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GRADE 12

SEPTEMBER 2025

**HISTORY P2
ADDENDUM**

This addendum consists of 14 pages.



SA EXAM PAPERS

Proudly South African

QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC) CHALLENGE THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT IN THE 1980s?**SOURCE 1A**

The source below explains the reasons for establishing the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in 1983. It was written by Pádraig O'Malley an Irish International Professor in 1991.

The End Conscription Campaign was established in 1983 after Black Sash decided in July of that year to establish an organisation for conscientious (diligent) objectors. The main aim of the ECC was the broadening of the rights of conscientious (honourable) objectors and the creation of a system of alternative military service without the element of punishment. According to the South African law, all white men over 18 must complete military service either in Defence Force or in the police. The ECC was formed as a coalition, spearheaded (led) by the existing Conscientious Objectors Support Groups, consisting of human rights, religious, student and women's organisations opposed to conscription and militarisation and committed to working for just peace in our land.

The ECC's opposition to conscription is based on the fundamental (basic) belief that no person can be forced against their will to take up arms and to take life. Because of the increasing involvement of the South Africa Defence Force (SADF) in operations against South African resistance organisations within and outside the country and in defending and upholding (maintaining) the apartheid system in the mid-eighties, a growing number of young men began to rebel against national service. Most of them fled from South Africa to avoid military service, while a minority were jailed after refusing to undergo military training. The ECC grew so rapidly that by the end of 1985, it had more than 4 000 members in seven branches. The organisation's growth area was English-speaking universities and English-medium high schools. Attempts to organise on Afrikaans campuses were met with strong, opposition from the authorities.

[From <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/index.php>. Accessed on 15 January 2025.]

SOURCE 1B

This source deals with the campaigns that the ECC embarked on to challenge the apartheid government in 1985.

The ECC carried out many campaigns within the white community to raise awareness and protest against the military actions of the South African Defence Force. One of its first campaigns was the 'No War in Namibia' Campaign, which was a protest against the SADF's occupation of Namibia. In 1985, the ECC held a 'Stop the Call-up Peace Festival' where hundreds of activists spent three days in workshops, seminars and in a range of cultural events.

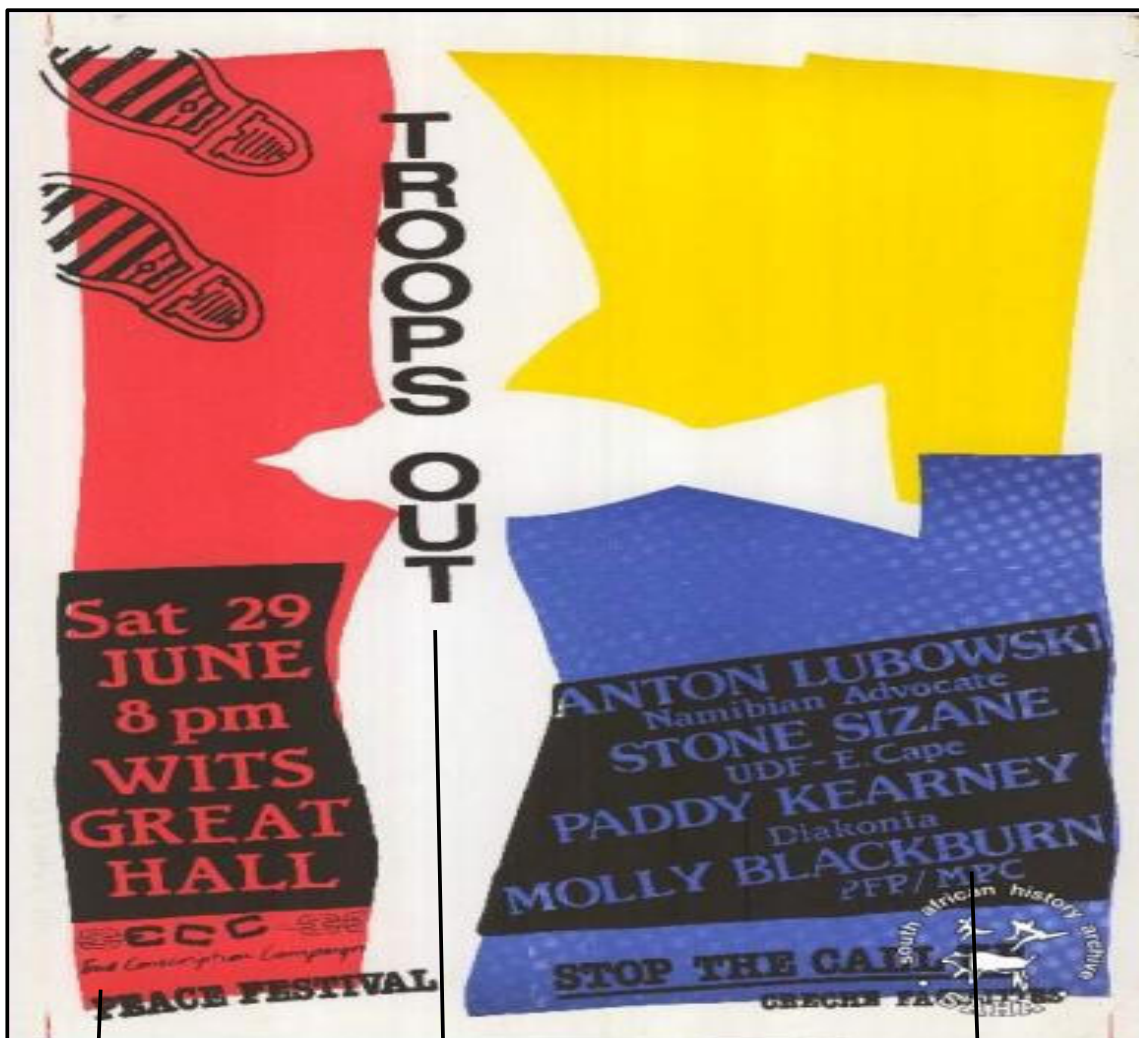
The ECC used unusual tactics to draw in support and raise awareness. They held rock concerts, fairs and anti-war poster exhibitions and produced stickers, T-shirts and pamphlets to distribute to a wide range of people. This gave rise to a popular anti-war culture. It also intensified resistance to conscription.

The 'Troops Out of the Townships' Campaign in 1985 was a response to the mobilisation of thousands of troops to occupy and police the townships. The campaign was centred around a number of conscientious objectors who went on a fast. Thousands of people from all walks of life visited the objectors and went on a 24-hour solidarity fast. The campaign united people of all races and showed that the ECC was a growing organisation that held a place in South African oppositional politics.

[From https://www.saha.org.za/youth/the_fight_against_conscription.htm. Accessed on 15 January 2025.]

SOURCE 1C

The poster below was created by ECC in 1985 for a peace festival at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. It reads 'TROOPS OUT'.



[From saha.org.za/ecc25/troops_out.htm 15 January 2025.]

TROOPS OUT

Sat 29
JUNE
8 pm
WITS
GREAT
HALL

PEACE FESTIVAL

ANTON LUBOWSKI
(Namibian Advocate)

STONE SIZANE
(UDF-E CAPE)

PADDY KEARNEY
(Diakonia)

**MOLLY
BLACKBURN**
(PFP / MPC)

STOP THE CALL UP



SA EXAM PAPERS

SOURCE 1D

The source below is an extract taken from the 2013 MA Thesis written by David Jones at the University of Fort Hare. The title is '*Objecting to Apartheid: The history of the End Conscription Campaign*' and it focusses on the government's reaction towards the ECC.

In 1985, President Botha announced a National State of Emergency. Media coverage of 'unrest incidents' and security force actions, or publication of any 'subversive' (revolutionary) statements was prohibited and the period allowed for detention without trial was extended to 180 days. Along with hundreds of black activists, 46 ECC members were detained. Twelve were still in detention 2 months later. Meetings, publications, and activities of the organisation were banned. It was declared illegal to make any public statement against conscription. Ordinary members were subjected to increased surveillance, systematic harassment, intimidation, and arrest. Disinformation, death threats, obscene and threatening phone calls, physical assaults, break-ins, and even fire-bombings against members of the organisation became commonplace. Activists' vehicles were tampered with, tyres were slashed (13 such cases were reported). False charges were laid against members, drugs were planted.

Three petrol bombs were thrown at the home of ECC member, Anne McKay in Berea, Johannesburg. ECC activist Dominique Souchon was detained and issued a deportation order to Mauritius, even though he had only lived there for the first 18 months of his life and had been living in South Africa for 25 years. Janet Cherry was arrested in Cape Town after five weeks in hiding. She was to spend over a year in detention.

[From *Objecting to Apartheid: The History of the End Conscription Campaign* by D. Jones]

QUESTION 2: DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCEED IN HELPING THE VICTIMS OF POLITICAL CRIMES TO FIND CLOSURE?**SOURCE 2A**

The extract below outlines the reasons for the formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1995.

A key figure in the formulation of the law that established the commission (TRC) was then Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar. There was much public anxiety about the prospect of an anti-Afrikaner witch-hunt. He allayed (eased) these fears:

I wish to stress that the objective is not to conduct a witch-hunt or to haul (drag) violators of human rights before court to face charges. It is ... to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally acceptable basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation.

Nor would the claims of abuses against the ANC be 'glossed over or swept under the carpet'. Omar constantly emphasised the need to provide a forum for victims to speak the truth as they experienced it, and for perpetrators to reveal the truth as they knew it.

The TRC came into being early in 1996, under the joint leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and former cleric and liberal politician, Alex Boraine. Other commissioners spanned (covered) the racial and political spectrum.

Its task was to examine human rights abuses on all sides between 1960 and 1994, hear testimony from victims and perpetrators and, where there was full disclosure and political motivation was clearly present, grant perpetrators amnesty from prosecution or civil action. The objectives of the TRC were to encourage truth-telling and healing.

[From *Every Step of the Way: The Journey to Freedom in South Africa*, commissioned by the Ministry of Education, 2004]

SOURCE 2B

The newspaper article below focuses on how Rick Turner was killed. It appeared in the *Sunday Tribune* on 7 January 2018 and was titled 'Who Killed Dr Rick Turner?'

It is 8 January 1978 after midnight and university academic and political activist, Rick Turner, hears a noise outside his home in 32 Dalton Road, in the Durban suburb of Bellair. Dressed in short pyjamas, he walks from his bedroom to investigate. A shot rings out and Turner collapses to the floor. His killing takes place just short of four months after the murder of another political activist, the Black Consciousness leader, Bantu Stephen Biko, by the South African security police.

Forty years later, Turner's killer is still walking free if he's still alive. But the consensus (agreement) is that this assassination was planned and executed by the apartheid regime's security force. In the decades after Turner's assassination, a sad story unfolds of the attitude of South Africans to the murder of those who paid the ultimate price in the struggle for a free and democratic country, for example, Biko, Neil Aggett, Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, and Ashley Kriel.

Jann Turner (Rick's daughter) said her search, which began in 1989, was motivated by investigative journalist Jacques Pauw's exposé (disclosure) on the security police's death squad headquarters at Vlakplaas. In 2015, new hope emerged that Turner's killer would at last be identified with the release of the Section 29 hearings, testimony of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission previously unreleased.

But it did not identify a killer. There were plenty of pointers. Among those called to testify by the TRC was Chris Earle, a then murder and robbery captain, his commanding officer Major Christoffel Gert Groenewald, and Martin Dolinschek, a Bureau of State Security (BOSS) operative ...

[From <https://www.iol.co.za/sunday-tribune/news/who-killed-dr-rick-turner-12638345>
Accessed on 22 February 2025.]

SOURCE 2C

The source below is a transcript of the evidence that Jann Turner gave at the TRC hearings regarding the assassination of her father, Rick Turner. It was held in Durban on 24 October 1996 and was chaired by Dr Alex Boraine.

CHAIRMAN: Again, when you are ready, take your time. We will listen. Thank you.

JANN TURNER: My name is Jann Turner. Thank you very much for hearing from us today. I am going to talk a little bit about the night my father was killed, and then about my attempts to find his killer in the years since then.

It seems to me more than strange that the Durban Murder and Robbery Unit, a unit with an excellent record of solving crimes, has never come up with even a strong lead, let alone a murderer. It was rare for the killer of a white person in a white neighbourhood in 1978 not to be apprehended (arrested). Even more unusual, when the victim was under surveillance, as we know my father had been almost constantly for at least five years.

Whoever killed my father did so with extreme professionalism, efficiency and had the best assistance in covering up their tracks. It seems to me that the only people capable of acting in such a way were the members of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) or security police. It is important to note that my dad's assassination wasn't isolated. We have heard that just weeks before he was killed, shots were fired at Fatima Meer's house. Fatima had a lucky escape.

As ex-policemen, Dirk Coetzee, and Martin Dolinschek have explained to me, people like my father were not even accorded the dignity of being human, they were communist, terrorist scum (filth). They were literally sitting ducks ...

Up to now all investigations have led us to the wall of silence surrounding BOSS and the security police. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission offers the first hope and probably the last that my father's assassination will be given a full official investigation. I want to know who killed my father and why. I don't expect you to come up with the killer, but I do expect you to try and investigate his murder ... During the week after my father was killed, Leon Mellet, a crime reporter then on one of the Durban newspapers, and now a brigadier, penned several stories suggesting that my father was killed by the ANC

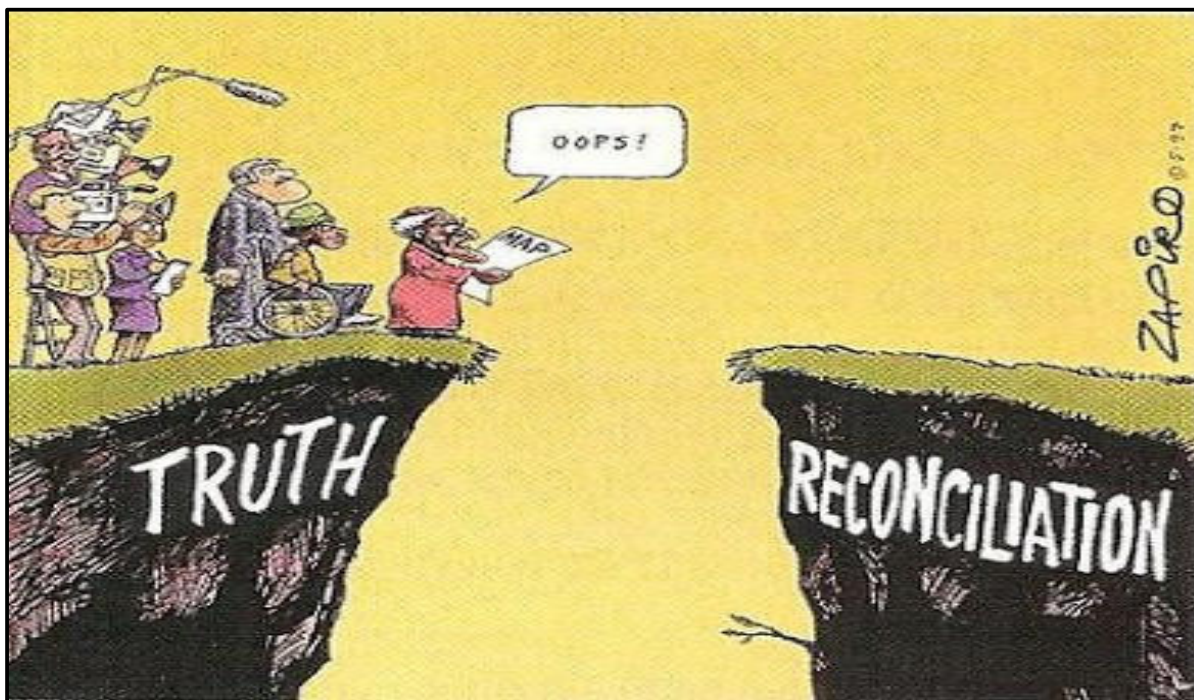
...

[From <http://sabctrc.saha.org.za/tvseries/episode9/section3.htm>. Accessed on 12 February 2025.]



SOURCE 2D

This is a cartoon by Zapiro in May 1997 on the 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission' of South Africa. On the left, the head of the TRC, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, is wondering about the growing gap between the words "Truth and Reconciliation".



[From https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Cartoon-on-the-Truth-and-Reconciliation-Commission-of-South-Africa-On-the-left-the_fig3_256092868. Accessed on 12 February 2025.]

QUESTION 3: HOW DID TRADE LIBERALISATION CONTRIBUTE TO JOB LOSSES IN SOUTH AFRICA'S CLOTHING AND TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN THE 1990s?

SOURCE 3A

The extract below focuses on the impact of trade liberalisation on South Africa's clothing and textile industries in the 1990s.

In the early 1990s there was considerable debate over what South Africa's external tariff policy should be. South Africa, after years of isolation due to its apartheid policies, was to be reinstated as a member of the international community and participate in international trade. In 1994, South Africa was signatory to the Marrakech General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) Agreement. In terms of its Marrakech agreements, 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 even 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.

Inefficiency and corruption in South Africa's customs administration intensified the impact of tariff liberalisation. Large quantities of clothing, mainly from China, India and Pakistan entered the country without any duties being levied (imposed) at all, or without the relevant 'rules of origin' being adhered to.

[From *A Case Study of the Clothing Industry in South Africa* by Mark Bennett]

SOURCE 3B

The article below focuses on the impact that trade liberalisation had on Hammarsdale's economy. Hammarsdale is located in the Mpumalanga township in KwaZulu-Natal. The title of the article is '*Death of a Town*' which was written by P Harper. It appeared on the NEWS24 website on 5 February 2014.

Located towards Durban's western boundary, Hammarsdale was the home of KwaZulu-Natal's textile industry from the 1950s, with the Mpumalanga township having been set up by the apartheid government to house workers brought in to work in the factories. But, from the late 1980s, the inflow of cheap textiles from countries such as China and the movement of employers to areas with lower labour costs began to eat away at Hammarsdale's economy. Massive employers, such as the textile giant the Frame Group, pulled out of the town, shedding (loosing) thousands of jobs.

Mthetheleli Mjilo, a local landscaping contractor and a leader of the Hammarsdale Business Forum, grew up in the area and saw it during its heyday (glory days). 'When I grew up here, there were jobs in the textile industry. In 1994, when Nigeria played in the Soccer World Cup, my older brother was working in the factory here that made their shirts. This place had jobs,' he says. Mjilo adds that the level of prosperity in the area has gradually declined ...

In 2005 Mjilo noted that 'the area cannot take much more of this'. He stated that, 'The textile industry went first. For every job that is lost, you can say another six people are going to bed with nothing to eat. That's another 7 000 people going hungry in this area. We have a very big problem here. This is the last kick of a dying horse for Hammarsdale. We already have thousands of young people who are finishing school and who cannot get jobs locally.'

[From <https://www.news24.com/South Africa/News/death-of-atown-20170204>. Accessed on 5 February 2025.]

SOURCE 3C

The poster below was produced by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 2015. It was in response to the thousands of workers who had lost their jobs as a result of the closure of clothing and textile factories in KwaZulu-Natal and Cape Town.



[From <http://www.industrial-union.org/a-turnaround-for-south-africas-textile-industry>.
Accessed on 5 February 2025.]

SOURCE 3D

The article below outlines how the South African government helped to stabilise the local clothing and textile industry. It was written by N Magwaza and appeared on the *Independent Online* news website on 10 March 2016.

Johannesburg: The South African clothing and textile industry had regained its strength and if supported, it would be able to compete with global manufacturers with respect to price, quality and availability according to Economic Development Minister, Ebrahim Patel.

Patel was speaking at the annual bargaining council meeting of the Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) in Durban on Thursday. 'We are not there yet, but we have achieved a lot in saving jobs and creating jobs in this industry,' Patel said.

The industry had suffered job losses between 2002 and 2012 as a result of cheap imports, poor training and a lack of investment by companies, among other factors.

Patel said that the sector had benefited from about R4 billion spent either in the form of loans or incentives (motivation). The production incentives fall under the Clothing and Textile Competitiveness Improvement Programme, which helps companies improve competitiveness and pay for capital upgrading. Through the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), the government had approved the R2,2 billion production incentive fund for the clothing, textile, footwear and leather sector, which Patel said had saved 63 000 jobs and created 8 000 additional jobs.

The KwaZulu-Natal Clothing and Textile Cluster has also benefited from the government's intervention. Johann Baard, the executive director of Apparel Manufacturers (a South African company), said his observations were that the industry had improved over the past 18 months. 'Since the sector received support from the government four years ago, we have witnessed the creation of 8 000 additional jobs and the expansion of clothing industries.'

[From <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/hope-returns-to-clothing-textiles-sector1658543>

Accessed on 5 February 2025.]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Visual sources and other historical evidence were taken from:

Bennett, M. 2003. A Case Study of the Clothing Industry in South Africa
(International Labour Office)

<http://sabctrc.saha.org.za/tvseries/episode9/section3.htm>

<http://www.industrial-union.org/a-turnaround-for-south-africas-tectle-industry>

<https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org>>.

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saha.org.za/ecc25/troops_out.htm

