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## SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS/ NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS

**HISTORY P2**

**MAY/JUNE 2024**

**ADDENDUM**

**This addendum consists of 14 pages.**

**QUESTION 1: WAS THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC) SUCCESSFUL IN MOBILISING AGAINST THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT IN THE 1980s?**

**SOURCE 1A**

The source below explains the formation of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), which was opposed to the military conscription policy of the apartheid government.

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) was formed in 1983 by members of various conscientious objector (against conscription) support groups. Because conscription was an issue affecting all whites, the ECC readily became a key force against apartheid among members of the white community. In an effort to induce (encourage) as many organisations as possible to join, the ECC established committees in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. They were successful in attracting a broad range of white groups such as the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the Quakers, the Social Action groups of the Anglican and Methodist churches, the Civil Rights League, and eventually the Young Progressives.

Soon after its initial organising period, the ECC issued a Declaration to End Conscription. It then initiated a return to a series of media campaigns aimed at raising the public consciousness regarding the role of the military, including its destabilising (disruptive) operations in neighbouring countries.

In early 1985, the ECC formulated (drew) a constitution and adopted plans for a national campaign. When troops were deployed in the black townships and a limited state of emergency declared in August, the ECC launched a campaign called Troops Out of the Townships and organised a Fast for a Just Peace. One public meeting marking the end of the fast (a period of religious observance) in Cape Town drew 4 000 people. In early 1986, the ECC also sponsored another successful nationwide campaign called Working for a Just Peace.

[From *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, Volume 22, Issue 1 of 1989]

**SOURCE 1B**

The source below was taken from an article that appeared in the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper on 22 September 1989. It highlights protest action taken by 771 white male members of the ECC against the government's conscription policy.

A total of 771 white men yesterday publicly declared – at the launch of a national register of conscientious objectors (against conscription) – that they would not serve in the South African Defence Force. The event was the biggest-ever demonstration of anti-conscription sentiment (feeling) in South Africa. It comes a year after the banning of the End Conscription Campaign, and after three years of emergency regulations, which make it illegal to undermine the system of military conscription. Thus, part of what was said at the various press conferences around the country cannot be reported in terms of emergency regulations.

The 771 cited (referred to) religious, moral and political grounds for refusing to do any SADF service, saying 'the Defence Force is used to uphold the system of apartheid'. Some of them cited disturbing experiences during their national service as reasons. 'We have decided in good conscience and of our own accord (willingly) that we cannot serve in the Defence Force despite possible prosecution and imprisonment. We object to serving in the racist Defence Force that upholds a racist government and we are not prepared to defend apartheid,' ECC branch chairman, Chris de Villiers, said.

De Villiers challenged the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, to hold a referendum and test how many young South Africans object to doing any service in his army. He said many of the objectors would face intense pressure, both in their communities and workplaces for yesterday's public stance. De Villiers announced there would be custodians (protectors) of the register in each region for people who wanted to add their names to the objection list.

[From *Mail and Guardian*, 22 September 1989]

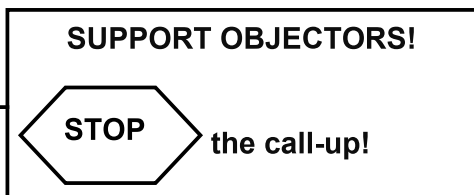


**SOURCE 1C**

The photograph below was taken in Cape Town on 20 October 1989. It shows members of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in a march and carrying the compulsory enrolment papers (forced call-up papers) for military services that they were going to hand in to the local army headquarters, the Castle.



[From <https://www.news24.com/news24/opinions/columnists/guestcolumn/opinion-glenn-bownes-why-i-conscientiously-object-to-whitewashing-of-de-klerks-apartheid-crimes-20211118>. Accessed on 23 February 2023.]



**SOURCE 1D**

The source below is part of a testimony by Dr Laurie Nathan, national organiser of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in 1985 and 1986, given at the Special TRC hearing held in Cape Town on 23 July 1997. It sheds light on how the ECC activists were suppressed by the apartheid government.

The government's response was to amend (change) the Defence Act in 1983. The amendment offered a limited and punitive (intended as punishment) option of alternative service and also increased the penalty for conscientious objection to a maximum of six years in prison. The length of compulsory military service for white men at this stage was a total of four years comprising two years' continuous service followed by annual camps of thirty, sixty or ninety days thereafter. If the government had hoped that this amendment to the Defence Act would crush (put down) the War Resistance Movement, the draconian (harsh) measures in fact had the opposite effect.

The high-profile nature of our campaigns led to extensive state repression. We were subjected to merciless vilification (criticism), the thrust (main) of which was that we were traitors (betrayers), cowards and mommy's boys. As Magnus Malan once put it, that we were in bed with communists and that we were part of the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa. There were also numerous acts of physical harassment, ECC members were beaten up, we had petrol bombs thrown into our homes, the motor vehicles of ECC activists were tampered with, brake linings cut, wheel nuts loosened.

It emerged subsequently that a number of ECC activists were on the hit list of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and during the state of emergency in 1985, roughly seventy to eighty of our activists were detained. The youngest of them was seventeen years old and the eldest seventy-five years old. Some of the activists were interrogated (questioned) by military intelligence, others by the security police, some were not questioned at all and not one was tried.

[From *TRC Report – Volume 4: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*]

**QUESTION 2: DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) SUCCEED IN EXPOSING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT'S SECRET CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE (CBW) PROJECT IN THE 1980s?**

**SOURCE 2A**

The source below is taken from a book titled *A Jacana Pocket History Truth and Reconciliation Commission* by MI Burton. It highlights the activities of the apartheid government's Project Coast and the attempt by the TRC to expose it.

Dr Wouter Basson was the head of Project Coast, South Africa's secret chemical and biological warfare (CBW) project. This was a research programme established formally in 1983 to lead the search for CBW-related poisons, ostensibly (apparently) for defensive purposes, but later for offensive capability. They included compounds (a mixture of substances) that could be used in riot controls as well as drugs and poisons for purposes of assassinations (political murders).

Two related amnesty applications opened the door for investigations, and hearings were held from June 1998. Dr Wouter Basson himself refused to apply for amnesty. The National Intelligence Agency, the office for Serious Economic Offences and the office of the Attorney General were also interested in pursuing (following) the matter, and when the TRC first decided to issue a subpoena (call to appear before its proceedings), they intervened. In the meantime, the Commission proceeded with its investigations and found it had opened a can of worms. Project Coast, it seemed, had involved a huge expense, not least from international travel and exposure to CBW facilities in other countries, and there was evidence of fraud and self-enrichment of individuals.

The TRC did not have the capacity to do more than uncover some of these aspects. It found among other things that the programme was 'in the hands of one person, Dr Basson' and that his superiors were grossly negligent (careless) in approving programmes and allocating large sums of money for its activities. It referred to the front companies that had been established, and it found that the programme would not have been possible without some level of international cooperation and support.

[From *A Jacana Pocket History Truth and Reconciliation Commission* by MI Burton]

**SOURCE 2B**

The source below is taken from the testimony that Dr Schalk van Rensburg, the Director of the Animal Centre and scientific advisor at Roodeplaat Research Laboratories (RRL), gave to the TRC on 9 June 1998. It provides details of how Reverend Frank Chikane (the Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches) was poisoned.

The most famous incident of poisoning involved the attempted murder of Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, Reverend Frank Chikane, a leading anti-apartheid campaigner. While travelling in northern Namibia in April 1989, Chikane was stricken (affected) by what appeared to be gastritis (stomach swelling). Two weeks later, he recovered sufficiently and was able to fly to the United States, but there he was stricken down once again. Four times he was admitted to the hospital; on one occasion he was put on a respirator when his heart stopped briefly. Doctors eventually found traces of a deadly organophosphate (nerve-killing) poison in his urine.

According to colonel Eugene de Kock, Defence Force agents had applied the poison after intercepting (stopping) Chikane's suitcase at the airport. What had happened was disclosed nine years later by Dr Schalk van Rensburg in his testimony to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). He said that five pairs of Chikane's underpants had been contaminated (polluted) with paraoxyn (potent drug), but not in large enough quantities to kill outright.

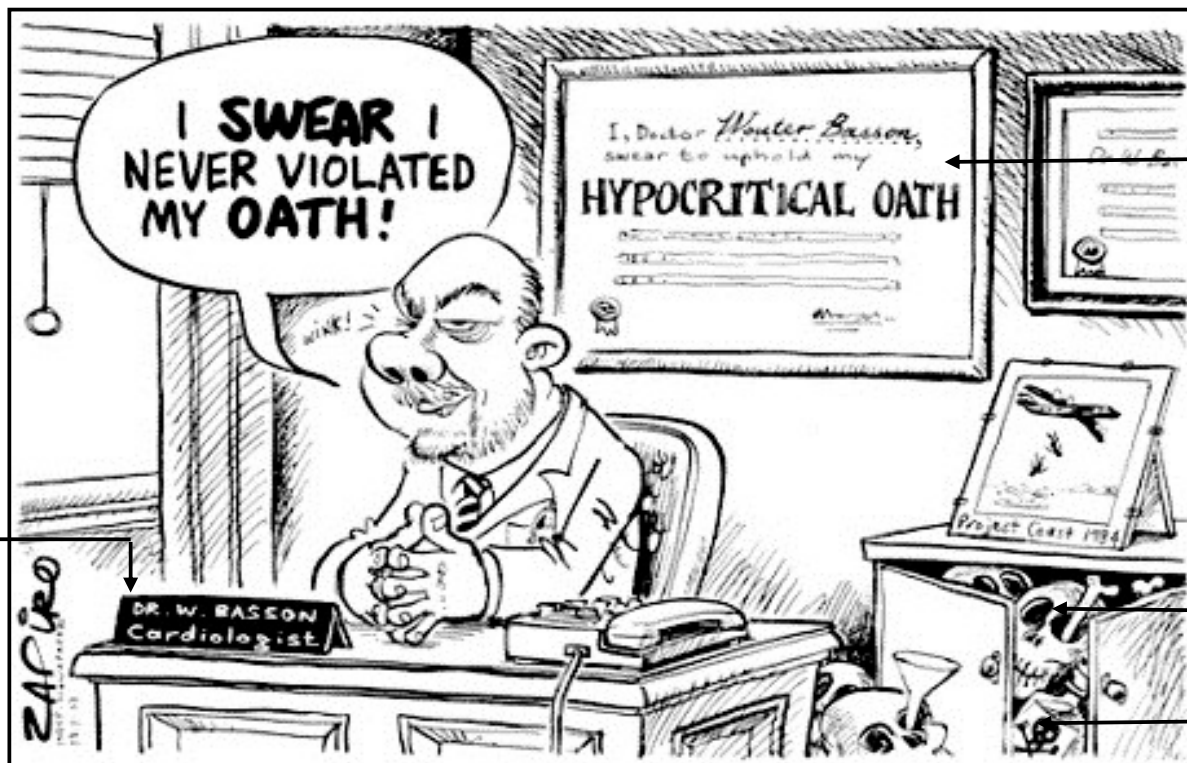
... Van Rensburg said he had been told details of the plot by Dr Andre Immelman, a Roodeplaat Research Laboratories (RRL) toxicologist (scientist working with chemicals), who served as a liaison (contact) with the Defence Force. 'They made a lot of mistakes. The operatives were not trained on how to use the substances. They did silly things like instead of spreading the toxin (poison), which should be absorbed through skin over a fairly large area to promote absorption, the operative put it on a tiny little spot. Then he laced (spread toxic substances) five pairs of underpants instead of only one, so Chikane got sick repeatedly and it showed that it was poisoning.'

[From *The Dis-Eases of Secrecy, Tracing History, Memory and Justice* by B Rappert and C Gould]



**SOURCE 2C**

The cartoon below, by Zapiro, appeared in the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper on 19 December 2013. It depicts Dr Wouter Basson, head of South Africa's secret chemical and biological warfare project.



[From *Truth and Reconciliation In South Africa: 10 Years On* by C Villa-Vicencio and F Du Toit]

**DR W BASSON**  
Cardiologist

**Human skulls and  
a bottle with  
poison**

**HYPOCRITICAL  
OATH**



**SOURCE 2D**

The source below is an extract from the TRC report released in October 1998. It focuses on the findings about Project Coast.

Amidst the 3 500 pages of testimony gathered over the course of its three-year inquiry, there is a damning (negative) chapter dedicated to Project Coast. The TRC found that scientists, professors, doctors, dentists, veterinarians, laboratories, universities and front companies propped (supported) up the apartheid Chemical and Biological Warfare (CBW) programme with the support of an extensive international network. Project Coast, the TRC concluded, was 'evidence of science being subverted (brought down) to cause disease and undermine the health of communities'.

Specifically, the TRC found that 'cholera, botulism (food poisoning), anthrax (causes skin infection), chemical poisoning and the large-scale manufacture of drugs of abuse, allegedly for purposes of crowd control, were among the projects of the programme' and that 'chemicals, poisons and lethal micro-organisms were produced for use against individuals ...'

The report also concluded that the scientific research undertaken by Project Coast was 'pedestrian, misdirected, ineffectual and unproductive'. It was also exorbitantly (hugely) expensive. It resulted in the substantial self-enrichment of several of the individuals involved. Most media attention focused on the poisoned umbrellas and screwdrivers, the lethal (deadly) bacteria, chemicals and drugs that had been stock-piled for use against enemies of the apartheid government. But the TRC also found that Project Coast pursued 'substances to reduce the fertility and virility (sexual drive) of people'.

[From *Project Coast Eugenics in Apartheid South Africa* by JA Singh]

**QUESTION 3: DOES SOUTH AFRICA PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN STRENGTHENING BRICS AS A GLOBAL ECONOMY?****SOURCE 3A**

The extract below is from an article titled 'The Pros of South Africa's Membership of BRICS: A Re-appraisal', that appeared in the *Journal of African Union Studies*. It questions the relevance of South Africa's membership of BRICS.

In 2010, South Africa became the fifth member of the elite club known as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). The addition of South Africa transformed (changed) the name from BRIC to BRICS. The advent (introduction) of BRICS raised concerns as the world continues to witness serious shifts in the international order, but for South Africa it was hoped that this was a positive new dawn for the country. However, in 2014 and 2015, South Africa's ratings were downgraded by most prominent rating agencies, citing (mentioning) poor growth prospects and rising government debt as well as high deficits (shortages) on the current account.

This raised concerns in many quarters (institutions) about the relevance of South Africa's membership of BRICS. The World Bank suggested that South Africa remains a dual economy (differences in class and wealth) with one of the highest inequality rates in the world, perpetuating inequality and exclusion. With an income Gini (equality income) of around 0,70 in 2008 and a consumption Gini of 0,63 in 2009, the top decline of the population accounts for 58% of the country's income, while the bottom decline accounts for 0,5% and the bottom half less than 8% (World Bank, 2016)\*. This is not promising. How can South Africa use its membership in BRICS to maximise its economic prospects and curtail (reduce) the risks and uncertainties? Furthermore, to what extent does the country stand to benefit from BRICS?

[From 'The Pros of South Africa's Membership of BRICS: A Re-appraisal', *Journal of African Union Studies*, Vol. 7, (Issue 1), April 2018]

\***Gini index:** a measure of income distribution across a population, expressed as a number between 0 (perfect equality) and 1 (perfect inequality).

**SOURCE 3B**

The source below is an extract from a speech delivered by the South African Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, at the breakfast meeting organised by the *Business New Age* newspaper on 11 September 2012. It suggests that South Africa and Africa has a key role to play in the BRICS formation.

South Africa has a pivotal (key) role to play in the BRICS formation to promote our foreign policy globally and to achieve our domestic policy objectives. Our membership to BRICS is anchored (based) on three pillars, namely:

- To advance our national interests;
- To promote regional integration and related infrastructure programmes; and
- To partner with key players of the South on issues of global governance reforms.

When the leaders of the five BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) countries met at the fourth summit in Delhi, India, in March this year (2012), they declared that, 'BRICS is a platform for dialogue and cooperation among countries that represent 43% of the world's population, for the promotion of peace, security and development in a multipolar (different), interdependent (equally dependent) and increasingly complex, globalising world. Coming, as we do, from Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America, the transcontinental dimension of our interaction adds to its value and significance'.

According to Zambian economist, Ms Dambisa Moyo, as quoted by Jocelyn Newmarch in her article in the *City Press* of 2 September 2012, titled 'Global Slowdown Africa's Chance to Stand Up and Shine', 'the current state of the global economy is bad for the rest of the world, but good for Africa – 64% of Africa's population is under the age of 24. The continent's population is expected to hit 2 billion in the next 40 years. 60% of economic growth is accounted for and some African states have higher productivity than developed nations. Sub-Saharan Africa's economy is expected to grow by 5,4% this year and by 5,3% next year.'

[From speech presented at the New Age Business Briefing, Johannesburg, 11 September 2012]

**SOURCE 3C**

The source below is from an article titled 'South Africa in the BRICS-Africa Relationship'. It was written by F Soulé-Kohndou and appeared in the *Afrique Contemporaine*. It highlights the challenges that South Africa face as a member of BRICS.

The pivotal role South Africa hopes to play in the BRICS-Africa relationship raises a number of questions as regards the advantages the country might gain from this. At the economic level, the benefits could be limited. South Africa's participation in BRICS and its positioning as gateway to emerging African economies creates a series of competitive challenges for the South African economy.

The first is the emergence of other African markets that also position themselves as gateways to Africa and are streamlining their regulations and infrastructure in order to attract investment.

The second challenge is domestic as foreign investors are showing signs of weariness (tiredness) in the face of increasing labour costs, lack of technical expertise and the spectre of policies aiming at nationalising (public) mines raised by Jacob Zuma's government, thus forewarning of state intervention in the South African business world. All this is increasingly driving investors toward other markets with strong growth, particularly Nigeria and Ghana, which also aspire (hope) to play the role of gateway to Africa for foreign investors from BRICS by relaxing their internal regulations to favour investment.

[From 'South Africa in the BRICS-Africa Relationship' by F Soulé-Kohndou]



**SOURCE 3D**

The source below was taken from an article titled 'World Bank Databank, World Bank Indicators 2011' and it was published in the *International Institute of Security Studies (IISS), Military Balance Journal*. It provides a comparative analysis of the GDP and population of BRICS members between 2011 and 2022.

	2011		2022	
COUNTRIES	GDP* (US\$)**	POPULATION	GDP* (US\$)**	POPULATION
<b>Brazil</b>	2,4 trillion	198 million	1,608 trillion	212 million
<b>Russia</b>	1,89 trillion	142 million	1,776 trillion	146 million
<b>India</b>	1,87 trillion	1 billion	3,178 trillion	1,380 billion
<b>China</b>	7,3 trillion	1,3 billion	17,458 trillion	1,439 billion
<b>South Africa</b>	401 million	50 million	418 million	60 million

[From 'World Bank Databank, World Bank Indicators, 2011': *International Institute of Security Studies (IISS), Military Balance 2011* (for military expenditure)]

\* **Gross Domestic Product (GDP)** is the standard measure of production of goods and services in a country during a period of time

\*\* **(US\$)**: US dollar

Monetary amounts progressively:

Million → Billion → Trillion

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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*Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, Volume 22, Issue 1 of 1989

'World Bank Databank, World Bank Indicators, 2011': *International Institute of Security Studies (IISS), Military Balance 2011*