Introduction

This book is designed to prepare students taking the Paper 1 topic *Rights and Protest* (Prescribed Subject 4) in the IB History examination. It focuses on the struggles for rights and freedom in the mid–20th century by looking at two case studies taken from two different regions of the world. Both of these case studies must be studied. The first case study explores the Civil Rights Movement in the United States between 1956 and 1965; the second case study explores the protests against apartheid in South Africa between 1948 and 1964. Each case study will examine three main aspects relating to these two examples of rights and protest: the nature and characteristics of discrimination based on race in the United States and South Africa; the protests (both non–violent and violent) and actions taken by those opposed to this discrimination; and the role and significance of individuals, political parties and groups in these struggles for rights and freedom.

Figure 1.1 Racial unity in a demonstration against the imprisonment of civil rights activist Wally Nelson, in 1946

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Overview

Themes

To help you prepare for your IB History exams, this book will cover the main themes and aspects relating to Rights and Protest as set out in the IB *History Guide*. In particular, it will examine the protests against segregation and discrimination based on race in the United States and South Africa after the Second World War. The focus of the two case studies is on the major areas shown below:

- The social and economic position of African Americans by the mid–1950s, following many years of racism, segregation and intimidation due to the 'Jim Crow laws' disenfranchisement and the activities of the Ku Klux Klan.

- Growing unhappiness with racial segregation in education, and a decision by the Civil Rights Movement to test this system with the *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* case in 1954 and at Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957.

- The gradual shift from non–violent to violent protest that took place over the decade between the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1956 and the Watts Riots in Los Angeles in 1965.

- The introduction of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and their significance as major pieces of legislation.

- The role and significance of the different civil rights organisations, together with the importance of Martin Luther King Jnr. and the black churches.

- How developing technology in the 1960s enabled television to become the predominant medium of communication, and the extent to which TV and the Civil Rights Movement were mutually useful and beneficial during this period of protest.

- The implementation of apartheid in South Africa after 1948, which involved the classification of the population into different race groups and a rigid system of political and social segregation.

- The suppression of resistance to apartheid and opposition labelled as 'communist'.

- The decade of non–violent protest against apartheid during the 1950s, ending in the shooting by police of 69 people in a peaceful protest at Sharpeville in 1960.

- International protests against apartheid by the United Nations and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

- The switch to violent forms of protest against apartheid, the arrest of leaders of the underground movement, and their sentences to life imprisonment in the Rivonia Trial.

- The role of the National Party in implementing apartheid and suppressing opposition; and the roles played by the ANC, PAC, Communist Party, MK, Nelson Mandela and Albert Luthuli in different forms of protest against it.

Each chapter will help you focus on the main issues and to compare the main developments relating to the two case studies.
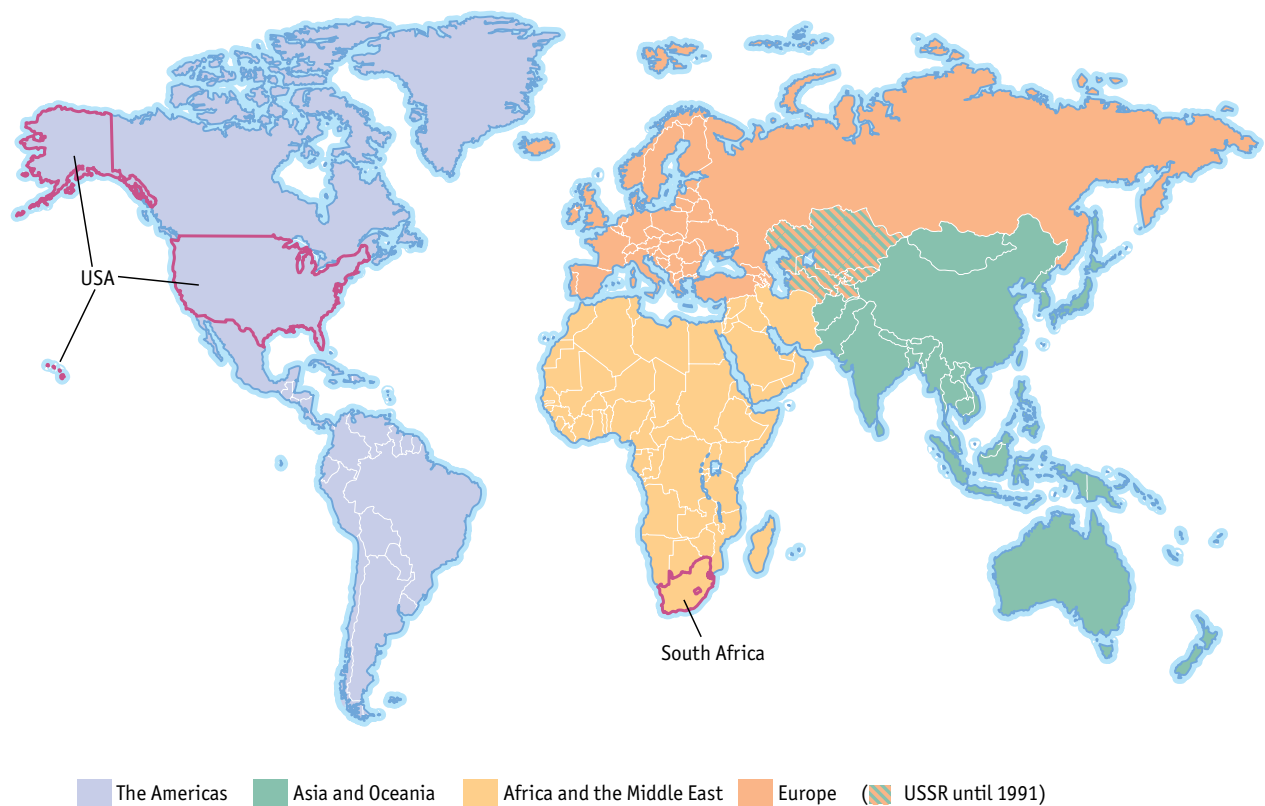
USA

South Africa

| The Americas | Asia and Oceania | Africa and the Middle East | Europe | (⬛ USSR until 1991) |

Figure 1.2   The two IB regions are shown on this map, along with some of the states covered by this book

Key Concepts

To perform well in your IB History examinations, you will often need to consider aspects of one or more of six important Key Concepts as you write your answers. These six Key Concepts are:

• Change
• Continuity
• Causation
• Consequence
• Significance
• Perspectives

Sometimes, a question might ask you to address two Key Concepts, for instance: 'Why did the US Congress pass the Civil Rights Act in 1964? What were the immediate consequences of this legislation on the position of African Americans?'

It is immediately clear with this question that the Key Concept of Consequences must be addressed in your answer. However, it is important to note that although the word 'causes' doesn't explicitly appear in the question, words such as 'why' or 'reasons' are nonetheless asking you to address Causation as well.

To help you focus on the six Key Concepts, and gain experience of writing answers that address them, you will find a range of different questions and activities throughout these chapters.

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Theory of Knowledge

In addition to the broad key themes, the chapters contain Theory of Knowledge links, to get you thinking about aspects that relate to History, which is a Group 3 subject in the IB Diploma. *Rights and Protest* has several clear links to ideas about knowledge and history. The actions of protest movements and the interaction between them have been the subject of differing interpretations by historians.

At times, the controversial nature of some of these issues has affected the historians writing about them. Thus, questions relating to the selection of sources, and to differing interpretations of these sources by historians, have clear links to the IB Theory of Knowledge course.

For example, when trying to explain the effectiveness of different protest actions or the significance of certain leaders, historians must decide which evidence to select and use to make their case – and which evidence to leave out. But to what extent do the historians' personal views influence their decisions when they select what they consider to be the most important or relevant sources, and when they make judgements about the value and limitations of specific sources or sets of sources? Is there such a thing as objective 'historical truth'? Or are there just a range of subjective historical opinions and interpretations about the past, which vary according to the political interests and leanings of individual historians?

You are therefore encouraged to read a range of books offering different interpretations of the Civil Rights Movement, considering the several different groups that comprised the movement, the protests against apartheid, the role of leaders such as Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, and the significance of different historical events during the period covered by this book, in order to gain a clear understanding of the relevant historiographies (see Chapter 8, Further Information).

IB History and Paper 1 questions

Paper 1 and sources

Unlike Papers 2 and 3, which require you to write essays using just your own knowledge, Paper 1 questions are source-based. Whether you are taking Standard or Higher Level, the sources, the questions – and the markschemes applied by your examiners – are the same.

To answer these questions successfully, you need to be able to combine the use of your own knowledge with the ability to assess and *use* a range of sources in a variety of ways. Each Paper 1 examination question is based on four sources – usually three written and one visual. The latter might be a photograph, a cartoon, a poster, a painting or a table of statistics.

Captions and attributions

Before looking at the types of sources you will need to assess, it is important to establish one principle from the beginning. This is the issue of captions and attributions – these are the pieces of information about each source provided by the Chief Examiner.

Captions and attributions are there for a very good reason, as they give you vital information about the source. For instance, they tell you who wrote it and when, or what it was intended to do. Chief Examiners spend a lot of time deciding what information to give you about each source, because they know it will help you give a full answer, so they expect you to make good use of it! Yet, every year, even good candidates throw away easy marks because they do not read – or do not use – this valuable information.

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Essentially, you are being asked to approach the various sources in the same way that a historian would approach them. This means not just looking carefully at what they say or show, but also asking yourself questions about how reliable, useful and/or typical they might be. Many of the answers you need to provide to these questions come from the information provided in the captions and attributions.

Types of source

Most of the sources you will have to assess are written ones, which are sometimes referred to as 'textual' sources. They might be extracts from books, official documents, speeches, newspapers, diaries or letters. Whatever type of source you are reading, the general questions you need to ask about them are the same. These questions concern the content (the information the source provides), its origin (who wrote or produced the source, when and why), and its possible limitations and value, as a result of the answers to those questions.

As an example of the relative value of a source for finding out about a particular event, ask yourself this question: is a recent history book *more* valuable than a speech made at the time of that event?

Although visual (or non-textual) sources are clearly different from written sources in some respects, the same questions and considerations are relevant.

Approaching sources as a set

As well as developing the ability to analyse individual sources, it is important also to look at the four sources provided *as a set*. This means looking at them *all* to see to what extent they agree or disagree with each other.

This ability to look at the four sources together is particularly important when it comes to the last question in the exam paper – the one where you need to use the sources *and* your own knowledge to assess the validity of a statement or assertion, or to analyse the significance of a particular factor. Here, you need to build an answer – along the lines of a 'mini-essay' – that combines precise knowledge with specific comments about the sources. Try to avoid falling into the trap of dealing with all the sources first, and then giving some own knowledge (as an afterthought) that is not linked to the sources.

Exam skills

If all this sounds a bit daunting, don't worry! Throughout the main chapters of this book, there are activities and questions to help you develop the understanding and the exam skills necessary for success. Before attempting the specific exam practice questions that come at the end of each main chapter, you might find it useful to refer *first* to Chapter 8, the final-exam practice chapter. This suggestion is based on the idea that if you know where you are supposed to be going (in this instance, gaining a good grade), and how to get there, you stand a better chance of reaching your destination!

Questions and mark schemes

To ensure that you develop the necessary understanding and skills, each chapter contains questions in the margins. In addition, Chapter 8 is devoted to exam practice. It provides help and advice for all Paper 1 questions and for Paper 2 essay questions, and sets out worked examples for Paper 1 judgement questions and for Paper 2 essays. Worked

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examples for the remaining three Paper 1-type questions (comprehension, value and limitations, and cross-referencing) are to be found at the end of each main chapter.

In addition, simplified markschemes have been provided, to make it easier for you to understand what examiners are looking for in your answers. The actual IB History markschemes can be found on the IB website.

Finally, you will find activities, along with examiners' tips and comments, to help you focus on the important aspects of the questions. These examples will also help you avoid simple mistakes and oversights that, every year, result in even some otherwise good students failing to gain the highest marks.

Figure 1.3 A black man at a 'For Colored Only' water fountain in North Carolina, with a white man at a separate fountain in the background

Background to the period

Before the Second World War, the United States and South Africa were not the only countries in which there was segregation and discrimination based on race. In all the European colonial empires in Africa and Asia there were forms of political, economic and social segregation. Colonised people had no political rights, such as the right to vote, except in very limited circumstances. In these colonies, economic and social discrimination favoured white settlers for jobs, education and housing. For example, Aboriginal Australians had few rights: they were restricted to reserves, could be forcibly moved and were not recognised as citizens.

After the Second World War, however, attitudes around the world began to change. The idea of classifying and discriminating against people on account of their race became increasingly unacceptable. The exposure and subsequent horror of what had happened in Nazi Germany had shown the world the drastic nature of what policies based on race could lead to. As a result, there was a greater awareness of human rights issues and, in 1948, the newly formed United Nations drew up a Universal Declaration of Human Rights that recognised the equality of all people, regardless of race.

These new attitudes and a greater determination to bring about change had far-reaching consequences after the war. Colonies in Asia and Africa demanded independence and fought for freedom from colonial rule. In Brazil, where Afro-Brazilians formed 44 per cent of the population, but where positions of power were dominated by whites, the government passed the Alfonso Arinos Law in 1951, outlawing racial discrimination. In Australia, Aborigines and white liberal supporters formed groups to raise public awareness and put pressure on the government, and in the 1960s Aborigines were granted the right to vote in state and federal elections. In Britain – where immigrants from Commonwealth countries, such as India and Pakistan and those in the Caribbean, faced prejudice and discrimination for housing and jobs – a Race Relations Act was passed in the 1960s.

It was in this context of a greater determination and assertiveness in demanding human rights in the post-war period that the Civil Rights Movement in the United States and the protests against apartheid in South Africa must be seen. However, there were significant differences between these two situations. In the United States, African Americans formed 10 per cent of the population, and in the course of their struggle for equal rights, the federal government used the courts and the army to challenge segregation. In South Africa, however, where blacks formed 80 per cent of the population, the white minority government used legislation, the police and the army to enforce an even stricter system of segregation and oppression.

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States, 1956–65

To appreciate fully the growth of the US Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and the motivation behind their protests and actions, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the historical background.

The United States of America was created in 1783, out of 13 colonies within the British Empire. The Founding Fathers of the USA were related to early colonists of predominantly English descent, along with a small number of north European origin. The 1776 American Declaration of Independence had stated: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal… with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.' But in reality, Native Americans and black slaves of African origin – both of whom were a significant minority – were deprived of such equality and freedom.

Even by 1850, the majority of black African Americans remained as slaves. A few bought their freedom, some escaped and others worked in the north of the USA, where slavery was less dominant. But more than 90 per cent remained employed as southern slaves.

Meanwhile, white Americans had moved westwards and settled on new land, but tensions arose between the south and the rest of the Union (USA) about whether new states being admitted into the Union should be free or slave states. Most northerners wanted free states so that slave labour would not undercut free black men working their own land.

Many northerners were also concerned in case the south – which they deemed backward-looking – might dominate national government. Such rivalry, underpinned by the deeper political issue of free states versus slave states, triggered the American Civil War in 1861. Eleven southern states operating slavery broke away to form the Confederacy, an alliance of states who resented being patronised by what they viewed as growing interference from the federal government in Washington.

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By 1865, the war had ended with the forces of the north defeating the Confederacy. President Abraham Lincoln then signed the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution, which abolished slavery, and was eventually ratified by individual states. But problems remained, such as how the defeated Confederate states were to be treated, and how four million theoretically free slaves were to be provided for. This period of Reconstruction, or the years when the government attempted to rebuild the south, necessitated bringing defeated states back into the Union and assisting former slaves to find work and achieve equality. But many white Americans – especially in the south – developed tactics designed to undermine this process and keep blacks subservient to and dependent on whites. This would preserve white supremacy – the notion that whites were superior to non-whites.

Social segregation was implemented when various states in the south enacted laws or 'Black Codes'. These determined where blacks could and could not go; it segregated them from whites in the use of public buildings and facilities, and limited the areas within towns where they could live. They were also prevented from being witnesses in court. The Codes even allowed whites to whip blacks for indiscipline and return them to previous 'owners' if necessary.

Intimidation, fear and inferiority for blacks thus continued over the next century, while their voting rights were virtually non-existent. Little wonder that after the Second World War – with the exposure of many African Americans to a wider world through military service overseas, together with greater media awareness in the 1950s – came a growing

Figure 1.4 A Civil War map showing free states and slave states in the US

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indignation with respect to their continued second–class status within the postwar world's greatest superpower and biggest democracy.

Protests against apartheid in South Africa, 1948–64

To fully understand apartheid and the protests against it, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the colonial background and developments before 1948.

Discrimination based on race did not start with apartheid in 1948. It had been present right from the early days of colonialism, when parts of southern Africa were colonised, first by the Dutch in the 17th century and then by the British in the 19th century. The discovery of diamonds (in 1867) and then gold (in 1886) had a profound effect, politically and economically. Politically, it awakened British interest in the interior of southern Africa, which resulted in the subsequent annexation by Britain of the remaining independent African kingdoms and the 'Boer republics' (independent states set up by the descendants of Dutch settlers in the interior of southern Africa). Economically, it led to an industrial revolution in the region and the potential for rapid economic growth. But it also laid the foundations for a formal system of segregation by introducing strict systems of control over black mine workers. Under the system of migrant labour, black workers from rural areas did the manual labour on the mines for low wages. Their movement to the mines was strictly controlled by a system of 'passes'. These labour practices laid the foundation for segregation and apartheid in the 20th century.

South Africa as a country was established in 1910, when four British colonies united to form the Union of South Africa, as a self–governing dominion within the British Empire. Right from the start, white South Africans (who at that stage made up about 20 per cent of the population) controlled the government and the economy. Most of them were immigrants from Britain or descendants of Dutch settlers (called Afrikaners) who had colonised the Cape and set up the Boer republics.

From 1910, a succession of governments introduced segregation laws that protected the privileged position of the white minority and discriminated against anyone who was not white. The people who were most negatively affected by these segregation laws were 'Africans' who made up about two-thirds of the total population. The lives of the 'coloured' and 'Indian' minorities were also affected, but not to the same extent. The most significant of these laws, and the one that laid the basis for much of the poverty and inequality in contemporary South Africa, was the 1913 Land Act that restricted African land ownership to the 'reserves', which initially covered less than 10 per cent of the total land area of South Africa, later rising to 13 per cent.

In 1948, an Afrikaner nationalist government was voted into power, determined to introduce a more rigid system of segregation, called apartheid. This went further than previous laws had done, and was applied more harshly. So, at a time when the rest of the world was moving in the direction of a greater recognition of human rights, South Africa was moving in the opposite direction.

Terminology and definitions

Afrikaners and Boers

Afrikaners are South Africans of Dutch and French Huguenot descent who speak Afrikaans; in the 17th century their ancestors settled in the Cape, which was then under Dutch control. When Britain took over the Cape in the 19th century, some of them

Fact: South African history and 'race'

It is impossible to understand South African history without referring to race. In the sections of this book that deal with South Africa, we use the terms 'black', 'white', 'coloured' and 'Indian', which were the main racial divisions used by the apartheid system. The term 'black' had two uses: it was used to refer specifically to 'Africans', but was also used collectively for anyone who was not white. 'Coloured' was the official term used to label people of mixed descent, who formed about 9 per cent of the population. 'Indians' were the descendants of labourers brought from India in the 19th century to work on sugar plantations. In 1960, they formed about 3 per cent of the population.
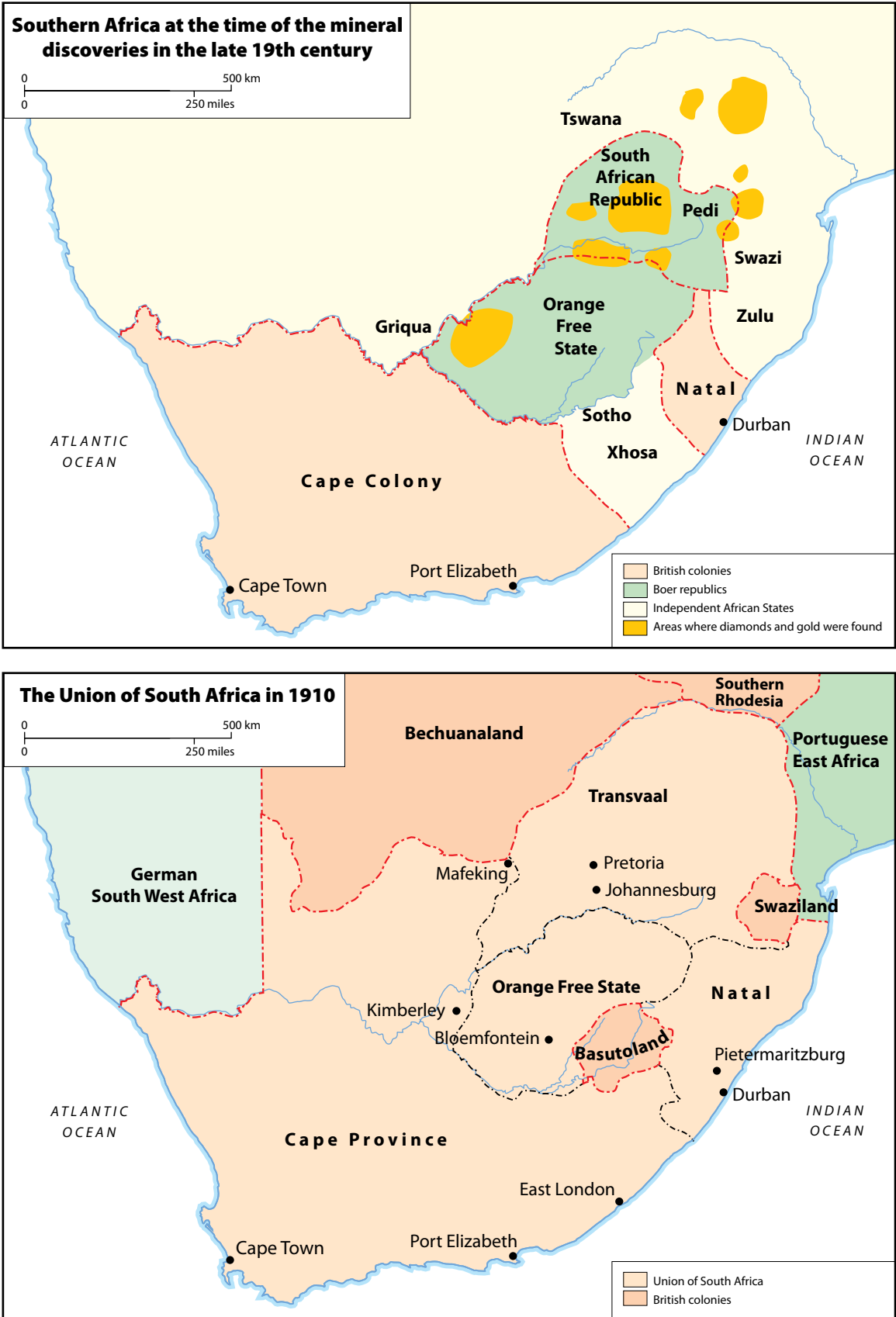
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Southern Africa at the time of the mineral discoveries in the late 19th century

Figure 1.5 Sourthern Africa at the time of the mineral discoveries and after the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910

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moved into the interior to escape British control. There they set up two independent 'Boer' (or farmer) republics. The Boer republics joined with two British colonies in southern Africa to form the Union of South Africa in 1910. The term 'Boer' is sometimes used disparagingly to refer to Afrikaners.

Armed resistance and the armed struggle

When the apartheid government outlawed the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960, this effectively meant that all forms of non–violent protest actions were banned. Both organisations decided to establish underground organisations and use violent means of resistance, including sabotage and guerrilla warfare. This is referred to as the 'armed struggle'.

Civil rights

This phrase refers to an individual's rights to freedom – both political and social – and equality by virtue of citizenship. Examples include:

- the right to equal treatment under the law
- the right to vote in elections
- the right to a fair trial
- the right to equality of opportunity
- the right to have an education
- the right to freedom of speech, expression, and religion
- the right to freedom of movement.

The Civil Rights Movement in the USA between 1954 and 1965, as examined in this book, aimed to secure these rights through protests and actions designed to change the law, or by influencing the US Supreme Court as to how the laws were interpreted. That meant that it was crucial to win the support of the US government in Washington, DC.

'Europeans' and 'non-Europeans'; 'whites' and 'non-whites'

When apartheid laws were first introduced after 1948, all facilities were segregated according to race and were initially labelled for the use of 'Europeans only' or 'non–Europeans only'. Later this terminology was changed to 'whites only' or 'non–whites only' (presumably because the use of the term 'European' implied that whites were foreign to South Africa). The term 'non–white' included Africans, 'coloureds', Indians and Chinese.

Extra-parliamentary opposition

'Extra–parliamentary' means 'outside parliament'. In apartheid South Africa, where only whites had representation in parliament, any political organisation that had support from different race groups could not use parliamentary means to bring about change. They had to use other methods, such as defiance campaigns, marches, petitions and additional forms of protest outside the parliamentary system.

'Jim Crow' laws

In the 1880s, governments in the southern states of America passed anti–African American laws, which became known as 'Jim Crow laws' after the name of a typical black minstrel show character. This term referred to discriminatory laws that prohibited African Americans from using public facilities such as restaurants, theatres, cinemas, hotels, public transport and swimming pools. Schooling was segregated according to

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colour, and in many states marriages between whites and African Americans were illegal. African Americans effectively had second–class citizenship, although these laws claimed to provide 'separate but equal' facilities to both whites and blacks. In reality, black facilities were poorer and in worse locations.

Minority rule and majority rule

In the context of Africa, minority rule means rule by a white minority who dominate political power and deny others the right to vote, except in insignificant numbers. Majority rule exists when a government has been voted into power in an election in which all adults, regardless of race, have the right to vote. South Africa had a minority rule government until 1994.

'Natives' and 'Bantu'

The early segregation and apartheid laws referred to Africans as 'natives', which was later replaced by the term 'Bantu'. So, for example, the Native Affairs Department became the Department of Bantu Affairs. 'Bantu' is a linguistic term referring to the more than 300 different but related languages spoken in central and southern Africa. Because of its use under apartheid, the word assumed negative connotations and Africans chose to refer to themselves as 'Africans' or 'blacks' rather than Bantu.

Reserves, homelands and Bantustans

Reserves were the areas demarcated for African land ownership in the 1913 Natives Land Act; Africans could not own land outside the reserves, which, at best, formed only 13 per cent of the land area of the country. Under the system of apartheid, the reserves were transformed into 'homelands' (also called Bantustans), in which the government tried to reinforce a tribal identity for each ethnic group. The homelands were impoverished and never viable economically, and served as pools of cheap labour for the rest of South Africa. The former homelands are the poorest and least developed regions of contemporary South Africa.

Restriction orders and bannings

The apartheid government used 'restriction orders' to silence its opponents. This meant that these opponents were confined to a specific district, had to report daily or weekly to the nearest police station, and could not attend public meetings or be quoted in newspapers. Anything they had previously written was banned. Restriction orders could be reimposed immediately after the previous term expired. People served with restriction orders were referred to as 'banned'. Sometimes whole political parties were banned, such as the Communist Party in 1950, and the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress in 1960.

Segregation, apartheid and separate development

Segregation was a system of laws to separate people, based on race, used in South Africa and other colonies and former colonies. Apartheid (an Afrikaans word meaning 'separateness') was the strictly enforced system of racial separation under white domination introduced by the National Party government after 1948. It was based on previous segregation policies, but was more rigid and systematic and was ruthlessly enforced. 'Separate development' was an attempt to present apartheid in a more positive light by creating theoretically 'independent' homelands where Africans had limited political rights. Sometimes separate development is referred to as 'grand apartheid' and the early apartheid laws that classified and separated people as 'petty apartheid'.

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State of emergency

This extends the power of the executive and restricts the jurisdiction of the courts in order to overcome a perceived threat to the state. The usual laws are suspended and the police and army are given unrestrained powers to crush resistance, as well as indemnity from prosecution for their actions. In 1960, the apartheid government declared a state of emergency to stop countrywide protests. It lasted for five months, during which time thousands of opponents of the government were detained. During the 1980s, there were sustained and widespread protests against apartheid, with South Africa under an almost permanent state of emergency from 1985 to 1990.

The US system of government

The US Constitution aims to maintain a balance of power between the individual states and the central government in Washington, DC. When it was drafted in 1787, the founders were wary of creating an over-powerful American head of state. The solution was the creation of a federal system of government with a federal or national government in Washington, DC, then separate governments in each of the states. The head of the federal government – the president – can propose laws; but these then have to be passed by an elected parliament or law-making body – Congress, which is comprised of two houses: the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate consists of two elected representatives, or senators, from each state. In this way, the smaller states cannot be dominated by a few bigger states.

This format was adopted in each individual state, where there is an elected governor and legislature. The states are responsible for law and order, education and many other matters.

Unsurprisingly, disputes arise between the federal government and the states over their respective powers. So the US Supreme Court acts as the judge in such matters. As the highest court in the land, its job is to protect the US Constitution and decide, when asked, if the laws passed by federal or state governments are constitutional or not. Changes can be made to the Constitution but they have to be passed by a majority of two-thirds in both houses of Congress and be ratified by the states. These are Amendments to the Constitution. The demand for such Amendments forms a key part of the campaigns by African Americans and other minorities. Seeking changes in federal law and making appeals to the Supreme Court for interpretations of existing law, are hallmarks of the civil rights struggle.

Summary

By the time you have worked through this book, you should be able to:

- understand the background leading to the growth of the Civil Rights Movement in the USA in the 1950s;
- explain the nature and characteristics of the discrimination that led to the protests and actions carried out by the Civil Rights Movement in challenging and outlawing racial segregation;
- compare and contrast the role and significance of the different civil rights groups, in their quest for civil rights legislation;

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- evaluate the role of Martin Luther King and of the federal government in achieving civil rights for African Americans;
- understand the contribution made by both the media and the Church throughout the campaign;
- understand how the policy of apartheid was implemented in South Africa after 1948 and how it affected people;
- explain how resistance to apartheid was suppressed on the pretext that it was 'communist';
- understand how the decade of non-violent protest against apartheid during the 1950s ended with the shooting of peaceful protestors at Sharpeville;
- explain how effective international protests against apartheid by the United Nations and the Anti-Apartheid Movement were;
- understand why the leaders of the resistance to apartheid switched to violent forms of protest, and were sentenced to life imprisonment as a result;
- compare the role of the National Party in implementing apartheid and suppressing opposition; and the roles played by the different organisations that opposed it.