basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

HISTORY P2

NOVEMBER 2025

MARKS: 150

TIME: 3 hours

This question paper consists of 9 pages and an addendum of 14 pages.

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INSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION

1. This question paper consists of SECTION A and SECTION B based on the prescribed content framework in the CAPS document.

   SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

   QUESTION 1: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA

   QUESTION 2: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

   QUESTION 3: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER, 1989 TO THE PRESENT

   SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

   QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

   QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

   QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE EVENTS OF 1989

2. SECTION A consists of THREE source-based questions. Source material that is required to answer these questions can be found in the ADDENDUM.

3. SECTION B consists of THREE essay questions.

4. Answer THREE questions as follows:

   4.1 At least ONE must be a source-based question and at least ONE must be an essay question.

   4.2 The THIRD question can be either a source-based question or an essay question.

5. You are advised to spend at least ONE hour per question.

6. When answering questions, you should apply your knowledge, skills and insight.

7. You will be disadvantaged by merely rewriting the sources as answers.

8. Number the answers correctly according to the numbering system used in this question paper.

9. Write neatly and legibly.

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SECTION A: SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question, but not more than TWO questions, in this section. Source material to be used to answer these questions is contained in the ADDENDUM.

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?

Study Sources 1A, 1B, 1C and 1D and answer the questions that follow.

1.1 Use Source 1A.

1.1.1 Quote evidence from the source which suggests that COSATU was the largest federation of black worker unions in South Africa in November 1985. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.2 Define the term *non-parliamentary opposition group* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 Explain what can be inferred (implied) by the statement, 'COSATU … has allied itself to the aims, if not formally to the structures, of the banned and exiled African National Congress …' (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, state why you think industrial trade unions grew stronger in the 1980s. (2 x 2) (4)

1.2 Study Source 1B.

1.2.1 Comment on the significance of holding this COSATU rally on 1 May 1986. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.2 What is inferred (implied) by the words, 'FORWARD WITH THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE', in the context of mass action against the apartheid government in the 1980s? (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.3 Explain the symbolism of the 'clenched fists' in the banner and some of the workers in the photograph. (1 x 2) (2)

1.3 Refer to Sources 1A and 1B. Explain how the information in Source 1A supports the visual evidence in Source 1B regarding COSATU's mass mobilisation against the apartheid government in the 1980s. (2 x 2) (4)

1.4 Consult Source 1C.

1.4.1 Identify a campaign in the source that COSATU members conducted through a strike that took several weeks in March 1987. (1 x 1) (1)

1.4.2 Explain the term *grievances* in the context of COSATU's activities against the apartheid government. (1 x 2) (2)

1.4.3 Quote THREE pieces of evidence from the source which suggest that the 'young recruits' were terrified. (3 x 1) (3)

1.4.4 Comment on the limitations of this source to a historian researching the clash between COSATU and the East Rand Riot Squad in March 1987. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Read Source 1D.

1.5.1 According to the source, why was COSATU House raided by policemen on 23 April 1987? (1 x 2) (2)

1.5.2 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why the demolition of COSATU House by the Security Branch was described as 'unprecedented and unparalleled'. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5.3 List FOUR ways in the source in which the police demolished the building and its contents during the COSATU House raid. (4 x 1) (4)

1.5.4 Why do you think that the Security Branch members misled the fire fighters where the fire actually started? (1 x 2) (2)

1.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining what the different responses were to the attempts of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) to mobilise South African workers in the 1980s. (8)

[50]

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

Study Sources 2A, 2B, 2C and 2D and answer the questions that follow.

2.1 Refer to Source 2A.

2.1.1 Name, from the source, TWO organisations within the Black Consciousness Movement, in which Farisani served as a founding member. (2 x 1) (2)

2.1.2 State any THREE types of abuses, according to the source, that Farisani was subjected to during his imprisonment between 1977 and 1987. (3 x 1) (3)

2.1.3 Explain why Amnesty International declared Farisani 'a prisoner of conscience'. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.4 Define the term *persecution* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

2.2 Read Source 2B.

2.2.1 Give the names of any TWO Venda Security Branch policemen in the source implicated by Farisani during his interrogation. (2 x 1) (2)

2.2.2 What does the statement, 'I don't hate them, they must tell the truth', suggest about Farisani's testimony? (1 x 2) (2)

2.2.3 Explain what the phrase, 'Call on your God. He'll come and help you', suggest about the tactics used by the Security Branch policeman during the interrogation. (1 x 2) (2)

2.2.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, what can you conclude from the words, '… unless they come out and confess, sooner or later they will come back …', with reference to the perpetrators? (1 x 2) (2)

2.2.5 Why would a historian find the source reliable when researching how the TRC's Human Rights Violation Committee dealt with the violations against Reverend Farisani? (2 x 2) (4)

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2.3 Use Source 2C.

2.3.1 Quote ONE piece of evidence from the source which suggests that the TRC Amnesty Committee was satisfied that the amnesty applications by the three policemen complied with the requirements of the TRC Act. (1 x 2) (2)

2.3.2 Name THREE applicants, according to the source, who applied for amnesty for the assault and torture of Reverend Farisani. (3 x 1) (3)

2.3.3 Explain the term *oral testimonies* in the context of the TRC's hearings by the Amnesty Committee. (1 x 2) (2)

2.3.4 What conclusion can be drawn from the statement, 'The (TRC's Amnesty) Committee is not satisfied that the above three applicants have made a full disclosure', as required by the Act? (1 x 2) (2)

2.4 Refer to Sources 2B and 2C. Explain how the evidence in Source 2B supports the information in Source 2C regarding the human rights violations committed against Reverend Farisani by the apartheid security policemen. (2 x 2) (4)

2.5 Consult Source 2D.

2.5.1 Explain the symbolic representation of the following:

(a) Dullah Omar (1 x 2) (2)

(b) The security policemen (1 x 2) (2)

2.5.2 Comment on why the information in FRAME A differs from FRAME B regarding evidence presented at the TRC hearings. (2 x 2) (4)

2.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining why the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) rejected the amnesty applications of the perpetrators who tortured Reverend Tshenuwani Farisani. (8)

[50]

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)?

Study Sources 3A, 3B, 3C and 3D and answer the questions that follow.

3.1 Refer to Source 3A.

3.1.1 When, according to the source, did the first meeting in the BRIC format take place? (1 x 1) (1)

3.1.2 Name the FOUR countries in the source who agreed to develop multifaceted cooperation among themselves in the formation of BRIC. (4 x 1) (4)

3.1.3 Define the term *summit* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.4 Using information in the source and your own knowledge, explain the significance of six new countries joining BRICS on 1 January 2024. (2 x 2) (4)

3.2 Read Source 3B.

3.2.1 Name any TWO strategic initiatives launched by BRICS in the source that aimed at challenging the established international order. (2 x 1) (2)

3.2.2 Explain the concept *de-dollarisation* in the context of the BRICS challenge to Western countries. (1 x 2) (2)

3.2.3 Identify ONE reason in the source why BRICS countries attempted to influence the agricultural sector. (1 x 2) (2)

3.2.4 Comment on how the 'diminished (reduced) US influence' would change the existing international order. (2 x 2) (4)

3.3 Consult Source 3C.

3.3.1 What message is conveyed by the graph regarding the change in:

(a) The G7's share of global gross domestic product (GDP) between 1995 and 2023 (1 x 2) (2)

(b) BRICS' share of global GDP between 1995 to 2023 (1 x 2) (2)

3.3.2 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain the implication of the growth in China's GDP from 1995 to 2023. (2 x 2) (4)

3.4 Study Source 3D.

3.4.1 Who, according to the source, was Trump referring to when he said, '… leave the dollar, you are not doing business with the US because we're going to put a 100% tariff on your growth'? (1 x 1) (1)

3.4.2 Give a reason in the source why BRICS+ countries are critical of the Bretton Woods era. (1 x 2) (2)

3.4.3 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why '… the fact that the BRICS+ countries form 35% of the World's GDP and 45% of the world's population …' is a concern for the USA (Trump) as the leader of the Global North. (1 x 2) (2)

3.4.4 Comment on the usefulness of this source to a researcher studying how Trump felt threatened by the expansion of BRICS+ countries. (2 x 2) (4)

3.5 Refer to Sources 3C and 3D. Explain how the evidence in Source 3C supports the information in Source 3D regarding how BRICS is upsetting the balance of power between the Global North and Global South. (2 x 2) (4)

3.6 Using the information in the relevant sources and your own knowledge, write a paragraph of about EIGHT lines (about 80 words) explaining how the expansion of BRICS countries might be seen as a threat to the balance of power between the Global North (Western countries) and Global South (BRICS countries). (8)

[50]

SECTION B: ESSAY QUESTIONS

Answer at least ONE question, but NOT more than TWO questions, in this section.

Your essay should be about THREE pages long.

QUESTION 4: CIVIL RESISTANCE, 1970s TO 1980s: SOUTH AFRICA: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

The philosophy of Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement revived resistance to apartheid in South Africa from the 1960s to the 1970s.

Do you agree with this statement? Use relevant evidence to support your line of argument. **[50]**

QUESTION 5: THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST

The road to democracy was characterised by a non-violent process of negotiation.

Critically discuss this statement with reference to the period between 1990 and 1994. **[50]**

QUESTION 6: THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: THE EVENTS OF 1989

Explain to what extent Gorbachev's policies of Glasnost and Perestroika in the 1980s ultimately led to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Use relevant historical evidence to support your line of argument. **[50]**

TOTAL: 150

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ADDENDUM

This addendum consists of 14 pages.

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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

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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]

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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.

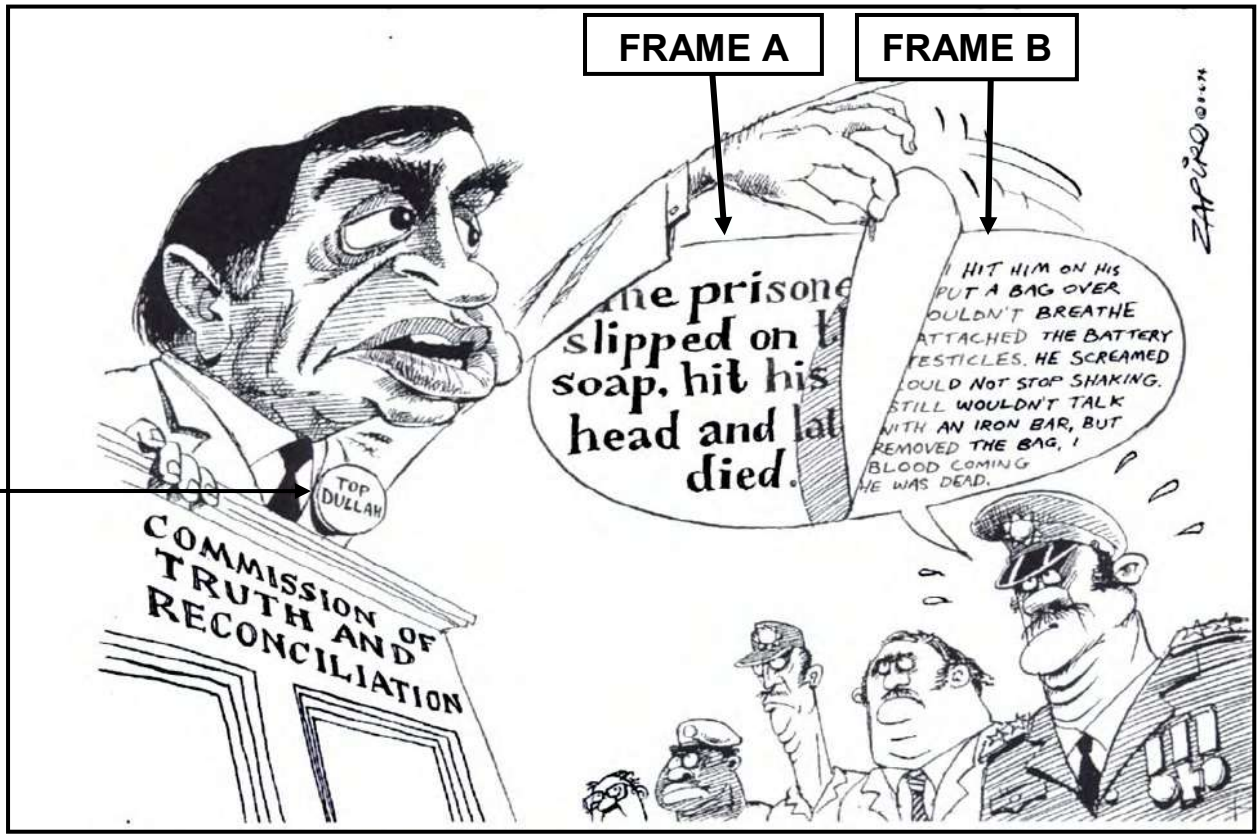
The Committee is not satisfied that the above three applicants have made a full disclosure of all relevant facts as required by section 20(1) of the Act and their applications must consequently FAIL.

[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 prisone slipped on t soap, hit his head and lat died.

FRAME B

HIT HIM ON HIS
PUT **A BAG OVER**
OULDN'T **BREATHE**
ATTACHED **THE BATTERY**
TESTICLES. **HE SCREAMED**
OUL**D NOT STOP SHAKING.**
STILL **WOULDN'T TALK**
WITH **AN IRON BAR, BUT**
REMOVED **THE BAG, I**
BLOOD COMING
HE WAS DEAD.

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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 61st 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)

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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]

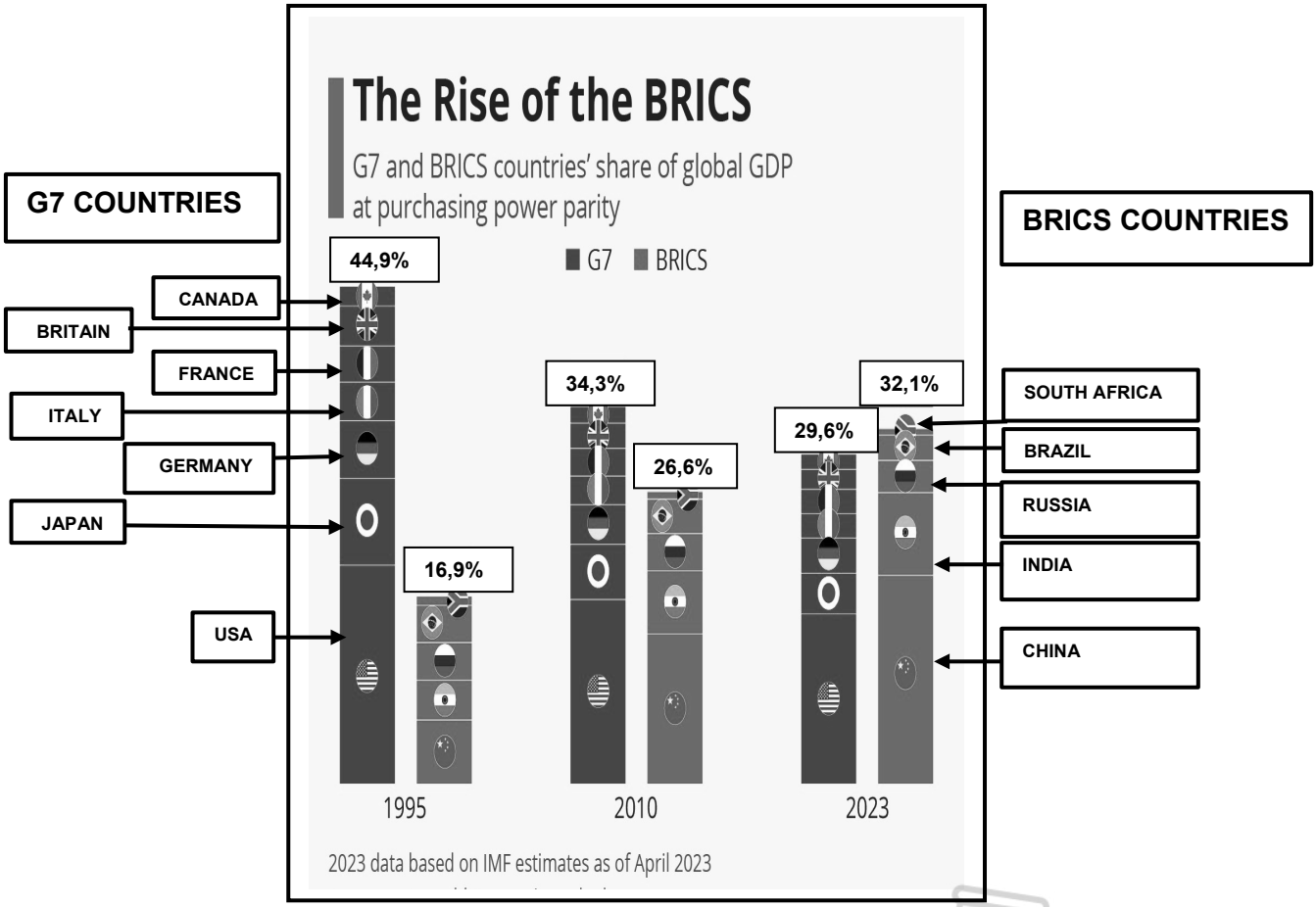
***Artificial intelligence governance framework:** a government information system to manage the use of artificial intelligence (AI) in a responsible manner

****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.

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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

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