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Scholarship 2023 History

RESOURCE BOOKLET

Refer to this booklet to answer the questions for Scholarship History.

Check that this booklet has pages 2–27 in the correct order and that none of these pages is blank.

YOU MAY KEEP THIS BOOKLET AT THE END OF THE EXAMINATION.

COMMUNISM AS A HISTORICAL FORCE CONTENTS

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QUESTION ONE: HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

SOURCE A: The derivation of "communism"

	derives from the French <i>communism</i> , which in turn developed out of t and the suffix <i>-isme-</i> and was in general use long before [Karl] Marx p	
it as an economi	ic and political system.	
		L.
1		Γhe term

was first defined in its modern sense by the French writer Victor d'Hupay. His 1777 book *Projet de communauté philosophe* advises readers to "share all economic and material products between inhabitants of the commune, so that all may benefit from everybody's work".

Source (adapted): Cohen, R. (2022). Making History. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. pp. 355–356.

SOURCE B: Māori collective values and economic prosperity

Prior to the late 1850s, the point at which colonisation gained full flight as Europeans demographically swamped Māori, both Māori collectivism and its economy were strong. Māori dominated agricultural production, owning and operating the first flour mills and farms. European settlements and towns depended upon Māori produce and industry. Māori were also major players in coastal shipping, some even plying their trade as far as Australia, South Africa, and South America.



Three decades later, Premier Richard Seddon vowed to dismantle the "communism" he said caused Māori to be "lazy and dissolute" and resist the sale of remaining lands.

Source (adapted): Taonui, R. (2016, October 1). Māori Collective Values and Economic Prosperity. *Cultural Survival*. https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/maori-collective-values-and-economic-prosperity

SOURCE C: The importance of the Manifesto of the Communist Party

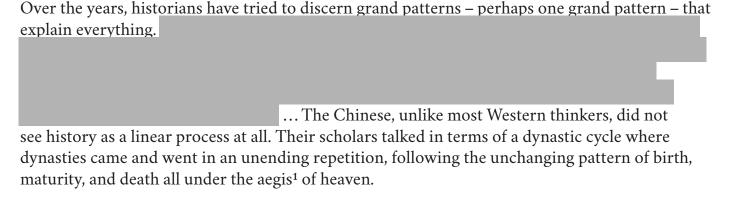
A general conception of Marxist theory can be derived from his two most famous publications. One is the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, originally published in February 1848, and reissued in Britain in 1948 on the occasion of its centenary with a new appreciation by the late Professor H. J. Laski. Its importance was rightly emphasised by Professor Laski in the following words:

"It is admitted by every serious student of society to be one of the outstanding documents of all time:

It is a philosophy of history, a critical analysis of socialist doctrines, and a passionate call to revolutionary action."

Source (adapted): Sofroniou, A. (2012). *Marxism, Socialism & Communism*. LULU.com. pp. 8–9. https://www.google.co.nz/books/edition/Marxism_Socialism_Communism/mGizAwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=marxism+vs+communism&printsec=frontcover

SOURCE D: History as a linear process?



aegis protection

Source (adapted): MacMillan, M. (2009). The Uses and Abuses of History. Profile Books. pp. 15-16.

SOURCE E: The continuing relevance of communism?

Marxist theory has had a unique place in the explanatory resources of history. No other theory offers such a comprehensive model of social structure or such a dynamic theory of social and political change.

As it does, the merits of a theoretical approach that is rooted in the material realities of human life, which recognises the centrality of productive relations, and which highlights the tension between collective agency and social determination, will once more be recognised.

Source (adapted): Tosh, J. (2010). The Pursuit of History. Pearson Education. pp. 238–239.

SOURCE F: Marxism

Marx's influence on historians, and not only Marxist historians, is nevertheless based both upon his general theory (the materialist conception of history), with its sketches of, or hints at, the general shape of human historical development from primitive communalism to capitalism, and upon his concrete observations relating to particular aspects, period, and problems of the past....

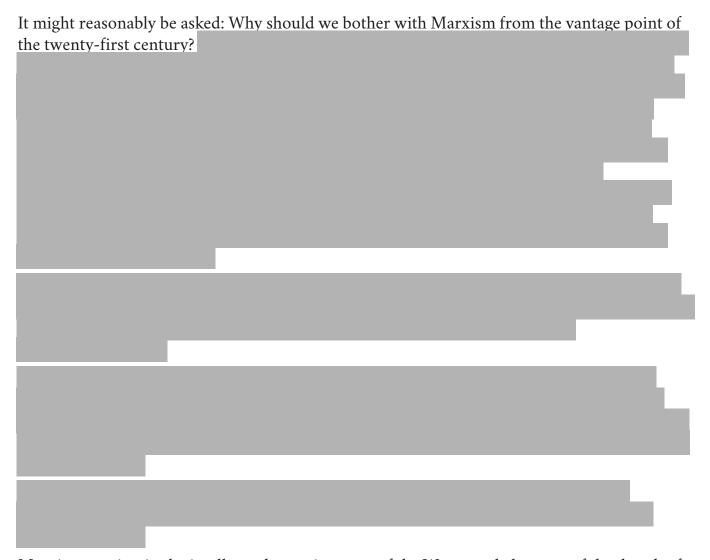
What was apparent, from the very beginning, was that historical materialism was not *economic* determinism: not all non-economic phenomena in history can be derived from specific economic phenomena, and particular events or dates are not determined in this sense. Even the most rigid proponents of historical materialism devoted lengthy discussions to the role of accident and the individual in history ...

SOURCE G: The declining relevance of communism

birth – was the central event of the twentieth century.
was the central event of the twentrem centary.
As of 2017, the centenary of the revolution, the number of Communiss states in the world is down to a handful, with China's status ambiguous and only North Korea still clinging to the old verities.
Source (adapted): Fitzpatrick, S. (2017, March 30). What's Left? London Review of Books, 39(7). p. 13.
SOURCE H: Questioning the theoretical assumptions
rapid social and economic change was undermining many of the premises on which the younger generation of historians had been operating.
The belief that this
idea could be proven by scientific methods which delivered a demonstrably objective view of historical progress was simply refuted by events.

Source (adapted): Evans, R. J. (2002). What is History? – Now. In D. Cannadine. (Ed.). What is History Now? (p. 6). Palgrave Macmillan.

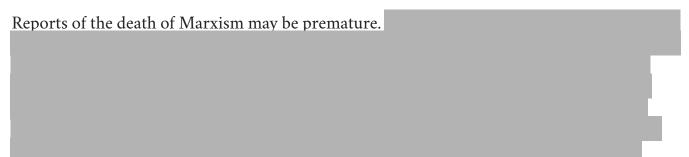
SOURCE I: An appraisal of communism



Marxism persists in the intellectual consciousness of the West, partly because of the dearth of alternatives and partly because, for all its failures, it articulates criticisms of the present and aspirations for the future that have never been entirely driven from the field.

Source (adapted): Shapiro, I. (2003). The Moral Foundations of Politics. Yale University Press. pp. 71–74.

SOURCE J: Future relevancy?



When hopes prove false of peace and plenty for the former subjects of communism in the post-communist world, when the fascist revanche¹ creates new underclasses and mass victims of repression, the communist cause will rise again, proposed, in rivalry with fascism, as a solution to the problems of managing societies, of combating crime, of diluting inequalities, of containing humans' natural anarchy.

^{1.} revanche revenge

Source (adapted): Fernández-Armesto, F. (1995). Millenium. Bantam Press. pp. 701-702.

QUESTION TWO: HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIPS

INTRODUCTION: McCarthyism

McCarthyism is the name given to a period in United States history characterised by efforts to expose supposed attempts by communists and their sympathisers to infiltrate and influence the United States government and society.

While McCarthy's attempts to prove that powerful forces were at work to undermine the interests of the United States were ineffective, he was able to have a significant impact on the lives and reputations of those he had accused. Jobs were lost and livelihoods threatened. And yet, this period in which McCarthy was in the ascendant, was brief. By the end of 1954, his power had lessened, and he died in 1957. His death did not bring an end to the willingness of politicians and those aspiring to power to use smear campaigns against particular groups of citizens. The creation of the 'other' as a focus for political hopefuls was to continue to be a framework for the distillation of fear, suspicion, and divisiveness.

SOURCE K: Joseph McCarthy speaks, 1950

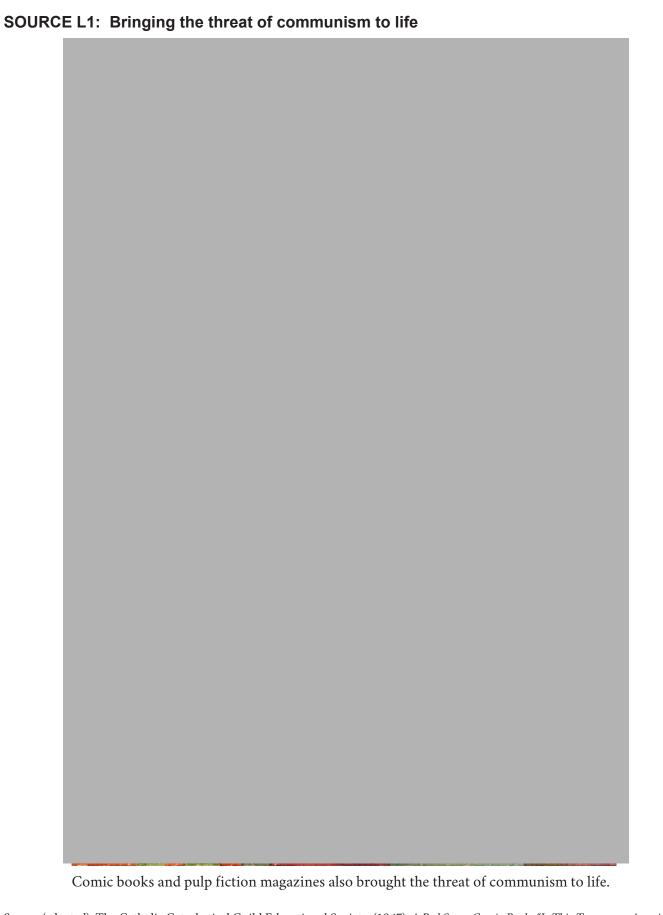
Controversy about what Joseph McCarthy actually said when he made this speech at the McClure Hotel in Wheeling, West Virginia on 20 February 1950 raged for years. This version of his infamous speech is taken from the statement he made on the Senate floor on 20 February, when he put into the Congressional record a copy of what he really said at Wheeling.

"Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity. The modern champions of communism have selected this as the time. And ladies and gentlemen, the chips are down – they are truly down....



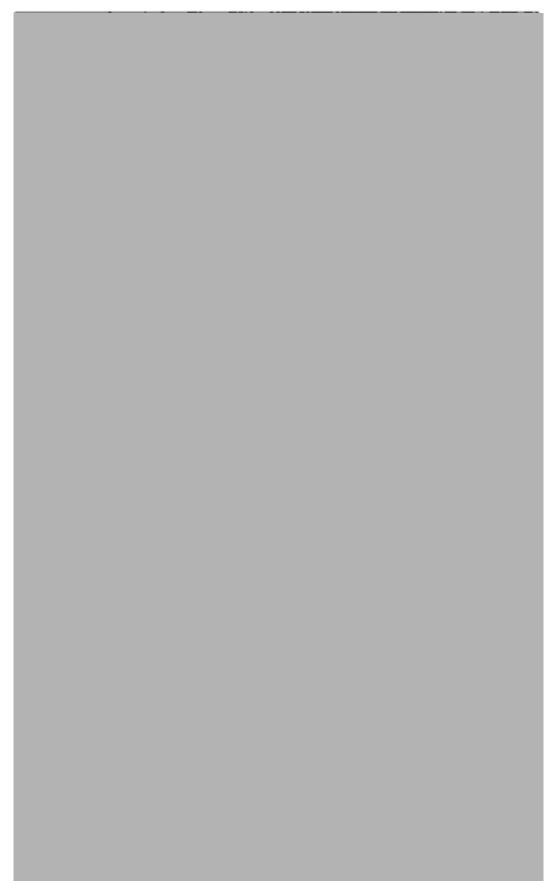
The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this Nation. It has not been the less fortunate or members of minority groups who have been selling this nation out, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest nation on earth has to offer – the finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs in Government we can give."

Source (adapted): MacArthur, B. (Ed.). (2012). The Penguin Book of Modern Speeches. Penguin Books. pp. 244–245.



Source (adapted): The Catholic Catechetical Guild Educational Society. (1947). *A Red Scare Comic Book: "Is This Tomorrow: America Under Communism!"* [Comic cover]. Rare Historical Photos. https://rarehistoricalphotos.com/red-scare-comic-book-is-thistomorrow/

SOURCE L2: Anti-communist literature



Typical US anti-communist literature of the 1950s, specifically addressing the

entertainment industry.

SOURCE M: Individuals who were impacted by McCarthyism

Charlie Chaplin was a British subject; however, he spent most of his life in the USA, where he became an influential figure of the movie industry. Although the FBI tried to level charges against Chaplin, none of them was proven. In spite of this fact, he was the subject of several extensive investigations conducted by the FBI. The media and the public also unleashed attack against him, and finally, he was forced to exile in Switzerland
By comparing and contrasting the two cases, the methods which characterise McCarthyism can be described. These persecution methods violated the democratic rights, damaged the reputation of innocent people, and fuelled the Communist scare. They aroused suspicion and paranoia, which led people to believe that there were reds under the bed.
Source (adapted): Árvay, E. (2016). When Security Overrules Reason: McCarthyism in View of The Cases of Charles Chaplin and Lucille Ball. <i>Open Editions Journals: Diacronie, Studi Di Storia Contemporanea, 28</i> (4). https://doi.org/10.4000/diacronie.4823
SOURCE N: The legacy of McCarthyism
We should keep in mind, however, that McCarthyism's main impact may well have been in what did not happen rather than in what did; the social reforms that were never adopted, the diplomatic initiatives that were not pursued, the workers who were not organised into unions, the books that were not written, and the movies that were never filmed.

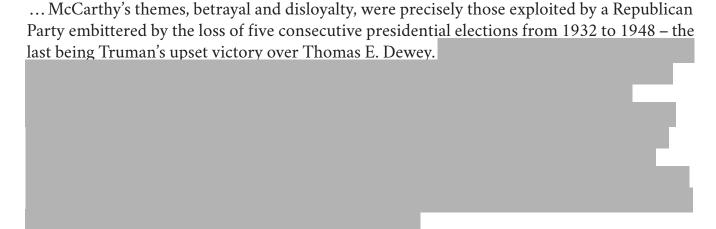
Source (adapted): Schrecker, E. (1994). The Age of McCarthyism. Bedford Books of St. Marvin's Press. pp. 92–94. http://www.writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/schrecker-legacy.html

that Nixon's Democratic predecessors, Kennedy and Johnson, dragged the United States so

deeply into the quagmire of Vietnam.

nd it was in part to avoid a replay of the loss-of-China scenario

SOURCE O: Conspiracies and the communist peril



Americans have historically been susceptible to conspiracy theories, and McCarthy's claim that the enemy was already within the citadel offered a seductively simple cure: chase the Reds from their nests in Washington, D.C., and the Communist peril would disappear. However deluded the argument was, it made sense to many people who deplored military interventions overseas and opposed aiding embattled democracies in Europe but wanted a crackdown at home: the purging of Communists from trade unions and universities, the careful monitoring of "subversive" books and Hollywood films.

^{1.} inveigh speak or write with strong hostility

Source (adapted): Tanenhaus, S. (2000, November 30). Un-American Activities. *New York Review of Books*. https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2000/11/30/un-american-activities/

SOURCE P: Individuals, intellectuals, and McCarthy

Who could rein him in? Few critics of McCarthy were as forceful as Maine senator Margaret Chase Smith, the first woman to serve in both houses of Congress. In June 1950, she rose to speak on the floor of the Senate to deliver a speech later known as the Declaration of Conscience. "I don't want to see the Republican Party ride to political victory on the Four Horsemen of Calumny – Fear, Ignorance, Bigotry, and Smear", said Smith …

The crusade, at once against communists and homosexuals, was also a campaign against intellectuals in the federal government, derided as "eggheads". The term, inspired by the balding Illinois Democrat Adlai Stevenson, was coined in 1952 to describe "a person of spurious intellectual pretensions, often a professor or the protégé of a professor; fundamentally superficial, over-emotional and feminine in reactions to any problems".

SOURCE Q: McCarthy the demagogue

Front and centre is "Low Blow" Joe McCarthy, one of the most reviled figures in US history. It's not often that a man's name becomes an 'ism', in this case a synonym for reckless accusation, guilt by association, fear-mongering, and political double-dealing. In the 1950s, the senator from Wisconsin promised America a holy war against a Communist "conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man". While the conspiracy and infamy claims were a stretch, the body count was measurable: a TV broadcaster, a government engineer, current and former US senators, and incalculable others who committed suicide to escape McCarthy and his warriors; hundreds more whose careers and reputations he crushed; and the hundreds of thousands he browbeat into a tongue-tied silence.



If America's tradition of rabble-rousing offered one model for Joe McCarthy, its history of anti-communism offered another. The venom he unleashed wasn't America's first Red Scare. It wasn't even the beginning of the most recent one. Americans had been unnerved by communism since the Bolshevik Revolution in faraway Russia in 1917 The loathing came naturally: egalitarianism, democratic socialism, class struggle, and other founding precepts of communism and Marxism were the antitheses of democracy's and capitalism's free markets, multiple parties, and individualism.

Source (adapted): Tye, L. (2020). *Demagogue: The Life and Long Shadow of Senator Joe McCarthy*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. pp. 1–2 and 127.

SOURCE R: Opportunism at work

McCarthy was an opportunist, uncommitted to much beyond his own fame and influence. His own lawyer, the young New Yorker Roy M. Cohn, could not discern any great ideological conviction in the junior senator from Wisconsin. "Joe McCarthy bought Communism in much the same way as other people purchase a new automobile," Cohn recalled.

... A notable fixer, Cohn thrived at the nexus of law, politics, media, and society. "I don't want to know what the law is," he'd say of a case. "I want to know who the judge is." One of his more celebrated clients in afteryears was a young real-estate developer who was looking to move into Manhattan from his family's base in Queens. And Roy Cohn was always there for Donald Trump.

Source (adapted): Meacham, J. (2018). *The Soul of America: The Battle for Our Better Angels*. Penguin Random House. pp. 186–187, 206.

SOURCE S: McCarthy's rise to power

... Analysts of McCarthyism in retrospect have concluded pessimistically that it demonstrated the susceptibility of the American people to demagogic appeals. There is evidence for such gloomy indictments of democracy, but it is limited. McCarthy's attacks on the eastern Establishment indeed set off responsive echoes, especially among conservative Republicans. ... The managing editor of McCarthy's hometown Appleton newspaper explained, "We don't want a group of New Yorkers and Easterners telling us whom we are going to send to the Senate. That is our business, and it is none of theirs." The anger that underlay such comments suggested regional resentments still burned strongly indeed in the United States.

The phenomenon of McCarthyism, however, should not be seen as a broadly popular movement or as one that was essentially working-class, Catholic, or ethnic in membership.... Rather, three things may be said about McCarthyism. First, it derived much of its staying power from the frightened and calculating behaviour of political elites and of allied interest groups, not from the people at large. Second, many partisan Republicans took the lead in backing their reckless colleague. Third, McCarthyism rode on anti-communist fears – again, strongest among elites – that were already cresting in early 1950.

Source (adapted): Patterson, J. T. (1996). Grand Expectations: The United States 1945–1974. Oxford University Press. pp. 200–202.

QUESTION THREE: SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL EVENTS IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

SOURCE T1: The Watersiders' strike

This widespread desire for 'a place in the sun' lay at the heart of the struggle for better pay and conditions among a few key groups of working people in the towns and cities. But Sid Holland's new 'private enterprise' party told New Zealanders that the watersiders were greedy, demanding from their country more than their fair share. National Party propaganda told them that the wharfies were thwarting the country's great expectations. Many New Zealanders were happy to take Holland's yellow brick road towards his goal for the country, based on building what he called a nation of 'little capitalists'.



Much the same conclusion was reached two years later by a report from the Special Branch of the Police Department ... The document recorded that in the state of Cold War that involved New Zealand then, "the principal enemy is Russia ...". "The Trade Unions are largely under the control of moderate leadership", it wrote, "and the total percentage of [Communist] Party members in the Unions is very low."

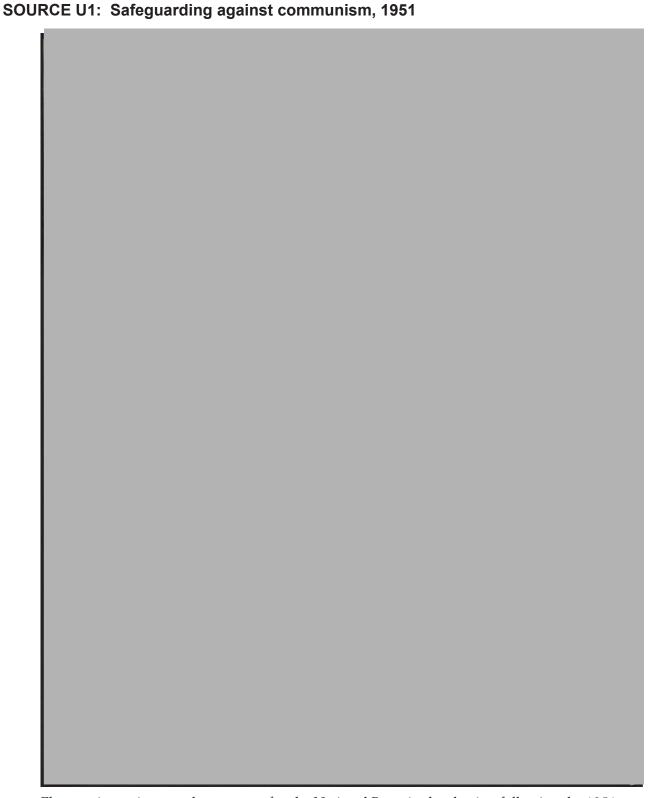
Source (adapted): Yska, R. (2004). Spies, Lies and Red Herrings. In D. Grant. (Ed.). *The Big Blue: Snapshots of the 1951 Waterfront Lockout*. (pp. 22–29). Canterbury University Press.

SOURCE T2: The Waterfront lockout

Jack Marshall, later a New Zealand Prime Minister, summed up the political repercussions, in his memoirs:

"Politically the gains for us were enormous.	
	We had
gained in public confidence and increased popu	ılar support."

Source (adapted): Nolan, M. (2004). Shattering Dreams about Women in the Lockout. In D. Grant. (Ed.). *The Big Blue: Snapshots of the 1951 Waterfront Lockout*. (pp. 19, 59–81). Canterbury University Press.

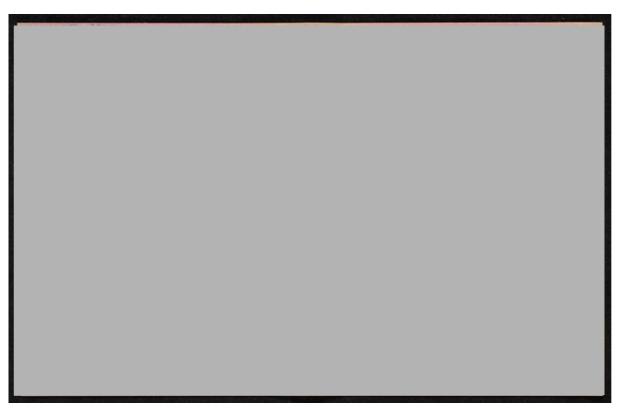


Flyer urging union members to vote for the National Party in the election following the 1951 strike, because "it was the National Government which stood between the fair, moderate union officials and the 'Reds' who were bitterly attacking them".

Shows a head and shoulders portrait of Sidney Holland, National Party leader, at lower left, and at top right, a group of smiling workers wearing felt hats.

Image: New Zealand National Party. New Zealand National Party: Your safeguard against communism. A 'fair go' for decent unionists! Vote National. N.Z. National Party [1951]. "Unity for strength, the trade union movement in New Zealand". Waikato Museum of Art & History, May 1–June 23, 1990. [Printed material for an exhibition]. Ref: Eph-B-LABOUR-UFS-1951-01. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22851628





This booklet issued prior to the 1954 general election argues for a vote against Sidney Holland and his party. The booklet tells the 'Saga of Shifty Sid' in comic book form. It relates how Holland walked out of the War Cabinet in 1941, gave lucrative contracts to American investors, signed an American peace treaty "which revives Japanese militarism", provided troops to quell people's movements in Cyprus and Malaysia, collected heavy taxes, locked out wharfies in 1951, and attempted to smash workers' unions. He then pushed through the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act 1951, kept pensions low, prices high, and insulted the Māori people. He offended Britain over ANZUS, supported 'Security' police, axed the 'Weekly review' newsreel, banned Communists from the air at election time, did not recognise the People's Republic of China, and joined SEATO, which had no Asian membership.

Image: [Communist Party of New Zealand]: The saga of Shifty Sid; Keep N.Z. out of the Yankee Corral! Get rid of Sid – on November 13th [1954]. [Pamphlets and flyers issued by the New Zealand Communist Party, and Communist candidates for elections. 1950–1959]. Ref: Eph-A-COMMUNIST-1954-01. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. https://natlib.govt.nz/records/40812022

SOURCE V1: Crown-Māori relations

Following National's victory at the polls in late 1949, the new	Cabinet lacked both expertise
in matters Māori and any great sympathy with many Māori as	pirations.
	Rather than

assist the improvement of the 'unsightly' and unhealthy Ngāti Whātua settlement and meeting house at the Okahu Bay marae, where tribal visitors to Auckland had traditionally been hosted, the government destroyed them and relocated the inhabitants. Such actions created new, and eventually high-profile, grievances.

Source (adapted): Hill, R. S. (2009). *Māori and the State: Crown-Māori relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950–2000.* Victoria University Press. p. 25. https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-HilMaor-t1-body-d2-d1.html



Taken by an unidentified photographer. Shows a group portrait of members of the Māori Women's Welfare League at the first general conference, held in Wellington in September 1951, including one of the founding members, Whina Cooper (seated front row centre).

Image: Māori Women's Welfare League Conference. Māori Women's Welfare League: Photograph albums recording conferences and other league events. Ref: 1/2-173500-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. https://natlib.govt.nz/records/44819017

SOURCE W: Moral decadence?

Young men with slicked-back hair, dressed in stovepipe pants and winkle-picker shoes, hung out in milk-bars and cafes – much to the concern of older New Zealanders. In 1954, a Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents, chaired by lawyer Oswald Mazengarb, blamed the rise in 'juvenile delinquency' on the absence from home of working mothers ...



Originally meaning 'fake, false, inferior, worthless', the term 'bodgie' was applied in the 1950s to a male youth distinguished by his conformity to certain fashions and behaviours. The 'widgie' was his female counterpart. This sketch shows the range of fashions and hairstyles adopted by bodgies and widgies.

Source (adapted): Ministry for Culture and Heritage. *The 1950s*. Ministry for Culture and Heritage. https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/the-1950s/overview

Image: 'Bodgies and widgies', URL: https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/bodgies, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 15-Jul-2013

SOURCE X1: Political instability and our response

Security concerns in Asia

Post-war New Zealand governments placed emphasis on collective security through the UN, but also felt a need for stronger bilateral security arrangements.

hreats to New Zealand were thought most likely to arise in Asia, where only the US could deploy countervailing power. The sudden outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, and New Zealand's participation in the US-led UN force there, reinforced this perception.

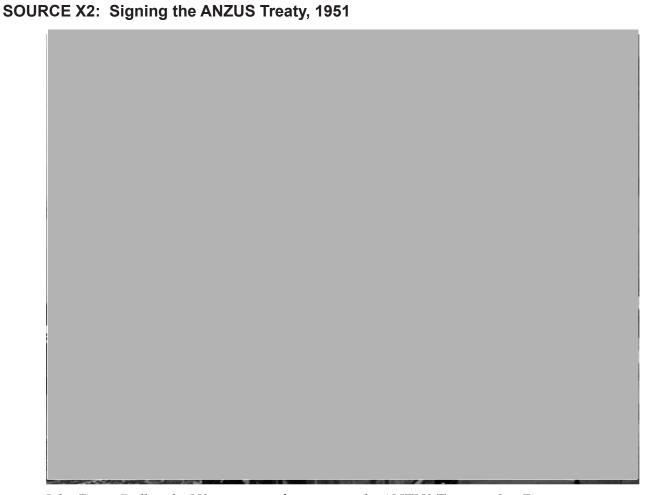
ANZUS

The US was at first reluctant to offer a security commitment to New Zealand, but this attitude faded as developments in Asia threatened US interests, especially those in Japan. In 1951, Australia, New Zealand, and the US signed the ANZUS treaty, which contained a commitment to common action against armed attack on any of the signatories in the Pacific area.

The Manila Treaty

In 1954, New Zealand joined the US, the UK, Australia, France, and three Asian powers – Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan – in signing the Manila Treaty. Like ANZUS, this made a general commitment to collective security in South-East Asia.

Source (adapted): Green, M. (2012). 'Foreign policy and diplomatic representation – Alliance diplomacy, 1950s to 1970s', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/foreign-policy-and-diplomatic-representation/page-5



John Foster Dulles, the US secretary of state, signs the ANZUS Treaty in San Francisco in 1951, surrounded by US politicians and diplomats. ANZUS is a defence treaty between the US, Australia, and New Zealand, created after discussions that began in 1949.

 $Image: Green, M. (2012). \ 'Foreign policy and diplomatic representation-Alliance diplomacy, 1950s to 1970s', Te Ara-the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/photograph/34280/signing-the-anzus-treaty-1951$

SOURCE X3: New Zealand gunners in action in Korea, 1953



Warm and well covered in their winter-issue parkas, the crew of Able 3 Gun Peter Battery of the 16th New Zealand Field Regiment load and fire their gun, which the photograph shows in full recoil, at a flak suppression target in support of an air strike on well-fortified Chinese hills on 19 February 1953.

Image: New Zealand gunners in action. New Zealand. Department of Internal Affairs. War History Branch: Photographs relating to World War 1914–1918, World War 1939–1945, occupation of Japan, Korean War, and Malayan Emergency. Ref: PA1-f-113-1861. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23059162