GUIDED READING

The Challenge of Democracy in Africa

Section 2

A. Analyzing Causes and Recognizing Effects  As you read about Nigeria and South Africa, note the consequences of each of the policies or actions listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policies/Actions</th>
<th>Consequences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. In drawing up colonial boundaries in Africa, the colonial powers ignored ethnic and cultural divisions.</td>
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<td>2. The colonial powers developed plantations and mines but few factories in Africa.</td>
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<td>3. Civil war breaks out in ethnically divided Nigeria.</td>
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<td>4. The military overthrows Nigeria’s civilian government.</td>
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<td>5. The National Party gains power in South Africa.</td>
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<td>6. Riots break out in the black township of Soweto.</td>
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<td>7. South Africans elect F. W. de Klerk president.</td>
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<td>8. President de Klerk agrees to hold universal elections.</td>
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B. Summarizing  On the back of this paper, define the following terms:

   federal system  martial law  dissident  apartheid

Struggles for Democracy 51
Primary Source

*from Kaffir Boy* by Mark Mathabane

Mark Mathabane grew up in Alexandra, a crowded black township about 10 miles north of Johannesburg, South Africa. His family suffered from desperate poverty and discrimination imposed upon them by South Africa’s policy of racial apartheid. Although Mathabane eventually overcame these obstacles and won a scholarship to an American university, his autobiography *Kaffir Boy* provides a vivid description of what it was like to grow up as a black African under apartheid. As you read this excerpt, think about how Mathabane’s grandmother explains the laws of apartheid to her 11-year-old grandson.

Section 2

There’s something you ought to know about how things are in this country, something your Mama I see has not told you yet. Black and white people live apart—very much apart—that you already know. What you may not know is that they’ve always been apart, and will always be apart—that’s what apartheid means. White people want it that way, and they’ve created all sorts of laws and have the guns to keep it that way.”

“We live in our world,” she continued, after taking a pinch of snuff and loading it under her tongue, “and white people live in their world. We’re their servants, they’re our masters. Our people fought hard to change things, but each time the white man always won. He has all the guns. Maybe another generation of black people will come which will defeat the white man, despite his many guns. But for now, he says how things should be, and we have to obey. Do you see those two things over there?” Granny pointed across the street.

“Yes, Granny, they’re phone boxes.”

“That’s right,” she affirmed. “But they are not just phone boxes. One is a black phone box, the other a white phone box. Don’t forget that. And for as long as I’ve been working for white people, and God knows I’ve been working for them for centuries, I’ve never seen a black person in his right mind go into the wrong one. It might be a matter of life and death, and still he wouldn’t. Even blind people know which is which.”

“Which one is for black people, Granny?” I asked, somewhat confused, for the two phone booths were exactly the same in all respects—colour, size and shape.

“I don’t know which is which,” Granny groped for words, “but there’s always a sign on each door, to tell which race is allowed to use which phone.”

As she said this, it struck me that she could not read, like millions of other blacks who worked for whites. How did they function normally in a world totally ruled by signs?

Thus my consciousness was awakened to the pervasiveness of “petty apartheid,” and everywhere I went in the white world, I was met by visible and invisible guards of racial segregation. Overtly, the guards—larger-than-life signs that read, European Only, Non-European Only, Whites Only, Non-Whites Only, Slegs Blankes, Slegs Nie-Blankes—greeted me, and led me as a blind man would be led to the door I should enter through, the elevator I should ride in, the water fountain I should drink from, the park bench I should sit on, the bus I should ride in . . .

The invisible guards, however, did not greet me as conspicuously to orient me about my place in life. Instead, remarks such as “You’re in the wrong place, Kaffir,” “We don’t serve your colour here, Kaffir,” “Who do you think you are, Kaffir?” “Are you mad, Kaffir?” told me it was still the guards of Jim Crow talking.

Because the guards of segregation were everywhere in the white world, and I saw black people who unwittingly disobeyed them cursed, beaten or thrown in jail, I became increasingly self-conscious with each step I took.

Discussion Questions

**Determining Main Ideas**

1. According to Granny, why did apartheid exist?
2. What were some of the guards of racial segregation that Mathabane encountered?
3. **Making Inferences** In his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, Archbishop Desmond Tutu explained that, “There is no peace in southern Africa. There is no peace because there is no justice.” How does Granny’s explanation of how things were in South Africa illustrate Tutu’s statement?
Today, all of us do, by our presence here, and by our celebrations in other parts of our country and the world, confer glory and hope to newborn liberty. Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud. Our daily deeds as ordinary South Africans must produce an actual South African reality that will reinforce humanity’s belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in the nobility of the human soul and sustain all our hopes for a glorious life for all.

That spiritual and physical oneness we all share with this common homeland explains the depth of the pain we all carried in our hearts as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict, and as we saw it spurned, outlawed and isolated by the peoples of the world, precisely because it has become the universal base of the pernicious ideology and practice of racism and racial oppression.

The time for the healing of the wounds has come.

The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come.

The time to build is upon us.

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination.

We succeeded to take our last steps to freedom in conditions of relative peace. We commit ourselves to the construction of a complete, just and lasting peace.

We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines in this country and the rest of the world, who sacrificed in many ways and surrendered their lives so that we could be free. Their dreams have become reality. Freedom is their reward.

We are both humbled and elevated by the honor and privilege that you, the people of South Africa, have bestowed on us, as the first President of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, to lead our country out of the valley of darkness.

We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom. We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success. We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world.

Let there be justice for all.
Let there be peace for all.
Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all.
Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfill themselves.

Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.

Let freedom reign.

The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement!

God bless Africa!


**Discussion Questions**

**Determining Main Ideas**

1. How did Mandela refer to South Africa’s system of apartheid in this speech?
2. Why had South Africa been “spurned, outlawed, and isolated” by other nations?

**Making Inferences** Some critics of Mandela predicted that as president he would replace white oppression with black oppression. How did Mandela answer these critics in this speech?
Nelson Mandela lived an improbable life. Born in a tribal culture, he became educated in Western ways. A leader of his people, he spent nearly 30 years in jail. Four years later, he was elected president of South Africa.

Mandela's father was a wealthy and influential chief of the Thembu people. Born in 1918, Mandela was still a young boy when his father defied a British judge. Believing that English law had no power in tribal affairs, he refused the court's summons. The judge then stripped Mandela's father of his title, his herd of cattle, and, as a result, his wealth. Young Mandela was taken by his mother to another village, where she raised him with the support of relatives.

Mandela received his law degree in 1942. He then joined the African National Congress (ANC). It had been founded in 1912 to fight for blacks' rights in South Africa. The ANC used the principles of nonviolent protest developed by Mohandas Gandhi in India. Within the ANC, Mandela and other younger members formed the African Youth League. They wanted to take more aggressive actions toward winning their rights.

After World War II, the white minority leaders in South Africa refused to grant any rights to blacks. Instead, the government enacted a system of apartheid, the policy of racial separation and discrimination. The Youth League began a long struggle in protest. In 1952, Mandela took a leadership post in the ANC. He masterminded a series of demonstrations in which volunteers deliberately broke apartheid laws. This work won him a government ban on further activity.

Mandela did not appear at a public protest until 1955. It was then that he spoke at a meeting that joined the ANC and other protest parties in a common cause. The groups adopted a program of reforms known as the Freedom Charter. It called for a nation without racial divisions and a more balanced distribution of wealth. He and several other leaders were quickly arrested, but their trial lasted from 1956 to 1961. All were finally released, as the government lacked enough evidence to convict them of a crime.

In the later years of the case, events took a bloody turn. A massive protest in Sharpeville ended in a massacre that left 69 blacks dead. The white leaders cracked down on all anti-government groups and arrested many people. Mandela was held for a while and then released. He lived as a fugitive while he formed a military unit within the ANC called Spear of the Nation. Its goal was to attack places that had symbolic or economic value but not to harm people. He was captured in 1962. The next year he was convicted of working to overthrow the government and sentenced to life in prison.

Mandela spent nearly 30 years in jail. His release became an international cause. In 1984, the South African government offered him his freedom if he would agree to live in one of the “homelands,” the living areas that had been set up for blacks. Mandela refused.

Other countries put increasing economic pressure on South Africa. Finally, in 1990 President F. W. de Klerk released Mandela from prison and legalized the ANC. The legislature passed laws that ended apartheid. In 1994, in the first elections to include voters from all races, Mandela won the presidency of South Africa.

Mandela's victory was bittersweet. He separated from and later divorced his wife, Winnie. In 1997, he suffered the embarrassment of her facing charges that she murdered other black Africans.

Questions
1. **Forming and Supporting Opinions** What do you think of Mandela's idea that it is necessary to free both the oppressor and the oppressed?
2. **Making Inferences** Did Mandela ever abandon the reliance on nonviolent protest? Explain.
3. **Making Predictions** Based on what you have read about independence in Africa, what challenges do you think face Mandela?
The Challenge of Democracy in Africa

Clarifying  Write T in the blank if the statement is true. If the statement is false, write F in the blank and then write the corrected statement on the line below it.

____ 1. The main reason African countries had difficulty establishing democracies was because of poverty.

____ 2. European powers had supported the planting of cash crops rather than a wide variety of products to fill local needs.

____ 3. In 1967, the Eastern Region of Nigeria seceded from the country and formed the new nation of Biafra.


____ 5. South Africa’s system of complete separation of the races was known as segregation.

____ 6. In 1912, black South Africans formed the African National Congress to fight for their rights.

____ 7. Thabo Mbeki, South Africa’s president elected in 1989, legalized the ANC and released Nelson Mandela from prison.

____ 8. One of the biggest problems South Africa faces today is AIDS.