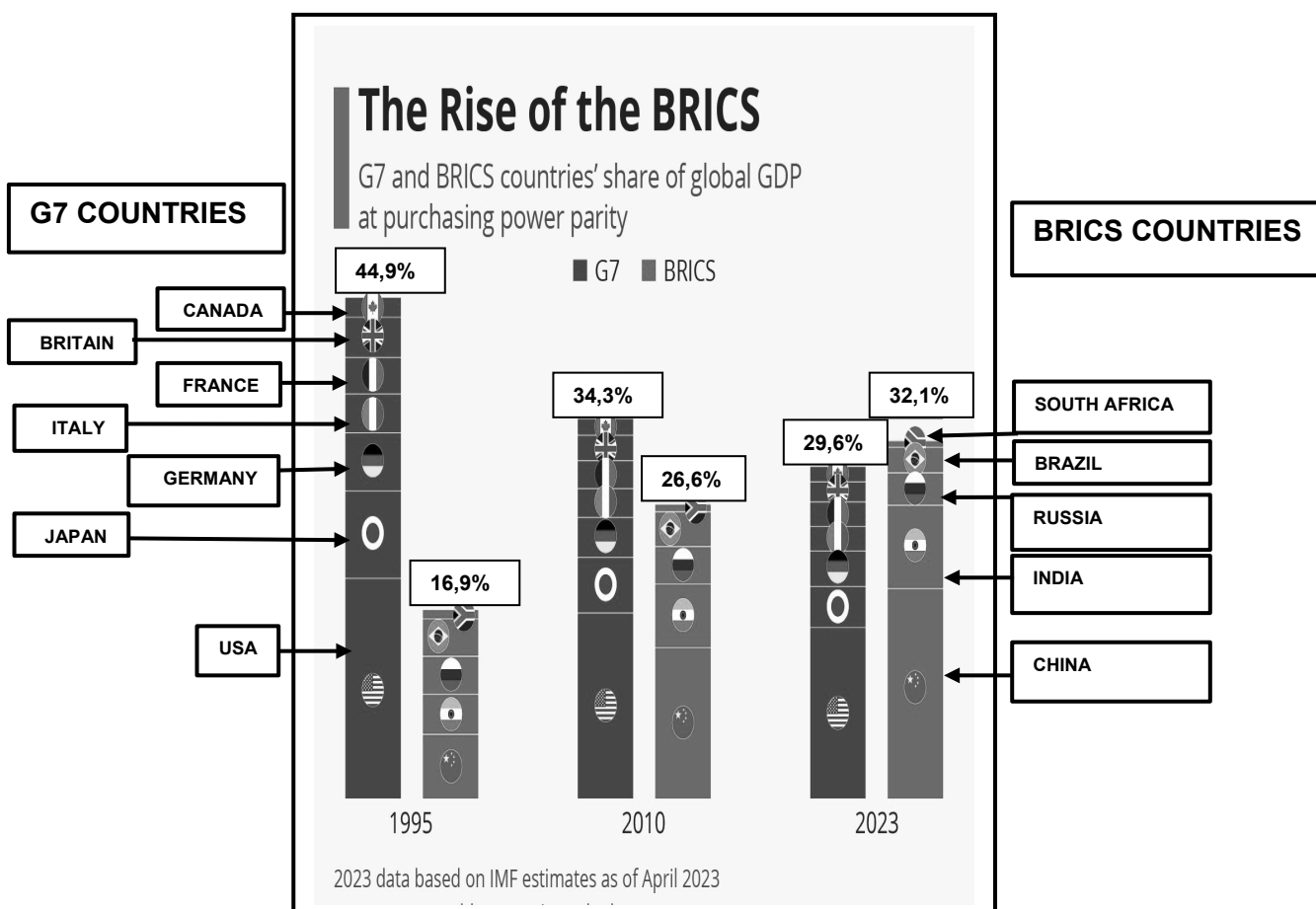
[From 'The BRICS Challenge to the G7 Established International Order' by MG Mooradian]

**\*Artificial intelligence governance framework:** a government information system to manage the use of artificial intelligence (AI) in a responsible manner

**\*\*G7:** refers to an intergovernmental political and economic forum of seven of the world's most powerful economies. Its members are Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States.

**SOURCE 3C**

The graph below, titled 'The Rise of the BRICS', was produced by STATISTA, an online market research company that provides data and reports on global markets, from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) world economic outlook figures. It shows a comparative analysis of the growth of GDP (gross domestic product) between the G7 and BRICS countries covering the period from 1995 to 2023.



[From <https://www.statista.com/chart/30638/brics-and-g7-share-of-global-gdp/>. Accessed on 5 March 2025.]

**Gross domestic product (GDP):** total value (worth) of all goods within a country

**'share of global GDP':** a comparison of a country's GDP to the total GDP of the world

**'purchasing power parity':** a comparison of buying power of currencies between two or more countries

**SOURCE 3D**

The extract below was taken from an article, titled 'How Trump's Dump on De-dollarisation Affects BRICS' by K Wadhwa and published in the *Responsible Statecraft Weekly* newsletter on 28 November 2024. It includes an extract from a speech that Trump delivered as president-elect during a campaign rally in Wisconsin in September 2024, highlighting how BRICS poses a threat to the balance of power between the Global North and the Global South.

'Many countries are leaving the dollar. They are not going to leave the dollar with me. I'll say, you leave the dollar, you are not doing business with the United States because we're going to put a 100% tariff (tax) on your growth.' He was referring to \*BRICS+ countries, many of whom are critical of the 'rules-based' international order, established by the United States in the Bretton Woods era, which they see as benefitting the West (especially the United States) over the emerging Global South.

De-dollarisation may not happen anytime soon but the fact that the BRICS+ countries, which form 35% of the world's GDP and 45% of the world's population, appear to be taking it seriously, is a real concern for American leaders, including Trump.

In his previous presidential term, Trump started a trade war with China in addition to unleashing a new torrent of sanctions on Iran, Venezuela and Russia. If he (Trump) doubles down on using sanctions as a weapon, more countries will want \*\*to hedge their bets. After all they might also be on the receiving end of sanctions if they were to fall out of favour with the United States one day. 'That will mean more consolidation (strengthening) of China's leadership of the BRICS+ and more innovation in terms of financial infrastructure, co-operation and integration ...'

He [Trump] noted that even Western-friendly countries, like Turkey, wish to join the alliance (BRICS+).

[From *Responsible Statecraft Weekly* newsletter, 28 November 2024]

**\*BRICS+:** Original BRICS nations (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) plus the new members (Ethiopia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran and the United Arab Emirates) and any other country that could still join. Argentina had already withdrawn after a change in government by December 2023.

**\*\*to hedge your bets:** to avoid committing oneself when faced with a difficult choice or to protect oneself against making the wrong choice

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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