Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
EDUCATION

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

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

SEPTEMBER 2026

HISTORY P2 ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

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QUESTION 1: HOW DID THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (MDM) CHALLENGE THE SEGREGATORY LAWS OF THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT IN THE 1980s?

SOURCE 1A

The source below is an extract that outlines the formation of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in South Africa in 1989 and how it challenged the apartheid government's racial legislation.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) was the name of an informal coalition (alliance) of anti-apartheid groups during the 1970s and early 1980s. As a formal organisation, the MDM was established as an anti-apartheid successor to the United Democratic Front (UDF) after the 1988 emergency restrictions effectively banned the UDF and several other opposition groups. The UDF introduced the term 'Mass Democratic Movement (MDM)', and it said that the MDM should strengthen grassroots structures and bring in all those organisations on the periphery (sidelines), thus involving them in the struggle. Many previously excluded groups, including white groups and homeland groups, were invited to an Anti-Apartheid Conference organised by COSATU in September 1988. The government did not approve and banned the conference.

Even after 1988, the MDM was a temporary loose coalition of anti-apartheid activists with no permanent constitution, no official membership rolls, no national or regional governing body, and no officeholders. Like the UDF, the MDM drew much of its support from the black community; a condition for affiliation with the MDM was adherence to the provisions of the ANC's Freedom Charter.

The MDM gained prominence (importance) in 1989, when it organised a campaign of civil disobedience in anticipation (hope) of national elections scheduled to take place in September of that year. Defying the state-of-emergency regulations in effect at the time, several hundred black protesters entered 'whites-only' hospitals and beaches. During that month, people of all races marched peacefully in several cities to protest against police brutality and repressive (brutal) legislation.

[From https://photius.com/countries/south_africa/government/south_africa_government_mass_democratic_move~2494.html. Accessed on 23 January 2026]

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SOURCE 1B

The photograph (photographer unknown) below was taken at the 'whites-only' Addington Hospital in Durban on 2 August 1989. It highlights a protest against segregation as part of the Mass Democratic Movement's (MDM) 'Open Hospital' campaign.



[From http://146.141.12.32/protest-about-segregation-in hospitals-at-adding to-hospital-in-Durban. Accessed on 23 January 2026.]

DESEGREGATE HOSPITALS

NUSAS SUPPORTS OPEN HOSPITALS

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SOURCE 1C

The source below is an extract from a book written by a historian, A Jeffery. It outlines the events that unfolded during the peace march organised by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) against police brutality in Cape Town on 13 September 1989.

In the aftermath (outcome) of the election, the MDM pledged (promised) to intensify the defiance campaign. Tutu and Boesak said they would lead a march to parliament when it reconvened (restarted) on 13 September 1989 to express outrage (anger) against police killings on election day. The day before the protest Tutu announced that the march would go to Cape Town's City Hall, rather than to parliament. He added that the march would be peaceful and disciplined but stressed that there could be no question of the protest being abandoned (stopped). 'They have killed our people', he said. It did not matter whether the death toll was 23, as he had first stated, or 15 as the police said. 'Fifteen is a massacre … Even if we deal only with their figures, it is a scandal (shame).'

Encouraged by assurances from the Rev. Johan Heyns, moderator (negotiator) of the Dutch Reformed Church, that the march would be non-violent, De Klerk allowed it to proceed, saying: 'We cannot have a democracy without protest marches.' De Klerk added that there was no reason for people to give vent (outlet) to their political aspirations (ambitions) through disorderly protest or rioting. 'The door to a new South Africa is open. It is not necessary to batter (hit) it down', he said.

The march passed peacefully and signalled the de facto (actual) unbanning of the ANC. ANC flags and banners were prominently flown.

Placards with ANC slogans were openly displayed, ANC freedom songs were sung, and ANC leaders were praised. Tutu and Boesak addressed the crowd from the balcony of the City Hall, which was adorned (decorated) with the flags of the ANC and the UDF. 'Walk Cape Town Open' the posters declared. The police kept a low profile and no action was taken to enforce the ban on the ANC or the restrictions on the UDF.

[From *PEOPLE'S WAR – NEW LIGHT ON THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA* by A Jeffery]

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SOURCE 1D

The source below is an extract from a book written by a historian, A Jeffery. It explains the reaction of the apartheid government towards the defiance campaigns organised by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in 1989.

The police clamped (blocked) down, arresting or detaining some 30 MDM leaders as well as scores of people who had contravened (disobeyed) their restriction orders. Vlok (Minister of Police) said he was well aware that the aim of the defiance campaign was to compel the police to enforce laws providing for racial segregation and then draw negative publicity from this. However, the police were not acting to enforce apartheid laws. Rather, they were not prepared to tolerate civil disobedience activities which led to polarisation (division), confrontation, and violence. Tutu's wife was arrested twice during illegal protests, while both Boesak and Tutu were all taken into custody.

The clampdown drew sharp disapproval, the US (United States) administration registering deep concern over the arrest of Tutu and his spouse and urging the government to permit the peaceful expression of political dissent (opposition). In the UK (United Kingdom), television footage and newspaper coverage concentrated on the instances in which the police resorted to teargas, water cannons, sjamboks and mass arrests to break up demonstrations.

In the run-up to the poll, there were also a number of occasions when abuse by the police of their powers was abundantly clear. This was the case in Mitchell's Plain on 2 September, when police laid into protest marchers with batons and quirts (sjamboks), prompting one of their members, Lieutenant Gregory Rockman, to comment that his colleagues had acted like 'wild dogs with a killer instinct'. Tutu said in response: 'Many people claim we are melodramatic (overemotional) and exaggerate when we say that … it is almost always the police with their presence or their action who provoke (cause) violence. But now a police lieutenant has charged the police with brutality and has said what we have been saying all along.'

[From *PEOPLE'S WAR – NEW LIGHT ON THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA* by A Jeffery]

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QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) DEAL WITH THE MURDER OF THE PEBCO THREE?

SOURCE 2A

The source below highlights the formation and objectives of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) in October 1979 and explains how its leadership was abducted by the security police in 1985.

The Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) was formed in October of 1979 in Port Elizabeth. The group's main objective was to fight for the rights of the people through mass protest and participation … and focused on trying to help better the living situations of the masses and also end discriminatory laws in the Eastern Cape. PEBCO was an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF) that led to thousands of people rallying and boycotting certain products.

PEBCO also adopted the Freedom Charter upon the endorsement (approval) of it by the UDF. The Freedom Charter, created in the 1950s, was the central political doctrine of the ANC that called for equal rights, human rights and government by the people for the people. The PEBCO Three, Champion Galela, Sipho Hashe and Qaqawuli Godolozi, were activists in the struggle against apartheid.

Hashe, Godolozi and Galela were the targets of an assassination plot by the security police in 1985. Their prominent roles in PEBCO and affiliation with the UDF caused them to be perceived (seen) as a threat to the government. On 8 May 1985, Sipho Hashe, Qaqawuli Godolozi and Champion Galela were on their way to the airport to meet a person whom they believed to be with the British Consulate who was sympathetic to their cause. However, this phone call was fake (false) and was really just a reason to get the leaders to leave their houses so that they could be abducted.

[From https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/SMU%20-Tristan%20Kelly%20Hist%203377%20Final%20Paper%20PEBCO%203.pdf. Accessed on 17 January 2026.]

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SOURCE 2B

The source below, taken from a newspaper article titled 'Search for Missing PEBCO Men', appeared on the front page of the *Cape Times* on 27 May 1985. It explains how their relatives were committed to searching for the missing men.

Search for missing Pebco men

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Relatives of the three missing executive members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (Pebco) said they would not give up their search for the men until they found them — dead or alive.

Pebco's general secretary, Mr Sipho Hashe, 58, president Mr Qaqawuli Godolozi, 30, and organizing secretary Mr Champion Galela, 32, disappeared mysteriously on May 8.

[From the *Cape Times*, 27 May 1985]

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SOURCE 2C

This source is based on Mamasela's testimony at the Port Elizabeth amnesty hearings in 1997. It reveals the gruesome fate of PEBCO Three.

Mamasela, an Askari, told the hearing he was sent from Vlakplaas near Pretoria to Port Elizabeth to deal with a problem police were having with activists trying to make the townships ungovernable.

He described how he and a group of policemen abducted the three at Port Elizabeth airport. He said they were driven to a derelict (abandoned) police station near Cradock. "A braaivleis (barbeque) was then started. I knew then that the interrogation would start because interrogations took place with a braaivleis", Mamasela said.

He described how the three were brought out one at a time then assaulted with a steel pipe and sticks. He said they were systematically beaten to death while the policemen had drinks and ate from the braaivleis. He said he saw the bodies later being taken and thrown on to a pile of horse fodder.

According to Mamasela, they then questioned Galela. He was subjected to prolonged assault by being kicked, punched, and struck with a stick and a steel pipe. Mamasela said at one stage Officer Gert Beeslaar squeezed Galela's testicles "until they were the size of golf balls" and then punched them with his fist.

"This was the most brutal thing I have ever witnessed. It was a dehumanising experience", he said. Mamasela said Galela later died from his injuries.

Mamasela said Godolozi, who had been spared, was forced to sleep beside his dead comrades bodies. He said the next morning a man who wore a smart suit and looked like a gentleman arrived at the place. He was apparently from National Intelligence Service (NIS). He said Godolozi had provided no useful information. Godolozi was then also beaten to death.

[From https://www.justice.gov.za. Accessed on 17January 2026.]

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SOURCE 2D

The source below focuses on how the killers of the PEBCO Three were denied amnesty in Port Elizabeth 1997.

Four Security Police involved in the abduction and killing of three leaders of the Blacks Civic Organisation (PEBCO) in Port Elizabeth were refused amnesty today by the Amnesty Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

All the applicants arise out of disappearance of what is known as the PEBCO Three leaders, Sipho Hashe, Qaqawuli Godolozi, and Champion Galela. The three community leaders were abducted at Port Elizabeth airport on May 8, 1985, and subsequently murdered near Cradock on a farm known as Post Chalmers. Their bodies were collected, burnt, and thrown into the Fish River, according to the applicants.

The amnesty applications were heard in Port Elizabeth in November 1997. The amnesty applications by the Security Police were opposed by the widows of the three leaders on the basis that there was no full disclosure. Du Plessis was refused amnesty for conspiring (plotting), ordering the abduction and murder of the three deceased.

Van Zyl, Niewoudt and Lotz were refused amnesty for abduction and murder of the three leaders. The reason for the refusal being the failure to make full disclosure in respect of the assaults.

Another Security Police officer Gerhardus Cornelius Beeslaar was refused amnesty for offences of abduction on Sipho Hashe. The Committee found that Beeslaar had not shown that he had any political objective when he assaulted Hashe.

[From https://www.justice.gov.za. Accessed on 17 January 2026.]

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QUESTION 3: HOW DOES GLOBALISATION AFFECT THE ECONOMIES OF DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES?

SOURCE 3A

The source below outlines the objectives of globalisation.

The goals of globalisation are to provide organisations a superior competitive position with lower operating costs, to gain greater numbers of products, services, and consumers.

This approach to competition is gained via diversification (assortment) of resources, the creation and development of new investment opportunities by opening up additional markets and accessing new raw materials and resources.

Diversification of resources is a business strategy that increases the variety of business products and services within various organisations. Diversification strengthens institutions by lowering organisational risk factors, spreading interests in different areas, taking advantage of market opportunities, and acquiring companies both horizontal and vertical in nature.

Industrialised or developed nations are specific countries with a high level of economic development and meet certain socio-economic criteria based on economic theory, such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), industrialisation and Human Development Index (HDI), as defined by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Using these definitions, the top ten industrialized countries are Norway, Ireland, Switzerland, Iceland, Hong Kong (China), Germany, Sweden, Australia, the Netherlands and Denmark.

[From https://www.Investopedia.com. Accessed on 25 January 2026.]

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SOURCE 3B

This source focuses on the impact of globalisation on both rich and poor nations.

Globalisation has resulted in increased international trade; a company operating in more than one country; greater dependence on the global economy; freer movement of capital, goods and services; recognition such as McDonald's and Starbucks in less economically developed countries (LEDC).

Globalisation has resulted in many businesses setting up or buying operations in other countries. Companies that operate in several countries are called multinational corporations (MNCs) or trans-national corporations (TNCs). The US fast food chain McDonald's is a large MNC – it has nearly 30 000 restaurants in 119 countries.

Globalisation operates mostly in the interests of the richest countries, which continue to dominate world trade at the expense of developing countries. The role of LEDCs in the world market is mostly to provide the North and West with cheap labour and raw materials. There are no guarantees that the wealth from inward investment will benefit the local community. Often profits are sent back to the more economically developed country where the TNC is based. Trans-national companies may drive local companies out of business. If it becomes cheaper to operate in another country, the TNC might close the factory and make local people redundant (unnecessary).

An absence of strictly enforced international laws means that TNCs may operate in LEDCs in a way that would not be allowed in a more economically developed country. They may pollute the environment, run risks with safety or impose poor working conditions and low wages on local workers.

[From https://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gc/globalisation. Accessed on 25 January 2026.]

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SOURCE 3C

This cartoon by Chappatte shows directors or leaders of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in session. They are discussing expectations of poor or developing countries.



[From https://www.chappatte.com/en/images/globalization. Accessed on 25 January 2026]

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SOURCE 3D

This source focuses on the results of offshore outsourcing and multinational corporations on American society in the early 2000s.

While no one doubts the economic success and pervasiveness (popularity) of multinational corporations, their motives and actions have been called into question by social welfare, environmental protection and labour organizations worldwide.

National and international labour unions have expressed concern that multinational corporations in economically developed countries can avoid labour negotiations by simply moving their jobs to developing countries where labour costs are markedly less. Labour organisations in developing countries face the converse (opposite) of the same problem, as they are usually obliged to negotiate with the national subsidiary (branch) of the multinational corporation in their country, which is usually willing to negotiate contract terms only based on domestic wage standards, which may be well below those in the parent company's country.

Offshore outsourcing, or offshoring, is a term used to describe the practice of using cheap foreign labour to manufacture goods or provide services only to sell them back into the domestic marketplace. Today, many Americans are concerned about the issue of whether American multinational companies will continue to export jobs to cheap overseas labour markets. In the fall of 2003, the University of California-Berkeley showed that as many as 14 million American jobs were potentially at risk over the next decade. In 2004, the United States faced a half-trillion-dollar trade deficit (shortfall), with a surplus in services. Opponents of offshoring claim that it takes jobs away from Americans, while also increasing the imbalance of trade.

[From https://www.reference for business.com/management/multinational corporations Accessed on 25 January 2026.]

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

Cape Times, 27 May 1985

http://146.141.12.32/protes-about-segregation-in-hospitals-at-addington-hospital-in-durban

https://photius.com/countries/south africa/government/south africa government mass democratic_move~2494.html

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Jeffery, A. 2009. *PEOPLE'S WAR – NEW LIGHT ON THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA,* Jonathan Ball Publishers (Edms.) Ltd., Cape Town

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