

Let's Focus: "The Symbol of Freedom"**Content Focus**

Nelson Mandela's struggle for justice in South Africa

Type of Text

informational

Author's Name _____**Author's Purpose** _____**Big Ideas**

Consider the following Big Idea questions. Write your answer for each question.

What causes stereotypes and prejudices?

What inspires people to take action?

Informational Preview Checklist: "The Symbol of Freedom" on pages 233–236.

- Title: What clue does it provide about the passage?
- Pictures: What additional information is added here?
- Headings: What will you learn about in each section?
- Features: What other text features do you notice?

Enduring Understandings

After reading the text . . .

Key Passage Vocabulary: “The Symbol of Freedom”

Read each word. Write the word in column 3. Then, circle a number to rate your knowledge of the word.

Vocabulary	Part of Speech	Write the Word	Knowledge Rating
discrimination	(n)		0 1 2 3
resources	(n)		0 1 2 3
invent	(v)		0 1 2 3
access	(v)		0 1 2 3
impose	(v)		0 1 2 3
govern	(v)		0 1 2 3
impact	(v)		0 1 2 3
passive	(adj)		0 1 2 3
harmony	(n)		0 1 2 3
transform	(v)		0 1 2 3

The Symbol of Freedom

Nelson Mandela's lifelong fight for the cause of freedom in South Africa is a tale of inspiration and determination; it is a tale of struggle. During his 27 years in prison, he became a powerful symbol of resistance to the racial **discrimination** that has plagued South Africa, and he emerged as the first Black president of South Africa in 1994. **1**

South Africa's landscape and environment have been described as the most enticing in the world. South Africa has a mild climate, similar to that of the San Francisco Bay. The land is fertile with plentiful mineral **resources**. In fact, South African mines are world leaders in the production of diamonds, gold, and platinum. These qualities combined to make South Africa attractive to European powers in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries.

South Africa had much to offer European powers looking for natural resources and economic gain. The land was colonized by the Dutch in the 1600s. During the following century, England became interested in the land and eventually defeated the Dutch. South Africa remained a colony of England until 1961. **2**

discrimination

the act of treating some people worse than others for unfair reasons

resources

things that can be sold to create wealth

1 Nelson Mandela was South Africa's first what?

2 Who ruled South Africa until 1961?



invent

to make up or think of

access

to find a way into; to gain entry to

impose

to force upon; to burden with

3 What were apartheid laws designed to do?

4 What happened to people who protested apartheid laws?

Apartheid

The political parties in control of the country consisted primarily of white men of European ancestry. These groups **invented** apartheid as a means to control the economy and the people. *Apartheid* is a Dutch word that means “separateness.” Apartheid laws were aimed to keep the white, European minority in power. The laws discriminated against the Black people of African ancestry, who made up more than 70 percent of the nation’s population, as well as people of mixed race and Asian descent. 3

These laws touched every aspect of social life. Nonwhites could not go to white schools or hospitals or visit white beaches. They

could not vote and were segregated from many jobs. To **access** designated white areas, all Black Africans were required to carry “pass books” containing fingerprints, a photo, and personal information. Black Africans were forced to live in specific areas on the outskirts of South African cities and needed passports to enter the rest of the country. They were treated as visiting foreigners in their own country.

The penalties **imposed** on those who protested against the discrimination were severe. Thousands of individuals were tortured and killed. Those who were tried in court were typically sentenced to death, exile, or life in prison—like Nelson Mandela. 4

Apartheid and the People of South Africa		
	Blacks	Whites
Population	19 million	4.5 million
Land allocation	13%	87%
Annual expenditures on education per pupil	\$45	\$696
Teacher/pupil ratio	1/60	1/22

Disproportionate Treatment circa 1978. Source: Moraine Park Technical College



Mandela burning his pass book



Apartheid sign in English and Afrikaans; South African pass book

A Means to an End

When Mandela was 12 years old, his father died of lung disease, causing his life to abruptly change. He was adopted by a tribal chief. He lived in a palace and learned African history from elder chiefs who visited. He learned how the African people had lived in relative peace until the coming of the Europeans. According to the elders, the people of South Africa had lived as brothers, but the white man shattered this fellowship. While the Black man shared his land, air, and water with the white man, the white man took all of these things for himself.

At age 16, Mandela heard a tribal leader speak with great sadness about the future of young men in South Africa. The tribal leader explained that because the land was controlled by white men, the young Black men would struggle to earn a living and never have the power to **govern** themselves. This speech profoundly **impacted** Mandela and set the course for his life of activism.

After years of performing well at various schools, Mandela enrolled in law school, where he met people of all races and backgrounds. He was exposed to liberal and Africanist thought

in addition to racism and discrimination. This experience served to further fuel his passion for politics. In 1944, he joined the African National Congress to become a voice for those who didn't have one. **5**

Mandela Challenges the Apartheid Government

As more and more laws were passed to limit the progress of Black South Africans, the ANC staged a campaign against apartheid laws that was structured around the theory of **passive** resistance. Mandela opened a law practice and campaigned against apartheid. Soon after, Mandela was charged with high treason, but the charges were eventually dropped. Mandela continued his important mission. The resistance to apartheid grew stronger, as did the commitment by the government to maintain white rule.

Tension with the government continued to grow. It peaked in 1960 when 69 Black people were shot dead by police. The government declared a state of emergency and banned the ANC. In response, the ANC abandoned its policy of non-violence, and Mandela helped lead the armed struggle for freedom. **6**

govern

to rule; to direct

impact

to have an effect on

passive

not taking action; letting something happen to you

5 What organization did Mandela join? What kind of organization was this?



Top: Entrance to the high-security prison at Robben Island, South Africa, now a national and World Heritage Site

Bottom: The inside of Mandela's prison cell as it was when he was imprisoned in 1964

6 What policy did the ANC abandon in 1960? Why?

harmony

friendly agreement;
the working
together of all parts

transform

to change into
something new

7 For what ideal was Mandela prepared to die? What was his actual sentence?

8 What landmark event took place in South Africa in 1994?

9 Mandela was the symbol of what?

Imprisonment

After playing a minor role in a workers' strike and illegally leaving the country in 1961, 155 Mandela began a five-year prison sentence. During that time, Mandela and other members of the ANC 160 were tried for plotting to overthrow the government by violence. Mandela defended himself during his trial with words about democracy, 165 freedom, and equality. "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in **harmony** and 170 with equal opportunities," he said. "It is an ideal for which I hope to live and to see realized. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am 175 prepared to die." The verdict was life in prison. 7

Apartheid Ends

Mandela's fight did not end. During his years in prison,

he became an international 180 symbol of resistance to apartheid. In 1990, the South African government responded to international pressure and released 185 Mandela. Talks of **transforming** the old-style government of South Africa to a new multiracial democracy began. In 1994, for the first 190 time in South Africa's history, all races voted in democratic elections, and Mandela was elected president. 8

Nelson Mandela struggled 195 to end apartheid in South Africa. He led the charge, became the face of resistance, and shared the hopes and dreams of many; he was the 200 symbol of freedom. Jailed for 27 years, he emerged to become the country's first Black president and play a leading role in the drive for 205 human rights across the world. 9



Action, Linking, or Helping Verbs

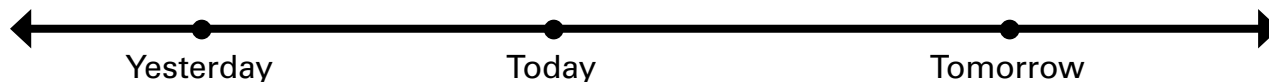
Read each sentence and underline the verb or verb phrase. Write the verbs in the proper column in the chart below.

1. He was the symbol of freedom.
2. All Black Africans were required to carry “pass books.”
3. He learned how the African people had lived in relative peace until the coming of the Europeans.
4. He was adopted by a tribal chief.
5. South Africa remained a colony of England until 1961.
6. This group invented apartheid as a means to control the economy and the people.
7. The verdict was life in prison.
8. Thousands of individuals were tortured and killed.
9. Mandela opened a law practice and campaigned against apartheid.
10. Nelson Mandela’s lifelong fight for the cause of freedom in South Africa is a tale of inspiration and determination.

Action Verb		Linking Verb	Helping Verb + Main Verb

Tense Timeline: Future and Future Progressive Tenses

Complete the sentences for the future and future progressive tense with the verb *speak*.



Past	Present	Future
		will + verb
I spoke.	I speak.	I will speak.
You spoke.	You speak.	You
She spoke.	She speaks.	She
We spoke.	We speak.	We
They spoke.	They speak.	They
Past Progressive	Present Progressive	Future Progressive
		will + be + -ing
I was speaking.	I am speaking.	I will be speaking.
You were speaking.	You are speaking.	You
She was speaking.	She is speaking.	She
We were speaking.	We are speaking.	We
They were speaking.	They are speaking.	They

Verb Tenses

Underline the verb in each sentence. Rewrite the sentence, changing the tense as indicated in the parentheses. Underline the verb in the new sentence.

Examples:

The government declared a state of emergency. (future)

The government will declare a state of emergency.

Mandela served a five-year prison sentence. (future progressive)

Mandela will be serving a five-year prison sentence.

1. These laws touched every aspect of social life. (future progressive)

2. Mandela enrolled in law school. (future)

3. The resistance to apartheid grew stronger. (future)

4. Mandela continued his important mission. (future progressive)

5. The South African government responded to international pressure and released Mandela. (future)

Conjunctions

Conjunctions join words, phrases, or clauses in a sentence. They also join sentences.

Coordinating Conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions are the most common type of conjunction. They connect words that have the same function. Common coordinating conjunctions are **and**, **but**, and **or**.

- The conjunction **and** relates two similar ideas.

Nelson closed his eyes to rest. His friends left.
Nelson closed his eyes to rest, **and** his friends left.

- The conjunction **but** signals contrasting ideas.

Nelson was arrested. His family was safe.
Nelson was arrested, **but** his family was safe.

- The conjunction **or** signals an alternative choice.

Mandela will give up the fight for equality.
The government will punish him for treason.
Mandela will give up the fight for equality, **or** the government will punish him for treason.

Coordinating Conjunctions

Circle the conjunction(s) in each sentence. Determine the meaning of the conjunction and place a check mark in the corresponding column.

	Similar Ideas	Contrasting Ideas	Alternative Choices
Ex: Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life in prison, <u>and</u> the fight for freedom was in danger.	✓		
1. Mandela could allow the government to end his campaign, or he could continue the fight, risking imprisonment.			
2. The government hoped to end the fight against apartheid, but the people continued the struggle against injustice.			
3. Nonwhites could not go to white schools or hospitals or visit white beaches.			
4. The ANC abandoned its policy of non-violence, and Mandela helped lead the armed struggle for freedom.			
5. The people of South Africa had lived as brothers, but the white man shattered this fellowship.			
6. The white people controlled the wealth, and the Black Africans lived in poverty.			
7. Mandela was charged with high treason, but the charges were dropped.			

Spotlight on Punctuation: Commas with Conjunctions

Circle the conjunction in each sentence. Add a comma where needed.

1. South Africa's landscape and environment have been described as the most enticing in the world.
2. Mandela opened a law practice and the people came to him for help.
3. Nonwhites could not go to white schools or visit white beaches.
4. Black Africans were allowed to visit other areas of South Africa but needed a passport.
5. The government imprisoned Mandela to end his campaigns but Mandela emerged more powerful than ever.
6. All races voted in democratic elections and Mandela was elected president.
7. Black Africans wanted equal rights but they were continually denied.
8. It is an ideal that I hope to live for and to see realized.
9. Black Africans were treated as foreigners and the government felt justified.
10. Black Africans could not vote and were segregated from many jobs.

Masterpiece Sentences Using Conjunctions

Use the following painter questions and information about Nelson Mandela to create sentences with a variety of structures and elements.

Who?	Did what?	How?	AND	Who?	Did what?	How?

Who?	Did what?	To what?	BUT	Who?	Did what?	To what?

Who?	Did what?	To what?	AND	Who?	Did what?	To what?

What?	Did what?	Where?	BUT	Who?	Did what?	To what?	How?

When?	Who?	Will do what?	To what?	OR	Who?	Will do what?	To what?

Comma or Semicolon

Read the compound sentences and decide if the sentence needs a comma or a semicolon. Fill in the blank with the proper punctuation mark.

Example:

The whites were treated as native South Africans ; the nonwhites were treated as foreigners.

1. The government punished protestors ____ the people protested anyway.
2. Whites were allowed to live anywhere ____ but nonwhites were forced to live on the outskirts of South African cities.
3. Mandela was charged with high treason ____ the charges were dropped.
4. Mandela was sentenced to life in prison ____ so his fight against apartheid came to an end.
5. The struggle continued in Mandela's absence ____ and eventually the laws were changed.
6. New laws were passed that dictated where Black Africans could live and work ____ so the resistance to apartheid grew stronger.
7. The government sought to limit Mandela's popularity ____ the people's love of him grew.
8. Mandela could see the injustice ____ but the government remained ignorant.
9. Mandela was jailed for 27 years ____ but the international fight against apartheid continued.
10. The government wished to keep the people apart ____ the people wished to unite.

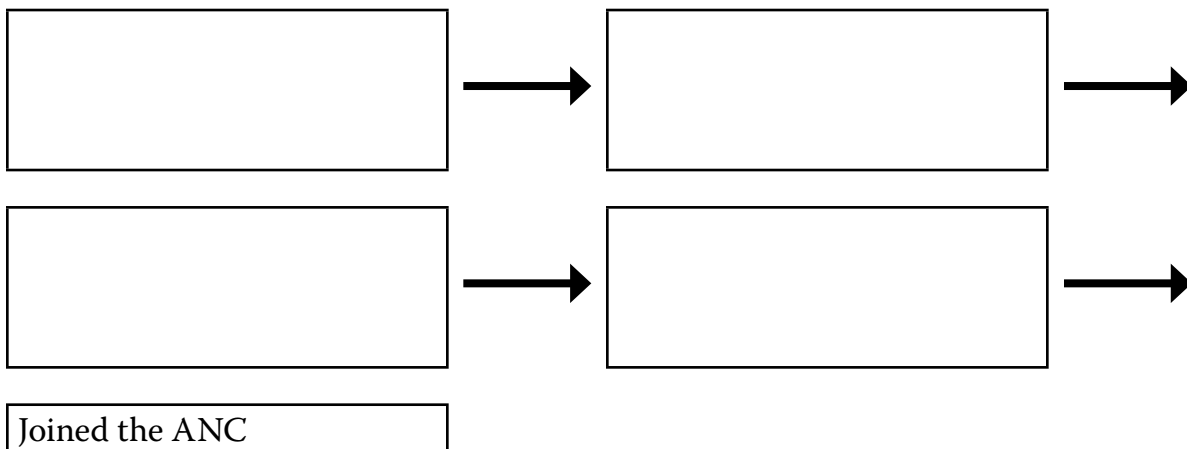
Passage Comprehension

Reread “The Symbol of Freedom.” Respond to each prompt using complete sentences. Refer to the chart on page 66 to determine how to respond to each prompt. Provide text evidence when requested.

1. Paraphrase the first paragraph.

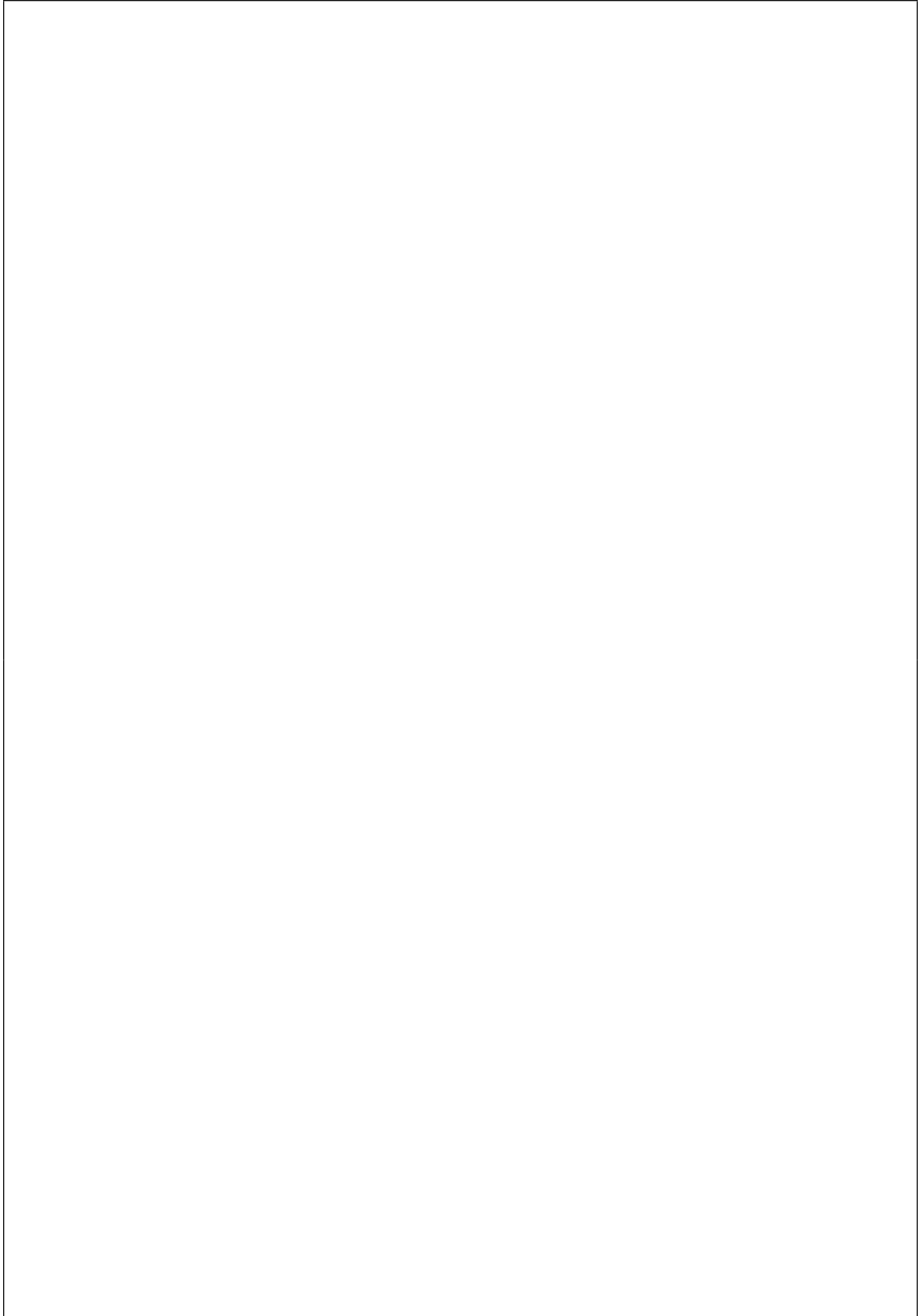
2. Delineate the events that led to apartheid in South Africa.

3. Delineate the events in Mandela’s youth that led him to join the African National Congress (ANC). Write the events in the boxes.



Passage Comprehension (cont.)

4. Create a poster persuading people to join the African National Congress (ANC).

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for students to create a poster. The box is currently blank.

Close Reading

Read the text.

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5 the first Black president of South Africa in 1994.

South Africa's landscape and environment have been described as the most enticing in the world. South Africa has a mild climate, similar to that of the San Francisco Bay. The land is fertile with plentiful mineral **resources**. In fact, South African mines are world leaders in the production of diamonds,
10 gold, and platinum. These qualities combined to make South Africa attractive to European powers in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries.

South Africa had much to offer European powers looking for natural resources and economic gain. The land was colonized by the Dutch in the 1600s. During the following century, England became interested in the
15 land and eventually defeated the Dutch. South Africa remained a colony of England until 1961.



Close Reading (cont.)**Apartheid**

The political parties in control of the country consisted primarily of white men of European ancestry. These groups **invented** apartheid as a means to control the economy and the people. *Apartheid* is a Dutch word that
20 means “separateness.” Apartheid laws were aimed to keep the white, European minority in power. The laws discriminated against the Black people of African ancestry, who made up more than 70 percent of the nation’s population, as well as people of mixed race and Asian descent.

These laws touched every aspect of social life. Nonwhites could not
25 go to white schools or hospitals or visit white beaches. They could not vote and were segregated from many jobs. To **access** designated white areas, all Black Africans were required to carry “pass books” containing fingerprints, a photo, and personal information. Black Africans were forced to live in specific areas on the outskirts of South African cities and
30 needed passports to enter the rest of the country. They were treated as visiting foreigners in their own country.

The penalties **imposed** on those who protested against the discrimination were severe. Thousands of individuals were tortured and killed. Those who were tried in court were typically sentenced to death, exile, or life in
35 prison—like Nelson Mandela.



Close Reading (cont.)**A Means to an End**

When Mandela was 12 years old, his father died of lung disease, causing his life to abruptly change. He was adopted by a tribal chief. He lived in a palace and learned African history from elder chiefs who visited. He learned how the African people had lived in relative peace until the coming
40 of the Europeans. According to the elders, the people of South Africa had lived as brothers, but the white man shattered this fellowship. While the Black man shared his land, air, and water with the white man, the white man took all of these things for himself.

At age 16, Mandela heard a tribal leader speak with great sadness about
45 the future of young men in South Africa. The tribal leader explained that because the land was controlled by white men, the young Black men would struggle to earn a living and never have the power to **govern** themselves. This speech profoundly **impacted** Mandela and set the course for his life of activism.

50 After years of performing well at various schools, Mandela enrolled in law school, where he met people of all races and backgrounds. He was exposed to liberal and Africanist thought in addition to racism and discrimination. This experience served to further fuel his passion for politics. In 1944, he joined the African National Congress to become a
55 voice for those who didn't have one.



Close Reading (*cont.*)

Mandela Challenges the Apartheid Government

As more and more laws were passed to limit the progress of Black South Africans, the ANC staged a campaign against apartheid laws that was structured around the theory of **passive** resistance. Mandela opened a law practice and campaigned against apartheid. Soon after, Mandela was
60 charged with high treason, but the charges were eventually dropped. Mandela continued his important mission. The resistance to apartheid grew stronger, as did the commitment by the government to maintain white rule.

Tension with the government continued to grow. It peaked in 1960 when
65 69 Black people were shot dead by police. The government declared a state of emergency and banned the ANC. In response, the ANC abandoned its policy of non-violence, and Mandela helped lead the armed struggle for freedom.



Close Reading (cont.)**Imprisonment**

70 After playing a minor role in a workers' strike and illegally leaving the country in 1961, Mandela began a five-year prison sentence. During that time, Mandela and other members of the ANC were tried for plotting to overthrow the government by violence. Mandela defended himself during his trial with words about democracy, freedom, and equality. "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons
75 live together in **harmony** and with equal opportunities," he said. "It is an ideal for which I hope to live and to see realized. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." The verdict was life in prison.

Apartheid Ends

Mandela's fight did not end. During his years in prison, he became an international symbol of resistance to apartheid. In 1990, the South African
80 government responded to international pressure and released Mandela. Talks of **transforming** the old-style government of South Africa to a new multiracial democracy began. In 1994, for the first time in South Africa's history, all races voted in democratic elections, and Mandela was elected president.

85 Nelson Mandela struggled to end apartheid in South Africa. He led the charge, became the face of resistance, and shared the hopes and dreams of many; he was the symbol of freedom. Jailed for 27 years, he emerged to become the country's first Black president and play a leading role in the drive for human rights across the world.



Let's Focus: "I Am Prepared to Die"

Content Focus

Nelson Mandela's trial statement

Type of Text

informational—speech

Author's Name _____

Author's Purpose _____

Big Ideas

Consider the following Big Idea questions. Write your answer for each question.

What is worth dying for? Do you think you could ever let it happen?

When, and for what reasons, is violence justified?

Speech Preview: "I Am Prepared to Die" on pages 257–268.

- Title: What clue does it provide about the passage?
- Pictures: What additional information is added here?
- Epigraph: What do you know from reading this?

Predict what tone of voice Mandela will use in his speech.

Enduring Understandings

After reading the text . . .

Public Speaking

When speakers are trying to persuade an audience to take action or agree with certain ideas, they use strategies. One of the strategies is fallacy, which has many different varieties.

Strategies	Explanation
Change in tone	variance in speaking voice for effect (from forceful to soft; from compassionate to irate)
Declaration of purpose	statement of the central idea (can be directly stated or led to indirectly)
Proof	evidence, facts, and figures
Connections	stories and examples that the audience will connect with
Counterclaims	evidence, stories, or proof to debunk the opposing side
Word craft	figurative language; repeated words or phrases to make an impression or a point; aphorisms (memorable phrases)
Fallacy	errors in logic

Fallacy	Explanation
Exaggeration	overstating; making an action or idea of the opponent's seem bigger than it really is
Stereotype	treating a whole group or category of people as if they all act, think, or look the same
Overgeneralization	claims about all the members of a group or category; claims that use <i>all</i> , <i>none</i> , or <i>never</i>
Irrelevant facts	distracting facts that are "beside the point" but may sway audience's thinking
Loaded terms	words that bring up strong feelings, memories, or associations
Caricature	oversimplifying the opponent or his or her ideas
Leading questions	questions that force an audience to think a certain way or imply that they already think that way
False assumptions	taking something for granted that isn't true; acting as if the audience believes something they might not
Incorrect premises	beginning from a starting point that isn't true or correct
Ad hominem	an attack on the arguer, not the argument

Key Passage Vocabulary: "I Am Prepared to Die"

Read each word. Write the word in column 3. Then, circle a number to rate your knowledge of the word.

Vocabulary	Part of Speech	Write the Word	Knowledge Rating
contribution	(n)		0 1 2 3
exploitation	(n)		0 1 2 3
defy	(v)		0 1 2 3
suspend	(v)		0 1 2 3
policy	(n)		0 1 2 3
massive	(adj)		0 1 2 3
prospect	(n)		0 1 2 3
legacy	(n)		0 1 2 3
hamper	(v)		0 1 2 3
irrelevant	(adj)		0 1 2 3



Mandela supporters await the verdict at the Rivonia Trial.



Mandela

I Am Prepared to Die

An abridged version of Nelson Mandela's speech "I Am Prepared to Die," April 20, 1964, from the opening of the Rivonia Trial

5 I am the first accused. I am a convicted prisoner serving five years for leaving the country without a permit and for inciting people to go on strike at the end of May 1961.

10 At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners or communists is wholly incorrect. I have done whatever I did because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly felt African background.

contribution

something given in support of an effort or cause

exploitation

the act of using someone for your own selfish gain

defy

to boldly resist; to challenge

1 What does Mandela admit he helped to plan? What reasons does he give for this?

15 In my youth, I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of wars fought by our ancestors in defense of the fatherland. I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble **contribution** to their freedom struggle.

20 Some of the things so far told to the court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I love violence. I planned it as a result of a calm assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of
25 tyranny, **exploitation**, and oppression of my people by the whites.

I admit that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto we Sizwe. I deny that Umkhonto
30 was responsible for a number of acts which have been charged in the indictment against us. We felt that without sabotage there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against white supremacy. All lawful modes of
35 expressing opposition had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept permanent inferiority or to **defy** the government. We chose to defy the government. 1

40 We first broke the law in a way which avoided violence; when this form was legislated against, and the government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence. But the violence we chose was not terrorism. We who formed Umkhonto were
45 all members of the African National Congress and had behind us the ANC tradition of non-violence.

The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people, which had been seriously curtailed. For 37 years—that is,
50 until 1949—it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle. It put forward demands and resolutions;

it sent delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion. But white governments
 55 remained unmoved, and the rights of Africans became less instead of becoming greater.

**suspend**

to put off or do away with

policy

a rule; a way of doing things

The founding members of the ANC, originally known as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC)

Even after 1949, the ANC remained determined to avoid violence. At this time, however, a decision was taken to protest against apartheid by peaceful, but
 60 unlawful, demonstrations. More than 8,500 people went to jail. Yet there was not a single instance of violence. I and nineteen colleagues were convicted, but our sentences were **suspended** mainly because the judge found that discipline and non-violence
 65 had been stressed throughout. ²

During the defiance campaign, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act were passed. These provided harsher penalties for offenses against the laws. Despite this, the protests
 70 continued and the ANC adhered to its **policy** of non-violence.

In 1956, 156 leading members of the Congress Alliance, including myself, were arrested. When the court gave judgment some five years later, it found
 75 that the ANC did not have a policy of violence. We were acquitted.

² The ANC was determined not to use what?

massive

huge; on a very large scale

3 What did the government declare the ANC to be? How did the ANC respond?

4 What was the government's answer to the stay-at-home strike organized by Mandela?

In 1960, there was the shooting at Sharpeville, which resulted in the declaration of the ANC as unlawful.* My colleagues and I, after careful
80 consideration, decided that we would not obey this decree. The African people were not part of the government and did not make the laws by which they were governed. We believed the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that “the
85 will of the people shall be the basis of authority of the government.” The ANC refused to dissolve but instead went underground. 3

The government held a referendum which led to the establishment of the republic. Africans,
90 who constituted approximately 70 percent of the population, were not entitled to vote. I undertook to be responsible for organizing the national stay-at-home called to coincide with the declaration of the republic. The stay-at-home was to be a peaceful
95 demonstration. Careful instructions were given to avoid any recourse to violence.

The government's answer was to introduce new and harsher laws, to mobilize its armed forces, and to send armed vehicles into the townships in a
100 **massive** show of force. The government had decided to rule by force alone, and this decision was a milestone on the road to Umkhonto. 4

What were we, the leaders of our people, to do? We had to continue the fight. Anything else would have
105 been surrender. Our problem was not whether to fight, but was how to continue the fight.

By this time, violence had become a feature of the South African political scene. There had been violence in 1957 when the women of Zeerust
110 were ordered to carry passes; there was violence in 1958 with the enforcement of cattle culling in Sekhukhuneland; there was violence in 1959 when the people of Cato Manor protested against pass raids; there was violence in 1960 when the
115 government attempted to impose Bantu authorities in Pondoland. Each disturbance pointed to the growth among Africans of the belief that violence

*Between 5,000 and 7,000 protestors went to the police station in Sharpeville to peacefully demonstrate against the Pass laws. The police opened fire on the protestors, killing 69 people.



Protesters run for safety after police open fire in the Sharpeville Massacre.

was the only way out. A government which uses force to maintain its rule teaches the oppressed to use force to oppose it. **120**

I came to the conclusion that as violence was inevitable, it would be unrealistic to continue preaching peace and non-violence. This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of struggle. I can only say that I felt morally obliged to do what I did. **5** **125**

Four forms of violence are possible. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, there is terrorism, and there is open revolution. We chose to adopt the first. Sabotage did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations. **130**

5 Why did Mandela stop preaching peace and non-violence?

prospect

a possibility that something will happen soon

6 Why did the ANC decide that sabotage was the form of violence they should use?

7 What seemed inevitable, or likely to happen? How did Mandela's group prepare for this?

The initial plan was based on a careful analysis of the political and economic situation of our country. We believed that South Africa depended to a large extent on foreign capital. We felt that planned destruction of power plants, and interference with rail and telephone communications, would scare away capital from the country, thus compelling the voters of the country to reconsider their position. The selection of targets is proof of this policy. Had we intended to attack life, we would have selected targets where people congregated and not empty buildings and power stations.

The whites failed to respond by suggesting change; they responded to our call by suggesting the laager. In contrast, the response of the Africans was one of encouragement. Suddenly, there was hope again. People began to speculate on how soon freedom would be obtained.

But we in Umkhonto weighed the white response with anxiety. The lines were being drawn. The whites and blacks were moving into separate camps, and the **prospects** of avoiding a civil war were made less. The white newspapers carried reports that sabotage would be punished by death.

We felt it our duty to make preparations to use force in order to defend ourselves against force. We decided, therefore, to make provision for the possibility of guerrilla warfare. All whites undergo compulsory military training, but no such training was given to Africans. It was in our view essential to build up a nucleus of trained men who would be able to provide the leadership if guerrilla warfare started.

At this stage, the ANC decided that I should attend the Conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement, which was to be held in 1962. After the conference, I would take a tour of the African states with a view to whether facilities were available for the training of soldiers. My tour was successful.

175 Wherever I went, I met sympathy for our cause and promises of help. All Africa was united against the stand of white South Africa.

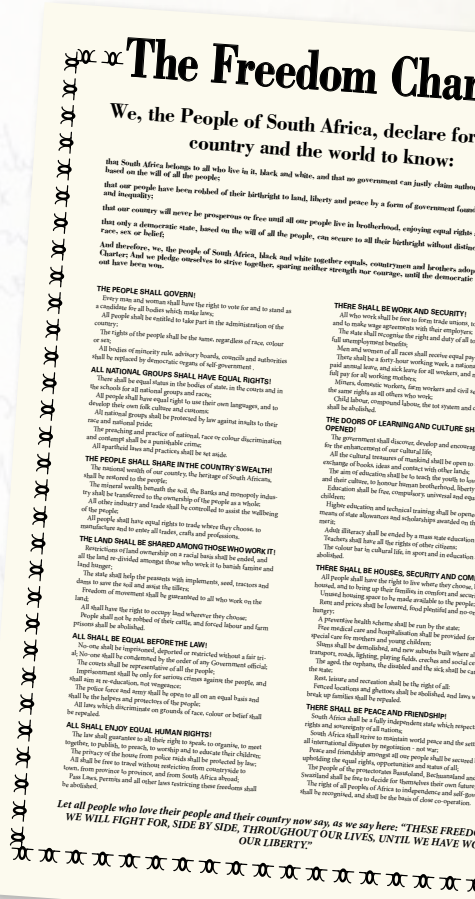
I started to make a study of the art of war and revolution and, while abroad, underwent a course in military training. If there was to be guerrilla warfare, I wanted to be able to fight with my people. On my 180 return, I found that there had been little alteration in the political scene save that the threat of a death penalty for sabotage had now become a fact. 8

185 Another of the allegations made by the state is that the aims and objects of the ANC and the Communist Party are the same. The allegation is false. The creed of the ANC is, and always has been, the creed of freedom and fulfillment for the African people in their own land. The most 190 important document ever adopted by the ANC is the Freedom Charter. It is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state. It calls for redistribution, but not nationalization, of land; it provides for nationalization of mines, banks, and monopoly industry because big monopolies are owned by 195 one race only, and without such nationalization, racial domination would be perpetuated. Under the Freedom Charter, nationalization would take place in an economy based on private enterprise. The realization of the Freedom Charter would open up 200 fresh fields for a prosperous African population.

As far as the Communist Party is concerned, and if I understand its policy correctly, it stands for the establishment of a state based on the principles of Marxism. The Communist Party's main aim was to 205 remove the capitalists and to replace them with a working-class government. The Communist Party sought to emphasize class distinctions, while the ANC seeks to harmonize them. This is a vital distinction. 9

8 What did Mandela learn during his tour of the African states? What did he learn on his return home?

9 How is the ANC different from the Communist Party? (Remember, *harmony* means "all parts working together".)



The ANC Freedom Charter of 1955 laid the groundwork for change.

legacy

something passed down from earlier people or times

210 It is true that there has often been close cooperation between the ANC and the Communist Party. But cooperation is merely proof of a common goal—in this case, the removal of white supremacy—and is not proof of a complete community of interests.

215 The history of the world is full of similar examples. Perhaps the most striking is the cooperation between Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union in the fight against Hitler. Nobody but Hitler would have dared to suggest that such cooperation

220 turned Churchill or Roosevelt into communists.

What is more, for many decades communists were the only political group in South Africa prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us, talk with us, and

225 work with us. They were the only group prepared to work with the Africans for the attainment of political rights. 10

Because of this, many Africans today tend to equate freedom with communism. They are supported

230 in this belief by a legislature which brands all exponents of democratic government and African freedom as communists and banned many of them under the Suppression of Communism Act. Although I have never been a member of the

235 Communist Party, I myself have been convicted under that act.

I have always regarded myself, in the first place, as an African patriot. Today, I am attracted by the idea of a classless society, an attraction which springs

240 in part from my admiration of the structure of early African societies. The land belonged to the tribe. There were no rich or poor, and there was no exploitation.

I and many leaders of the new independent states

245 accept the need for some form of socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of this world and to overcome their **legacy** of extreme poverty. But this does not mean we are Marxists. 11

10 Why did the ANC choose to work with the Communist Party? Give two reasons.

11 Why do Mandela and his colleagues think some form of socialism—redistribution of wealth—is needed?

- 250 Our fight is against real and not imaginary hardships or, to use the language of the state prosecutor, “so-called hardships.” Basically, we fight against two features of African life in South Africa: poverty and lack of human dignity. We do not need
- 255 communists to teach us about these things.

hamper

to make it hard for someone to do something

- South Africa is the richest country in Africa. But it is a land of remarkable contrasts. The whites enjoy the highest standard of living, while Africans live in poverty and misery. The complaint of Africans,
- 260 however, is not only that they are poor and the whites are rich, but that the laws are designed to preserve this situation. ¹²

¹² What is the main complaint of Black Africans?

- There are two ways to break out of poverty. The first is by formal education, and the second is by the
- 265 worker acquiring a greater skill at his work and thus higher wages. As far as Africans are concerned, both these avenues of advancement are deliberately curtailed by legislation.

“There are two ways to break out of poverty. The first is by formal education, and the second is by the worker acquiring a greater skill at his work and thus higher wages.”

- The government has always sought to **hamper**
- 270 Africans in their search for education. There is compulsory education for all white children at virtually no cost to their parents. But approximately 40 percent of African children between seven and fourteen do not attend school. For those who do, the
- 275 standards are vastly different from those afforded to white children.

- The other main obstacle to the advancement of the African is the industrial color bar under which all the better jobs of industry are reserved for whites.
- 280 Moreover, Africans in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations are not allowed to form trade unions. This means that they are denied the right of collective bargaining permitted to white workers. ¹³

¹³ How does the South African government hamper Black South Africans' opportunities for advancement?

irrelevant

unrelated; beside the point

The government answers its critics by saying
 285 that Africans in South Africa are better off than
 inhabitants of other countries in Africa. Even if this
 statement is true, it is **irrelevant**. Our complaint is
 not that we are poor by comparison with people in
 other countries, but that we are poor by comparison
 290 with the white people in our own country, and that
 we are prevented by legislation from altering this
 imbalance.

The lack of human dignity experienced by Africans
 is the direct result of the policy of white supremacy.
 295 White supremacy implies black inferiority.
 Legislation designed to preserve white supremacy
 entrenches this notion. Menial tasks in South
 Africa are invariably performed by Africans. When
 anything has to be carried or cleaned, the white
 300 man will look around for an African to do it for him.
 Because of this sort of attitude, whites tend to regard
 Africans as a separate breed. They do not look upon
 them as people with families of their own; they do
 not realize that we fall in love, that we want to be
 305 with our wives and children, that we want to earn
 enough money to support our families properly. 14

14 How do whites
 view Black
 Africans? Why?

Poverty and the breakdown of family have
 secondary effects. Children wander the streets
 because they have no schools to go to, or no
 310 parents at home to see that they go, because both
 parents, if there be two, have to work to keep the
 family alive. This leads to a breakdown in moral
 standards, to an alarming rise in illegitimacy, and
 to violence. Not a day goes by without somebody
 315 being stabbed or assaulted. And violence is carried
 out of the townships into the white living areas.
 People are afraid to walk the streets after dark.
 Housebreakings and robberies are increasing,
 despite the fact that the death sentence can now be
 320 imposed for such offences. Death sentences cannot
 cure the festering sore. 15

15 What are some
 secondary
 effects of
 poverty?

The only cure is to alter the conditions under which
 Africans are forced to live. Africans want to be paid
 a living wage. Africans want to perform work which
 325 they are capable of doing. We want to be allowed

to own land. We want to be part of the general population and not confined to ghettos. We want to be allowed out after eleven o'clock at night and not to be confined to our rooms like children. We
 330 want to be allowed to travel in our own country. We want security and a stake in society.

Above all, we want equal political rights because without them, our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in
 335 this country because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the white man fear democracy.



Nelson Mandela addresses the All in Africa Conference in Pietermaritzburg, 1961.

But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true
 340 that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on color, is entirely artificial. When it disappears, so will the domination of one color group by another. The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism.
 345 When it triumphs, it will not change that policy. 16

16 What do Black South Africans want, above all? Why do white South Africans fear this?

Our struggle is a national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by our own suffering and our own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live. During my lifetime, I have dedicated myself to this struggle. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities.

17 For what is Nelson Mandela prepared to die?

355 It is an ideal for which I hope to live and to see realized. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. 17

“Your long walk to freedom has ended in a physical sense. Our own journey continues. We have to continue working to build the kind of society you worked tirelessly to construct.”

Jacob Zuma, South African President at Mandela’s funeral

Madiba (Nelson Mandela’s clan name) died at his home in Johannesburg on December 5, 2013. Representatives from all over the world gathered to celebrate his life and legacy.



Passage Comprehension (cont.)

- The ANC ultimately decided to use violence. Evaluate the reasons and evidence Mandela gives for this decision. Does he support them with evidence—facts and details from real life? Are his reasons and evidence sound?

Reason for Decision	Evidence to Support Claims	Sound?

- Distinguish between sabotage and the other three types of violence Mandela names.

Close Reading

Read the text.

I Am Prepared to Die

An abridged version of Nelson Mandela's speech "I Am Prepared to Die," April 20, 1964, from the opening of the Rivonia Trial

I am the first accused. I am a convicted prisoner serving five years for leaving the country without a permit and for inciting people to go on strike
5 at the end of May 1961.

At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners or communists is wholly incorrect. I have done whatever I did because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly felt African background.

10 In my youth, I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of wars fought by our ancestors in defense of the fatherland. I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble **contribution** to their freedom struggle.

Some of the things so far told to the court are true and some are untrue. I
15 do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I love violence. I planned it as a result of a calm assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, **exploitation**, and oppression of my people by the whites.

I admit that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto we
20 Sizwe. I deny that Umkhonto was responsible for a number of acts which have been charged in the indictment against us. We felt that without sabotage there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position
25 in which we had either to accept permanent inferiority or to **defy** the government. We chose to defy the government.

We first broke the law in a way which avoided violence; when this form was legislated against, and the government resorted to a show of force to crush
30 opposition, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence. But the violence we chose was not terrorism. We who formed Umkhonto were all members of the African National Congress and had behind us the ANC tradition of non-violence.



Close Reading (*cont.*)

The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people, which had been seriously curtailed. For 37 years—that is, until 1949—it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle. It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion. But white governments remained unmoved, and the rights of Africans became less instead of becoming greater.

40 Even after 1949, the ANC remained determined to avoid violence. At this time, however, a decision was taken to protest against apartheid by peaceful, but unlawful, demonstrations. More than 8,500 people went to jail. Yet there was not a single instance of violence. I and nineteen colleagues were convicted, but our sentences were **suspended** mainly because the judge
45 found that discipline and non-violence had been stressed throughout.

During the defiance campaign, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act were passed. These provided harsher penalties for offenses against the laws. Despite this, the protests continued and the ANC adhered to its **policy** of non-violence.

50 In 1956, 156 leading members of the Congress Alliance, including myself, were arrested. When the court gave judgment some five years later, it found that the ANC did not have a policy of violence. We were acquitted.

In 1960, there was the shooting at Sharpeville, which resulted in the declaration of the ANC as unlawful.* My colleagues and I, after careful
55 consideration, decided that we would not obey this decree. The African people were not part of the government and did not make the laws by which they were governed. We believed the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that “the will of the people shall be the basis of authority of the government.” The ANC refused to dissolve but instead
60 went underground.

The government held a referendum which led to the establishment of the republic. Africans, who constituted approximately 70 percent of the population, were not entitled to vote. I undertook to be responsible for organizing the national stay-at-home called to coincide with the declaration
65 of the republic. The stay-at-home was to be a peaceful demonstration. Careful instructions were given to avoid any recourse to violence.

The government’s answer was to introduce new and harsher laws, to mobilize its armed forces, and to send armed vehicles into the townships in a **massive** show of force. The government had decided to rule by force
70 alone, and this decision was a milestone on the road to Umkhonto.

*Between 5,000 and 7,000 protestors went to the police station in Sharpeville to peacefully demonstrate against the Pass laws. The police opened fire on the protestors, killing 69 people.



Close Reading (*cont.*)

75 What were we, the leaders of our people, to do? We had to continue the fight. Anything else would have been surrender. Our problem was not whether to fight, but was how to continue the fight.

80 By this time, violence had become a feature of the South African political scene. There had been violence in 1957 when the women of Zeerust were ordered to carry passes; there was violence in 1958 with the enforcement of cattle culling in Sekhukhuneland; there was violence in 1959 when the people of Cato Manor protested against pass raids; there was violence in 1960 when the government attempted to impose Bantu authorities in Pondoland. Each disturbance pointed to the growth among Africans of the belief that violence was the only way out. A government which uses force to maintain its rule teaches the oppressed to use force to oppose it.

85 I came to the conclusion that as violence was inevitable, it would be unrealistic to continue preaching peace and non-violence. This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of struggle. I can only say that I felt morally obliged to do what I did.

90 Four forms of violence are possible. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, there is terrorism, and there is open revolution. We chose to adopt the first. Sabotage did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations.

95 The initial plan was based on a careful analysis of the political and economic situation of our country. We believed that South Africa depended to a large extent on foreign capital. We felt that planned destruction of power plants, and interference with rail and telephone communications, would scare away capital from the country, thus compelling the voters of the country to reconsider their position. The selection of targets is proof of
100 this policy. Had we intended to attack life, we would have selected targets where people congregated and not empty buildings and power stations.



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Close Reading (*cont.*)

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The government answers its critics by saying that Africans in South Africa are better off than inhabitants of other countries in Africa. Even if this statement is true, it is **irrelevant**. Our complaint is not that we are poor by comparison with people in other countries, but that we are poor by
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The lack of human dignity experienced by Africans is the direct result of the policy of white supremacy. White supremacy implies black inferiority. Legislation designed to preserve white supremacy entrenches this notion.
 205 Menial tasks in South Africa are invariably performed by Africans. When anything has to be carried or cleaned the white man will look around for an African to do it for him. Because of this sort of attitude, whites tend to regard Africans as a separate breed. They do not look upon them as people with families of their own; they do not realize that we fall in love, that
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Close Reading (*cont.*)

Poverty and the breakdown of family have secondary effects. Children wander the streets because they have no schools to go to, or no parents at home to see that they go, because both parents, if there be two, have
 215 to work to keep the family alive. This leads to a breakdown in moral standards, to an alarming rise in illegitimacy, and to violence. Not a day goes by without somebody being stabbed or assaulted. And violence is carried out of the townships into the white living areas. People are afraid to walk the streets after dark. Housebreakings and robberies are increasing,
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Our struggle is a national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by our own suffering and our own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live. During my lifetime, I have dedicated myself to this struggle. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and
 245 free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal for which I hope to live and to see realized. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.



Prepare to Write: Multiparagraph Essay

Part A. Study the Prompt

Read the prompt and identify the topic, directions, and purpose for writing.

You have read the text version of Nelson Mandela’s speech “I Am Prepared to Die.” You have also viewed a multimedia version of excerpts from the speech. Write an essay that compares and contrasts the text and the video. In your essay, do the following:

- Analyze the impact of Mandela’s words in each version.
- Evaluate the pros and cons of using each format to communicate Mandela’s message.

Topic: _____

Directions: _____

Purpose for writing: _____

Part B. Write a Thesis Statement

Write at least two sentences that introduce the subject and identify the big ideas.

Prepare to Write: Multiparagraph Essay (*cont.*)

Part C. Take Notes

Evaluate how well each version presents Mandela's argument, creates a mood, helps you understand apartheid, and persuades you to agree with Mandela.

How well did this version . . .	Text of Speech	Multimedia Version of Speech
present Mandela's claims and arguments?		
create a certain tone, mood, or feeling?		

Prepare to Write: Multiparagraph Essay (cont.)

How well did this version . . .	Text of Speech	Multimedia Version of Speech
persuade the reader or viewer to believe Mandela’s message?		
<p>Overall, I found the _____ more powerful because it</p> <p>_____.</p>		

Part D. Write a Conclusion

Write at least two sentences that restate the thesis and summarize the key ideas.

Prepare to Write: Multiparagraph Essay (cont.)**Part E. Write Topic Sentences**

Use your notes to write the topic sentences for each point of comparison between the two versions of the speech.

Paragraph #1

Paragraph #2

Paragraph #3

The Writer’s Checklist

	Trait	Yes	No	Did the writer . . . ?
R	Ideas and Content			clearly state the topic of the composition
				focus each paragraph on the topic
				include examples, evidence, and/or explanations to develop each paragraph
E	Organization			Paragraph Level:
				tell things in an order that makes sense
				Report Level:
				write an introductory paragraph that states the topic and the plan
				use transition topic sentences to connect paragraphs
V				write a concluding paragraph that restates the introductory paragraph
				think about the audience and purpose for writing
				write in a clear and engaging way that makes the audience want to read the work
I	Voice and Audience Awareness			find a unique way to say things
				use words that are lively and specific to the content
S	Word Choice			write complete sentences
				expand some sentences using the steps of Masterpiece Sentences
E	Sentence Fluency			use compound sentence elements and compound sentences
				capitalize words correctly:
				capitalize the first word of each sentence
E	Conventions			capitalize proper nouns, including people’s names
				punctuate correctly:
				end sentences with a period, question mark, or exclamation mark
D				use an apostrophe for possessive nouns and contractions
				use commas and/or semicolons correctly
I				use grammar correctly:
				use the correct verb tense
				make sure the verb agrees with the subject in number
T				use correct spelling