basic education

Department:
Basic Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE

GRADE 12

HISTORY P2

NOVEMBER 2021

MARKS: 150

TIME: 3 hours

Stanmorephysics

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: THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID IN THE 1980s

   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

   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

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, candidates should apply their 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: HOW DID THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) RESPOND TO THE APARTHEID REFORMS INTRODUCED BY PW BOTHA IN 1983?

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

1.1 Refer to Source 1A.

1.1.1 Name TWO apartheid statutes in the source that PW Botha scrapped while introducing reforms to the apartheid policy. (2 x 1) (2)

1.1.2 Explain what is implied by the statement, '… what he (PW Botha) had in mind was not reform but rather a reformulation (restructuring) of apartheid.' (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.3 Define the term *tricameral parliament* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

1.1.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why you think the black majority was excluded from the new legislation. (2 x 2) (4)

1.1.5 Identify FOUR legislative powers in the source that the white minister had over black urban councils. (4 x 1) (4)

1.2 Read Source 1B.

1.2.1 Why, according to the source, did Rev. Dr Allan Boesak refer to the launch of the UDF as a historic moment? Give ONE reason. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.2 Quote evidence from the source that shows that the meeting called by the UDF was not merely a gathering of loose individuals. (1 x 2) (2)

1.2.3 Explain the meaning of Rev. Dr Allan Boesak's statement, 'The homelands policy forms the basis of the wilful exclusion of 80% of our nation from the new political deal.' (2 x 2) (4)

1.2.4 Why would a historian consider this source to be reliable regarding the launch of the UDF? (2 x 2) (4)

1.3 Study Source 1C.

1.3.1 Explain what is implied by the words in the poster, 'DON'T VOTE IN APARTHEID ELECTIONS!', in the context of the UDF's resistance to the introduction of the tricameral parliament in 1983. (1 x 2) (2)

1.3.2 Comment on the slogan 'FORWARD TO FREEDOM!' held by the UDF supporters, in the context of resistance to PW Botha's apartheid reforms. (1 x 2) (2)

1.4 Refer to Sources 1B and 1C. Explain how the evidence in Source 1C supports the information in Source 1B regarding the UDF's internal resistance against apartheid reforms in 1983. (2 x 2) (4)

1.5 Use Source 1D.

1.5.1 Identify the voter turnout for the elections of the tricameral parliament (in percentages) for the following communities:

(a) Indian (1 x 1) (1)

(b) Coloured (1 x 1) (1)

1.5.2 Explain the term *boycott* in the context of the UDF's reaction during the elections for the tricameral parliament. (1 x 2) (2)

1.5.3 Why do you think two-thirds of the white voters endorsed the constitution in a referendum held in November 1983? (1 x 2) (2)

1.5.4 Comment on why the United States State Department believed that Botha's reforms were 'a step in the right direction'. (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 how the United Democratic Front (UDF) responded to the apartheid reforms introduced by PW Botha in 1983. (8)

[50]

QUESTION 2: HOW DID THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) DEAL WITH THE MURDER OF THE POLITICAL ACTIVIST, GRIFFITHS MXENGE?

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

2.1 Refer to Source 2A.

2.1.1 Who, according to the source, could come forward and be heard at the TRC? (1 x 1) (1)

2.1.2 Define the concept *amnesty* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.3 Why do you think the hearings at the TRC made international news? (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.4 List any THREE mandates of the TRC, as stated in the source. (3 x 1) (3)

2.1.5 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why you think the Human Rights Violations Committee investigated human rights abuses that took place between 1960 and 1994. (1 x 2) (2)

2.1.6 State TWO conditions, according to the source, that perpetrators of human rights abuses had to meet before they could be granted amnesty. (2 x 1) (2)

2.2 Use Source 2B.

2.2.1 Why did the TRC decide to produce this poster? (1 x 2) (2)

2.2.2 Comment on why you think the TRC used the words, 'IF YOUR MOTHER WAS TORTURED, FATHER MURDERED … WOULD YOU BE SILENT', on the poster in the context of the TRC hearings. (2 x 2) (4)

2.2.3 Explain the term *reconciliation* in the context of the TRC. (1 x 2) (2)

2.3 Read Source 2C.

2.3.1 Name any TWO killers in the source that were implicated (accused) in the murder of Griffiths Mxenge. (2 x 1) (2)

2.3.2 Why do you think Dirk Coetzee implicated (accused) ANC cadres in the murder of Griffiths Mxenge? (2 x 2) (4)

2.3.3 Explain the usefulness of this source for a historian researching the murder of anti-apartheid activist, Griffiths Mxenge. (2 x 2) (4)

2.4 Refer to Sources 2B and 2C. Explain how the evidence in Source 2C supports the information in Source 2B regarding the call by the TRC for victims and perpetrators to appear before public hearings. (2 x 2) (4)

2.5 Consult Source 2D.

2.5.1 Identify any TWO perpetrators in the source who were granted amnesty by the TRC for the murder of Griffiths Mxenge. (2 x 1) (2)

2.5.2 Quote TWO reasons from the source why the TRC granted amnesty to the murderers of Griffiths Mxenge. (2 x 1) (2)

2.5.3 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why the Mxenge family was disappointed by the TRC's decision to grant amnesty for the murder of Griffiths Mxenge. (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 how the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) dealt with the murder of political activist, Griffiths Mxenge. (8)

[50]

QUESTION 3: WHAT IMPACT HAS THE GLOBAL COVID-19 PANDEMIC HAD ON SOUTH AFRICA?

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

3.1 Refer to Source 3A.

3.1.1 Quote from the source the effects of the rise of globalisation on:

(a) The world (1 x 1) (1)

(b) People (1 x 1) (1)

3.1.2 According to the source, how has the free movement of people, goods and services, brought about by globalisation, been:

(a) Beneficial to the world (1 x 1) (1)

(b) Detrimental to the world (1 x 1) (1)

3.1.3 Define the concept *globalisation* in your own words. (1 x 2) (2)

3.1.4 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain how technological advancement has contributed to Covid-19 becoming a global pandemic. (2 x 2) (4)

3.2 Study Source 3B.

3.2.1 Name the international organisation that declared the coronavirus outbreak a global pandemic. (1 x 1) (1)

3.2.2 Explain the term *pandemic* in the context of Covid-19. (1 x 2) (2)

3.2.3 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain why it was necessary for the South African government to introduce measures to contain the spread of the coronavirus. (2 x 2) (4)

3.2.4 Name any TWO high-risk countries in the source on which the South African government imposed a travel ban. (2 x 1) (2)

3.3 Consult Source 3C.

3.3.1 Identify ONE negative economic indicator mentioned in the source that was heightened by the Covid-19 pandemic. (1 x 1) (1)

3.3.2 Using the information in the source and your own knowledge, explain how the Covid-19 pandemic left many black women without any means of generating an income. (2 x 2) (4)

3.3.3 According to the source, why are more South Africans now afraid of unemployment than of the Covid-19 pandemic? Give TWO reasons. (2 x 1) (2)

3.3.4 Give TWO reasons mentioned in the source why townships became Covid-19 hotspots. (2 x 1) (2)

3.3.5 Explain the limitations of this source for a student researching the economic impact that lockdown has had on townships and informal settlements in South Africa. (2 x 2) (4)

3.4 Read Source 3D.

3.4.1 Explain what the cartoonist means by the caption, 'BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE', regarding the position of the poor. (1 x 2) (2)

3.4.2 What messages are conveyed by the cartoonist regarding the Covid-19 pandemic? Use the visual clues in the source to support your answer. (2 x 2) (4)

3.5 Study Sources 3C and 3D. Explain how the information in Source 3C supports the evidence in Source 3D regarding the impact that the lockdown has had on the poor. (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 the impact that the global Covid-19 pandemic has had on South Africa. (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

Critically discuss how Steve Biko and the philosophy of Black Consciousness mobilised black South Africans to challenge the apartheid government in the 1960s and 1970s. **[50]**

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

Explain to what extent commitment and compromise played key roles in sustaining the negotiation process that ultimately led to a new democratic Republic of South Africa in 1994. **[50]**

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

Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union (Perestroika and Glasnost) led to the birth of a new era of co-operation between the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party (NP) in South Africa from 1989.

Do you agree with the statement? Support your line of argument with relevant evidence. **[50]**

TOTAL: 150

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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 SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID GOVERNMENT IN THE LATE 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 30 April 2022.]

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-addingto-hospital-in-durban. Accessed on 31 March 2022.]

DESEGREGATE HOSPITALS

NUSAS SUPPORTS OPEN HOSPITALS

SOURCE 1C

The source below is an extract from a book written by a historian, A Jeffery. It explains the events that took place during the peace march to the Cape Town City Hall that was organised by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) against police brutality 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 on 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]

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 twice arrested 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'. Said Tutu 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]

QUESTION 2: WHAT CAN SOUTH AFRICANS LEARN FROM THE ROLE PLAYED BY ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU, CHAIRPERSON OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC) FROM 1995 TO 1998?

SOURCE 2A

The extract below has been taken from Archbishop Desmond Tutu's acceptance speech at the first public gathering of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) at the City Hall in East London in the Eastern Cape, on 16 December 1995.

Everyone is aware that we have been assigned a delicate (tricky) task whose execution, successful or otherwise, will have critical and far-reaching consequences for our land and nation. It is an awesome (tremendous) responsibility. It is important to bear constantly in mind the title of the Act that has brought us into being – the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation.

Absolutely central to our concern in the work of our Commission is helping our land and people to achieve genuine, real and not cheap and spurious (false) reconciliation. Some view the Commission with considerable misgiving and indeed suspicion and even hostility because they have convinced themselves that the Commission is going to degenerate (decline) into an inquisition (investigation), a witch-hunt hell-bent on bringing miscreants (offenders) to book.

We must scotch (stop) that rumour or suspicion from the outset. We are meant to be a part of the process of the healing of our nation, of our people, all of us, since every South African has to some extent or other been traumatised (upset). We are a wounded people because of the conflict of the past, no matter on which side we stood. We all stand in need of healing.

We are privileged to be on this Commission to assist our land, our people to come to terms with our dark past once and for all. They say that those who suffer from amnesia (forgetfulness), those who forget the past, are doomed to repeat it.

That is why the truth is so central to this whole exercise. But we will be engaging in something that is ultimately deeply spiritual, deeply personal. That is why I have been appealing to all our people – this is not something just for the Commission alone. We are in it, all of us together, black and white, coloured and Indian.

[From *The South African Institute of Race Relations – Race Relations Survey,* 1990]

SOURCE 2B

The cartoon below was drawn by J Shapiro, 'Zapiro', for the *Sowetan* newspaper. It depicts Archbishop Desmond Tutu delivering the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report to President Nelson Mandela on 29 October 1998.



[From *Truth Drawn in Jest, Commentary on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Through Cartoons* by W Verwoerd and M Mabizela]

SPECIAL DELIVERY

SOURCE 2C

This source by A Yates is taken from a special report titled 'Justice Delayed: The TRC Recommendations 20 Years Later'. It focuses on Advocate Ntsebeza's (one of the TRC commissioners) evaluation of the work of the TRC led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the chairperson of the TRC.

The TRC submitted around 300 perpetrators of human rights violations to prosecute. Until the recent National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) announcement to prosecute 15 cases from this list, there had been only one person found guilty of apartheid-era crimes, Eugene de Kock. The recent resurgence (revival) in TRC-related prosecutions is a welcome sign that this recommendation may be realised, albeit (although) slowly … The cases of Ahmed Timol, the Cradock Four, and others are currently being litigated (charged). Many hope that the 15 new cases taken on by the NPA will be the start to a long process of prosecuting the full list from the TRC report.

The TRC was successful in some of its aims. As Ntsebeza Dumisa (TRC commissioner) recalls with vivid (clear) detail, the simple act of having one's story publicly validated (confirmed), was a significant and meaningful step for all who were involved. Apartheid was an era in which proliferating (increasing) misinformation created a fabricated (false) narrative (story) both nationally and globally about the reality of what was happening in South Africa. It is reasonable to dream that in the wake of the absence of truth, public declarations of fact would not just be a restoration of personal dignity but would also be the first step towards national unity.

Ntsebeza Dumisa agrees that the international narrative that the TRC liberated South Africans of their past and resulted in a fairy-tale ending for a massive human rights struggle is false. The notion that, with Desmond Tutu at the helm (in control), Christian values prevailed, and forgiveness erased (removed) the trauma of 50 plus years of oppression, is also short-sighted.

[From *Daily Maverick*, 5 September 2018]

SOURCE 2D

The source below by the South African writer and political commentator, Sisonke Msimang, was published on 27 December 2021 in the *Al Jazeera* editorial. It was a tribute to Archbishop Tutu who passed away on 26 December 2021.

Tutu was neither made nor broken by the difficult exchanges that took place in the context of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). He was a man with nothing to prove and he ran the commission with a deep sense of love and a commitment to truth-telling and forgiveness. This instinct (feeling) sometimes overshadowed (exceeded) his country's need for tangible (real) justice, for perpetrators to serve time behind bars and for victims to be provided the details of where their loved ones had been killed.

By focusing on the stories of the most obviously wounded – the relatives of the tortured and murdered – the commission missed an important opportunity to address the structural and systemic (whole) impact of apartheid. In other words, in spite of its harrowing (disturbing) stories and its scenes of spectacular grief, the TRC was never given a full mandate to address the group effects of apartheid – the loss of opportunity wrought (created) on generations of black people by naked racism.

The TRC handed a list of apartheid operatives (secret agents) who were thought to have been involved in killing anti-apartheid activists to the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA). In the two decades since then, the South African government has done nothing to bring those people to justice, nor has it ever agreed to address the question of redress (restore) and compensation for all the victims of apartheid. The fault for this does not lie with Desmond Tutu. To the contrary, his death reminds us of the unfinished business of the transition from apartheid to democracy. This was not his business – it is ours. The jaded (tired) among us would do well to heed (take note) the great man's words. With his trademark bluntness, Tutu said, 'If you want peace, you don't talk to your friends. You talk to your enemies.' This insistence on reaching out and across all sorts of divides was the key to his effectiveness.

[From *Al Jazeera*, 27 December 2021]

QUESTION 3: HOW COMMITTED HAVE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF BRICS BEEN TO GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES BETWEEN 2000 AND 2021?

SOURCE 3A

This source is an extract from a statement by the South African Department of Energy, issued on 30 November 2011. It highlights South Africa's commitment to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

South Africa is a party to both the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and its Kyoto Protocol, having acceded (agreed) to the Convention in 1997 and ratified (approved) the Protocol in 2002. As a signatory (participant), the country has to comply with and participate in meetings and discussions of the UNFCCC and its Kyoto Protocol.

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is the main global response to climate change. The associated Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement that classifies countries by their level of industrialisation and commits certain countries to greenhouse gas (GHG) emission-reduction targets.

The South African Cabinet approved the hosting of the United Nations Climate Change Conference in May 2008, which will encompass (include) the seventeenth Conference of the Parties (COP17) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The UNFCCC accepted the country's offer to host in December 2008.

The Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) together with the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) are the main lead departments in the coordination of the conference. The Interministerial Committee on Climate Change constituting all of the relevant departments has been established to oversee both the logistics and substantive (practical) content issues of our hosting, and at operational level two technical working subcommittees have been formed to look at logistics and substantive content, respectively.

[From http://www.energy.gov.za/cop%2017/default.htm. Accessed on 15 May 2022.]

SOURCE 3B

This source below is an extract from a transcript of a speech made by Greta Thunberg, a Swedish environmental activist at the UN's 25th Conference of Parties (COP25) in Madrid, Spain, on 11 December 2011. It highlights how rich and developing countries were not honouring their commitment to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases.

For about a year I have been constantly talking about our rapidly declining carbon budgets over and over again. But since that is still being ignored, I will just keep repeating it. The G20 countries account for almost 80 per cent of total emissions (discharges). The richest 10 per cent of the world's population produce half of our carbon dioxide (CO_2) emissions, while the poorest 50 per cent account for just one-tenth. We indeed have some work to do but some more than others.

Recently, a handful of rich countries pledged (promised) to reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases by so-and-so many per cent by this or that date or to become climate neutral or net zero in so-and-so many years. This may sound impressive at first glance but even though the intentions may be good, this is not leadership. This is not leading. This is misleading because most of these pledges do not include aviation, shipping, imported and exported goods and consumption. They do, however, include the possibility of countries to offset their emissions elsewhere.

… and without that sense of urgency, how can we, the people, understand that we are facing a real crisis. And if the people are not fully aware of what is going on, then they will not put pressure on the people in power to act. And without pressure from the people, our leaders can get away with basically not doing anything, which is where we are now.

Well, I'm telling you, there is hope. I have seen it but it does not come from the governments or corporations. It comes from the people. The people who have been unaware but are now starting to wake up. And once we become aware, we change. People can change. People are ready for change.

[From *Express*, 13 December 2019]

SOURCE 3C

The source below is an extract from the national statement made by the Indian Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, at the COP26 Summit in Glasgow on 2 November 2021. It highlights how India was committed to honouring climate change programmes.

When I first came to Paris for the Climate Summit, it was not my intention to add one promise to the many promises already being made in the world. I came with a concern for humanity. I came as a representative of a culture that gave the message of 'Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah', which means 'Happiness for All'. And so, for me the event in Paris was not a summit, it was a sentiment and a commitment. And India was not making those promises to the world, but crores (ten million) Indians were making those promises to themselves.

And I am happy that a developing country like India, which is working to lift crores of people out of poverty, and which is working day and night on the ease of living for crores of people, today, despite being 17% of the world's population, whose responsibility has been only 5 per cent in emissions, it has left no stone unturned to show that it has fulfilled its obligation.

Today the whole world believes that India is the only big economy which has delivered in letter and spirit on the Paris Commitment. We are making every effort with determination; and we are working hard and showing results. Today India is moving forward on the subject of climate with great courage and great ambition. India also understands the suffering of all other developing countries, shares them, and will continue to express their expectations.

For many developing countries, climate change is looming (threatening) large over their existence. We have to take big steps today to save the world. This is the need of the hour and this will also prove the relevance of this forum. I am confident that the decisions taken in Glasgow will save the future of our future generations, giving them the gift of a secure and prosperous life.

[From *Ministry of External Affairs, Media Centre*, 2 November 2021]

SOURCE 3D

This photograph by C Kampfner for *The Times* newspaper was taken outside the COP26 Summit held at Glasgow, Scotland, on 12 November 2012. It portrays a protest by Brazilians against their political leaders (Joaquim Leite, Minister of Environment, and Bolsonaro, Brazilian President) for not doing enough in protecting the Brazilian forests.



[From *The Times*, 12 November 2021]

AMAZON OR BOLSONARO

CAATINGA FOR SALE $1.89

JOAQUIM LEITE
MINISTRO DO NENHUM AMBIENTE

***AMAZON – Brazilian Rain Forest**
***CAATINGA – Brazilian Forest**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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