



93403R



NEW ZEALAND QUALIFICATIONS AUTHORITY  
MANA TOHU MĀTAURANGA O AOTEAROA

QUALIFY FOR THE FUTURE WORLD  
KIA NOHO TAKATŪ KI TŌ ĀMUA AO!

## Scholarship 2022 History

Total score: 24

### RESOURCE BOOKLET

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

Check that this booklet has pages 2–20 in the correct order and that none of these pages is blank.

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

# NATIONALISM AND RACE

## CONTENTS

<b>Question One: Historical narratives</b>	<b>3</b>
Source A: Nationalism	3
Source B: Some definitions of 'race'	3
Source C: The role of religion in the shaping of a nation	4
Source D: Race as a focus for nationalism	4
Source E1: The relationship between race and nationalism	5
Source E2: Race as a cultural and political force	5
Source F1: The role of history in the shaping of a nation	6
Source F2: The uses and abuses of history	6
Source G: Patriotism and nationalism	7
Source H: The importance of nationalism?	7
<b>Question Two: Historical relationships</b>	<b>8</b>
Introduction: The Dreyfus Affair	8
Source I1: The importance of the Dreyfus Affair	8
Source I2: Paris finally finds a place for Dreyfus Statue	9
Source J: The Dreyfus Affair and the <i>Bloc Républicain</i>	10
Source K: The army and Dreyfus	11
Source L: The Dreyfus Affair and national identity	12
Source M1: Anti-Semitism and France during World War Two	12
Source M2: New perspectives on Dreyfus	13
Source N: The complexities of the period	13
<b>Question Three: Significant historical events in Aotearoa New Zealand</b>	<b>14</b>
Source O1: Remembering Gallipoli, 1916	14
Source O2: Anzac Day becomes official	15
Source P1: Encouraging Māori participation	16
Source P2: A grateful nation sets land aside for returning soldiers	17
Source P3: Land and returning Māori soldiers	17
Source P4: The emergence of Ratana	18
Source P5: Racism and ethnic relations	18
Source P6: Symonds Street New Zealand Wars Memorial	19
Source Q: Long live the King	20

## QUESTION ONE: HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

### SOURCE A: Nationalism

Hobsbawm contends that, after the first great age of European nationalism, from 1830 to 1870, which was inclusive, civic, and democratic, a second type of nationalism swept Eastern Europe, characterised by an appeal to ethnicity or language, or both. But, for Hobsbawm, ethnicity and language are ambiguous concepts and neither can provide clear-cut criteria for nationhood. ...

This period and type of nationalism reached its apogee<sup>1</sup> in the mid-twentieth-century racial fascism and Nazism. After 1945, and a period of relative quiescence, there has been a revival of the divisive and fissiparous<sup>2</sup> ethno-linguistic nationalisms which are the heirs of the late nineteenth-century small-nationality nationalisms. But there is an important difference. Nationalism today is “no longer a major vector of historical development”. Rather, ethnic nationalisms appear as “reactions of weakness and fear, attempts to erect barricades to keep at bay the forces of the modern world,” in which massive global economic transformations and population movements disorient and frighten many people. Today, nationalism has become irrelevant.

<sup>1</sup> apogee            the highest point

<sup>2</sup> fissiparous      splitting, dividing into pieces

Source (adapted): Smith, A. D. (2010). *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History Second Edition*. Polity Press. pp. 99–100.

### SOURCE B: Some definitions of ‘race’

... In its modern form, ‘race’ was originally developed as a category that justified the growing ascendancy of the West over other peoples.

More recently, minorities with a strong ethnic identity have constructed what might be called a ‘reverse discourse’; they too embrace the concept of ‘race’, because the term brings biological descent and culture together in a powerful amalgam that maximises group cohesion and emphasises distance from other groups.

Source (adapted): Tosh, J. (2010). *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History Fifth Edition*. Pearson Education Limited. p. 35.

**SOURCE C: The role of religion in the shaping of a nation**

... Protestantism lay at the core of British national identity, and this was only to be expected. Religion was the crucial unifying force in most nations within Europe as outside it.

Here, as in so many other countries, it was religion that first converted peasants into patriots, long before the onset of modernisation in the shape of railroads, mass education, advanced press networks, and democracy.

Source (adapted): Colley, L. (1994). *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837*. Pimlico. p. 369

**SOURCE D: Race as a focus for nationalism**

... Racism was endemic in all European societies in the interwar years, as it was indeed in the United States and other parts of the world too.

In fact, the overwhelming majority of them actually seem to have been the result of consensual unions – often between German colonists and indigenous Africans in the German colonies before or during the war.

Source (adapted): Evans, R. J. (2005). *The Coming of the Third Reich*. Penguin Group. pp. 186–187

### SOURCE E1: The relationship between race and nationalism

Nationalism is often an accompaniment to racism.

The appeal to national interests is synonymous with racial concerns.

Source (adapted): Spoonley, P. (1987). *The Politics of Nostalgia: Racism and the Extreme Right in New Zealand*. The Dunmore Press Ltd. p. 36

### SOURCE E2: Race as a cultural and political force

Advances in the study of genetics in the last few decades have destroyed the scientific basis of racism: the vast majority of genetic variation is found within so-called races, not between them. You may well have more in common genetically with someone of a different skin colour than with someone of the same skin colour. But culture came first in thinking about race, and it comes first today.

“We need to talk about White identity,” Eric Kaufmann writes, “not as a fabrication designed to maintain power, but as a set of myths and symbols to which people are attached: an ethnic identity like any other”. Kaufmann offers a simple explanation for the rise of right-wing nationalism in “the West”, which is that, as a result of immigration, the White majorities in Western countries are decreasing. “Today’s populist earthquake has little to do with economics,” he says. “Ethnic change – the size and nature of the immigrant inflow and its capacity to challenge ethnic boundaries – is the story.”

Source (adapted): Trilling, D. (2019, April 18). ‘I’m not racist, but ...’. [Review of the books *Whiteshift: Populism, Immigration, and the Future of White Majorities*, by E. Kaufmann, and *National Populism: The Revolt against Liberal Democracy*, by R. Eatwell and M. Goodwin]. *London Review of Books*, 41(8). pp. 19–22. <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v41/n08/daniel-trilling/i-m-not-racist-but>

### **SOURCE F1: The role of history in the shaping of a nation**

... history is the raw material for nationalist or ethnic or fundamentalist ideologies, as poppies are the raw material for heroin addiction. The past is an essential element, perhaps *the* essential element, in these ideologies.

Let me repeat yet again the words of Ernest Renan in his famous lecture, 'What is a nation,' in 1882: "Forgetting history, or even getting history wrong (*l'erreur historique*), is an essential factor in the formation of a nation, which is why the progress of historical studies is often dangerous to a nationality". So, a historian who writes about ethnicity or nationalism cannot but make a politically explosive intervention.

Source (adapted): Sassoon, D. (Ed.). (2021). *On Nationalism: Eric Hobsbawm*. Little Brown. pp. 8 and 317

### **SOURCE F2: The uses and abuses of history**

History provides much of the fuel for nationalism. It creates the collective memories that help to bring the nation into being. The shared celebration of the nation's great achievements – and the shared sorrow at its defeats – sustain and foster it.

When they did define themselves as German or French, it was as much a cultural category as a political one, and they certainly did not assume, as modern national movements almost always do, that nations have a right to rule themselves on a specific piece of territory.

Source (adapted): MacMillan, M. (2010). *The Uses and Abuses of History*. Profile Books Ltd. pp. 81–82

**SOURCE G: Patriotism and nationalism**

... The corollary of inclusion is exclusion, and often the desire to associate with those one cares about is part and parcel of the desire to disassociate from others.

... In struggles of this kind, political entrepreneurs know that dehumanising outsiders is one of the best ways to mobilize and sustain group solidarity.

Source (adapted): Shapiro, I. (2003). *The Moral Foundations of Politics*. Yale University Press. pp. 180–181

**SOURCE H: The importance of nationalism?**

Not surprisingly ... the nation-state was widely regarded as being one of the most significant casualties of the emerging post-modern world.

... By deconstructing these myths and traditions, historians of the 1970s and 1980s were no longer reinforcing national identity as many of their nineteenth and early twentieth-century predecessors had done: instead, they were themselves contributing to, and intensifying, the very identity crisis through which many countries now seemed to be passing.

Source (adapted): Cannadine, D. (2008). *Making History Now and Then: Discoveries, Controversies and Explorations*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 179

## QUESTION TWO: HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIPS

### INTRODUCTION: The Dreyfus Affair

Emperor Napoleon the Third of France went to war against the Prussians in 1870, confidently expecting the ability of the French army to inflict a resounding defeat on the enemy. Such confidence came to an end on the battlefield at Sedan, with the defeat of French forces and the capture of Napoleon the Third.



Public opinion eventually led to the release of Dreyfus, a presidential pardon, a court declaration of his innocence, and his return, for a while, to the army. But the army never reversed its court-martial.

### SOURCE I1: The importance of the Dreyfus Affair

Today, the [Dreyfus] Affair retains a unique place in the French political psyche. In 2006, Jacques Chirac, the president of the Republic, marked the hundredth anniversary of Dreyfus's rehabilitation with a speech at the site of his degradation ceremony at the École Militaire [military academy]. Chirac proclaimed that the Affair had been "a conspiracy of injustice opposed by honour and truth," a "universal combat" between "two conceptions of the individual and of the nation", which had ended with justice showing its impartiality, intellectuals exercising moral authority, and the triumph of "humanist values of respect and tolerance".



Indeed, there was a legal amnesty granted to everyone involved in the Affair, which primarily benefitted the anti-Dreyfusards. The campaign for Dreyfus's final exoneration gathered pace in 1903 because it became linked to a partisan and bitter crusade against religious congregations, and not because there was a groundswell of support for his case. ... The end of the Affair produced no clear conclusion and no real justice, merely a political truce. The result was a bitterness that rankled for years.

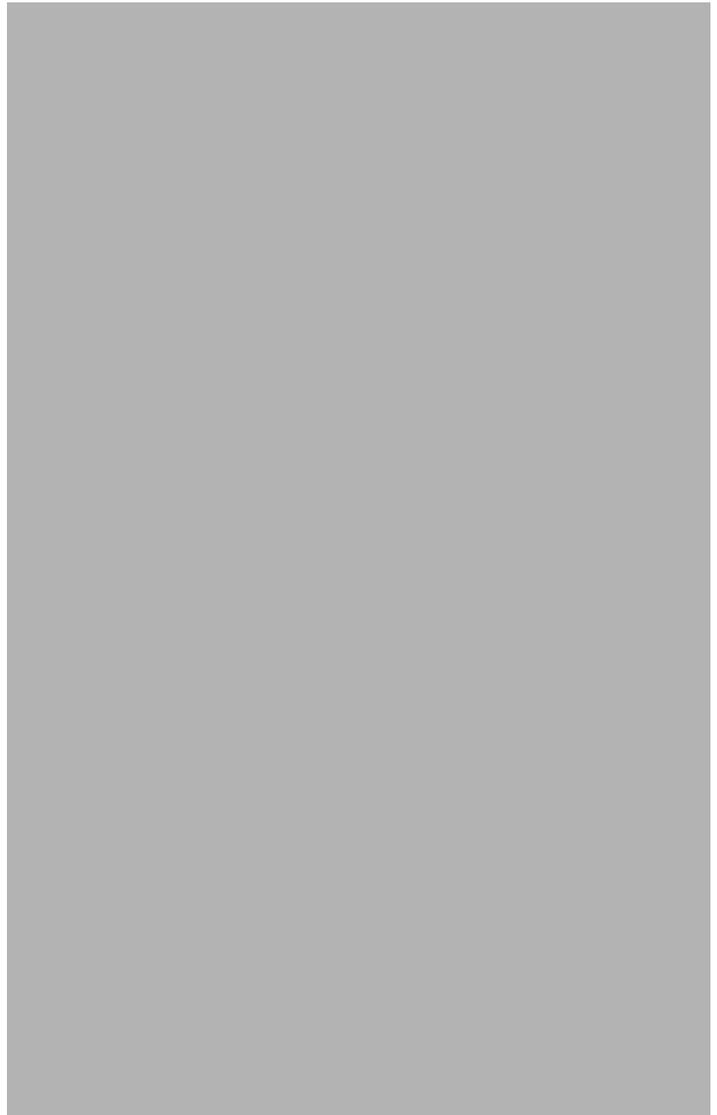
Source (adapted): Harris, R. (2011). *The Man on Devil's Island*. Penguin Books. pp. 4–5

## SOURCE I2: Paris finally finds a place for Dreyfus Statue

Honouring a delayed debt to a soldier it disgraced almost 100 years ago, France on Wednesday put up a controversial bronze statue of Captain Alfred Dreyfus in the Tuileries Gardens of Paris.



Originally, the statue was to stand on the grounds of the École Militaire, the military academy where Dreyfus was stripped of his rank after the court-martial. But the army rejected the monument. For some officers, the statue would have been too much of a reminder of old military shame.



Holding his broken sword in front of his face, this commanding statue of Alfred Dreyfus is in the 6th arrondissement on rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs.

Source (adapted): Meisler, S. Paris Finally Finds a Place for Dreyfus Statue. (1988, June 9). *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1988-06-09-mn-6254-story.html>

Image: France Travel Info. (2018, August 16). *Holding his broken sword in front of his face, this commanding statue of Alfred Dreyfus is in the 6th arron. on rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs*. [Image attached]. [Status update]. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=2065111186875076&set=holding-his-broken-sword-in-front-of-his-face-this-commanding-statue-of-alfred-d>

**SOURCE J: The Dreyfus Affair and the *Bloc Républicain***

The accusation that France's defence had been betrayed by a Jew seemed to confirm the warnings that critics of the Republic's liberal values had been spreading.

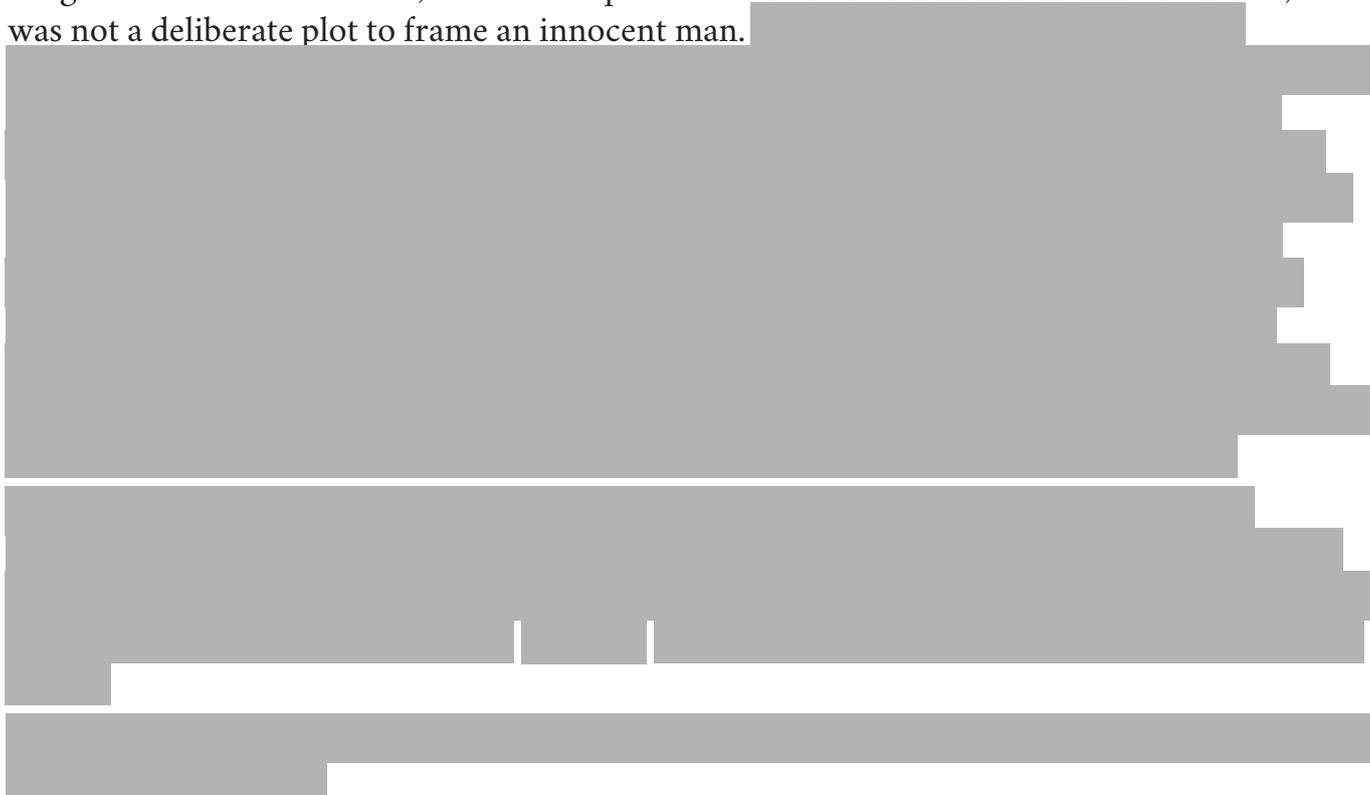


In 1896, Herzl published *The Jewish State*, a pamphlet advocating the establishment of an independent Jewish country.

Source (adapted): Popkin, J. D. (2020). *A History of Modern France* (5th ed.). Routledge. [https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=CX\\_QDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT194&lpg=PT194&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=CX_QDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT194&lpg=PT194&dq#v=onepage&q&f=false)

**SOURCE K: The army and Dreyfus**

The arrest, trial, conviction, and sentencing of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, an artillery officer assigned to the General Staff, which took place in the months October to December 1894, was not a deliberate plot to frame an innocent man.



In the course of the Affair, it became the prisoner of its friends – clericals, royalists, anti-Semites, Nationalists, and all the anti-Republican groups who made its honour the rallying cry of their own causes, for their own purposes.

Source (adapted): Tuchman, B. (1966). *The Proud Tower*. Macmillan Publishing Co. pp. 159–162

## SOURCE L: The Dreyfus Affair and national identity

A non-French person may well be surprised at the virulent hatred aroused by this shameful affair. ...

he other was that the idea of the nation, a universalist republican notion based on all of the people representing humanity, now shifted towards a particularist notion of the country or 'race' in opposition to outsiders, so that nationalism became a right-wing value.

Source (adapted): Jenkins, C. (2011). *A Brief History of France*. Robinson, An imprint of Little, Brown Book Group. pp. 157–158

## SOURCE M1: Anti-Semitism and France during World War Two

Hannah Arendt, in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, judged that French anti-Semitism was not “an active historical factor in the final catastrophe” that overwhelmed European Jews during the Second World War; however, the Vichy Government\* was undoubtedly complicit in the implementation of Hitler’s “Final Solution”.

he Vichy Government may have successfully opposed the German demand that Jews wear a yellow star, but its opposition to the deportation of French Jews to the extermination camps was ineffective: “6,000 of the 65,000 deported from France to the death camps were French citizens.” ...

\*The Vichy Government was established following the defeat of France in 1940. Authoritarian and anti-Semitic, it ruled from June 1940 to August 1944.

Source (adapted): Read, P. P. (2012). *The Dreyfus Affair: The Story of the Most Infamous Miscarriage of Justice in French History*. Bloomsbury Publishing PLC. p. 352

## SOURCE M2: New perspectives on Dreyfus

Our understanding of how anti-Semitism was involved in the Dreyfus Affair has changed substantially in the past generation. It is worth noting that the re-examination of anti-Semitism during the Affair coincided with the investigation of anti-Semitism in France in the 1930s and the role of Vichy in the discrimination against, and ultimate deportation of, Jews in France... studies of French nationalism and fascism argued for a link between the ideologies and personalities engaged in the Affair, and the French fascism of the interwar years...

It has become difficult, however, to justify this stance... the revelations about Vichy and the involvement of French officials in the deportation of Jews during the Holocaust... and the ongoing discussions of the memory of Vichy have brought anti-Semitism front and centre in debates about modern French politics. Recent publications on the Catholic Church's policies to[wards] Jews in the nineteenth century have stimulated research on the role of the Church in the development of anti-Jewish attitudes in modern France in general and, in the Dreyfus Affair, in particular.

Source (adapted): Hyman, P. E. (2005). New Perspectives on the Dreyfus Affair. *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, 31(3), pp. 338, 342–343. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41299348>

## SOURCE N: The complexities of the period

It has always been difficult to know exactly how involved the ordinary people of France were in this prolonged controversy and scandal...

anti-Semitism has to be considered alongside French anti-clericalism and anti-militarism, xenophobia and chauvinism, socialism and anarchism, the fear of foreign armies once again invading France, the suspicion of colonial adventures, and the uncertainties which beset positivists and Catholics alike.

Source (adapted): Johnson, D. A. (1983, February 3). Flat in Neuilly. *London Review of Books*, 5(2). <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v05/n02/douglas-johnson/a-flat-in-neuilly>

### **QUESTION THREE: SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL EVENTS IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND**

**SOURCE O1: World War One – remembering Gallipoli, 1916**

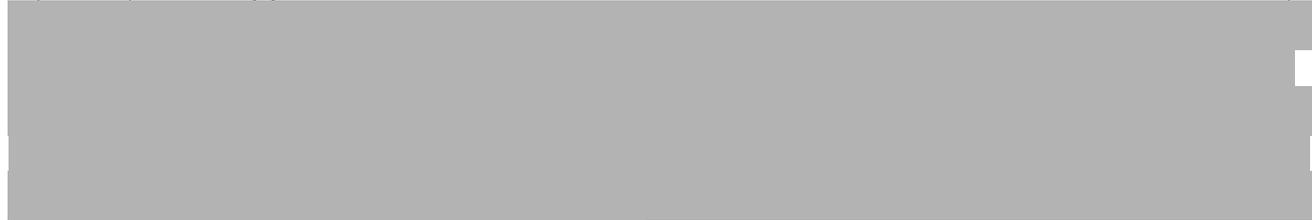


New Zealand soldiers at Sling Camp, England, created this cover for a publication in 1916. It illustrates how the Gallipoli campaign was a source of national pride from the beginning.

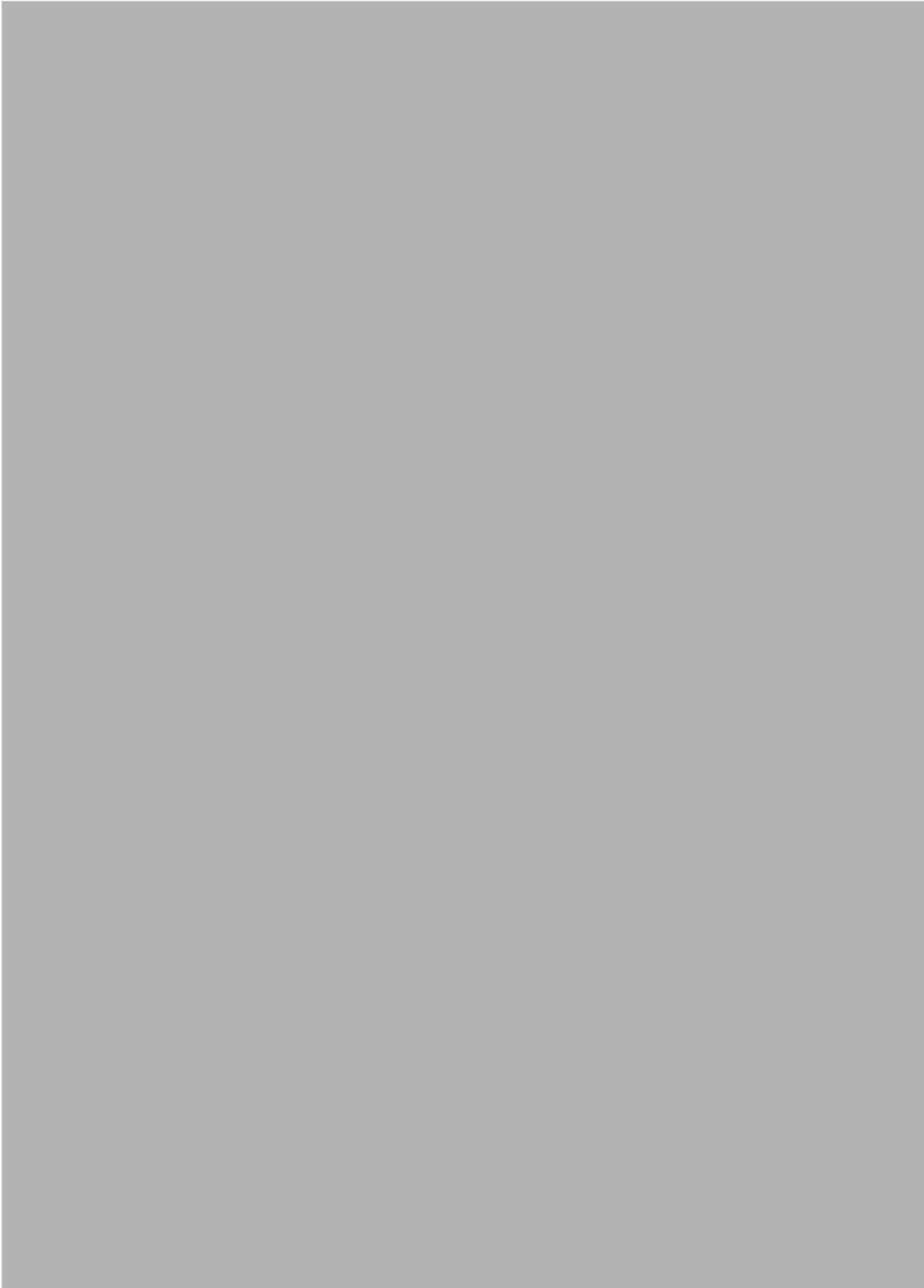
Image: New Zealand Soldiers. (1916). *Remembering Gallipoli, 1916* [Image]. Ministry for Culture and Heritage. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/remembering-anzac-art-1916>

**SOURCE O2: Anzac Day becomes official**

By 1920, it was apparent that most New Zealanders wanted the 25th to be a 'close' holiday.

 But there was a "vivid knowledge of what Anzac Day means". Members concluded by rising to sing the national anthem.

Source (adapted): Sharpe, M. R. (1981). Anzac Day in New Zealand: 1916 to 1939. *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 15(2), 97–114. [http://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/docs/1981/NZJH\\_15\\_2\\_01.pdf](http://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/docs/1981/NZJH_15_2_01.pdf)

**SOURCE P1: Encouraging Māori participation**

This work by William Blomfield, titled 'The spirit of his fathers', appeared in the December 1915 issue of *The New Zealand Observer (Christmas Annual)*. It shows a Māori soldier charging two Ottoman Turk soldiers with the ghost of a Māori warrior behind him. Cartoons like this attempted to evoke the spirit of the Māori god of war, Tū-mata-uenga, to encourage Māori participation in the war.

Image: Blomfield, W. (1915). *The spirit of his fathers* [Recruitment cartoon for Māori]. Ministry for Culture and Heritage. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/conscription-propaganda-poster-for-maori>

## SOURCE P2: A grateful nation sets land aside for returning soldiers

Lands and Survey initially set aside a number of large land blocks to be subdivided into smaller farms and allotted to individuals as a 'soldier settlement'.

... e forwarded the approved applications to the local Land Board, which either allotted land or held a ballot where there was more than one suitable applicant.

Source (adapted): Ministry for Culture and Heritage. *Repatriation of returned servicemen*. Ministry for Culture and Heritage. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/public-service-at-war/repatriation-of-returned-servicemen>

## SOURCE P3: Land and returning Māori soldiers

When Minister of Lands D. H. Guthrie tried to set aside the 560-acre Hoskings Estate between Maketu and Matata for Maori soldiers in 1920, he faced a barrage of protests from Pakeha settlers and returned soldiers.

... It would be wiser "to select a ... class of country ... which would not spoil if neglected".

Source (adapted): Soutar, M. (2019). *Maori in the First World War*. David Bateman Ltd. pp. 495–496

#### **SOURCE P4: The emergence of Ratana**

Refuting doomsayers, from the early twentieth century, Maori health and numbers recovered despite the ravages of the 1918 influenza epidemic. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Ratana had special appeal for ordinary people, increasingly detribalised and landless, who eked out a subsistence living or worked as casual labourers.

Source (adapted): Mein Smith, P. (2005). *A Concise History of New Zealand*. Cambridge University Press. p. 147

#### **SOURCE P5: Racism and ethnic relations**

It is as well that we should remember, when reading of these old-time quarrels between the two races, that each side fought for what it thought right and that if Pakeha thought his [sic] quarrel was a just one, so also did the Maori. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The bond between the White New Zealander and the Brown is a very strong one; and if, in days to come, our beloved country is ever in danger from a foreign foe, we cannot do better than remember the deathless words given to our history by brave old Rewi of the Maniapoto: "We will fight on, for ever, for ever, for ever!"

Source (adapted): Bell, A. (1996). We're just New Zealanders: The Politics of Pakeha Identity. In P. Spoonley, D. Pearson, and C. Macpherson (Eds.), *Nga Patai: Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp.151-152). Dunmore Press.

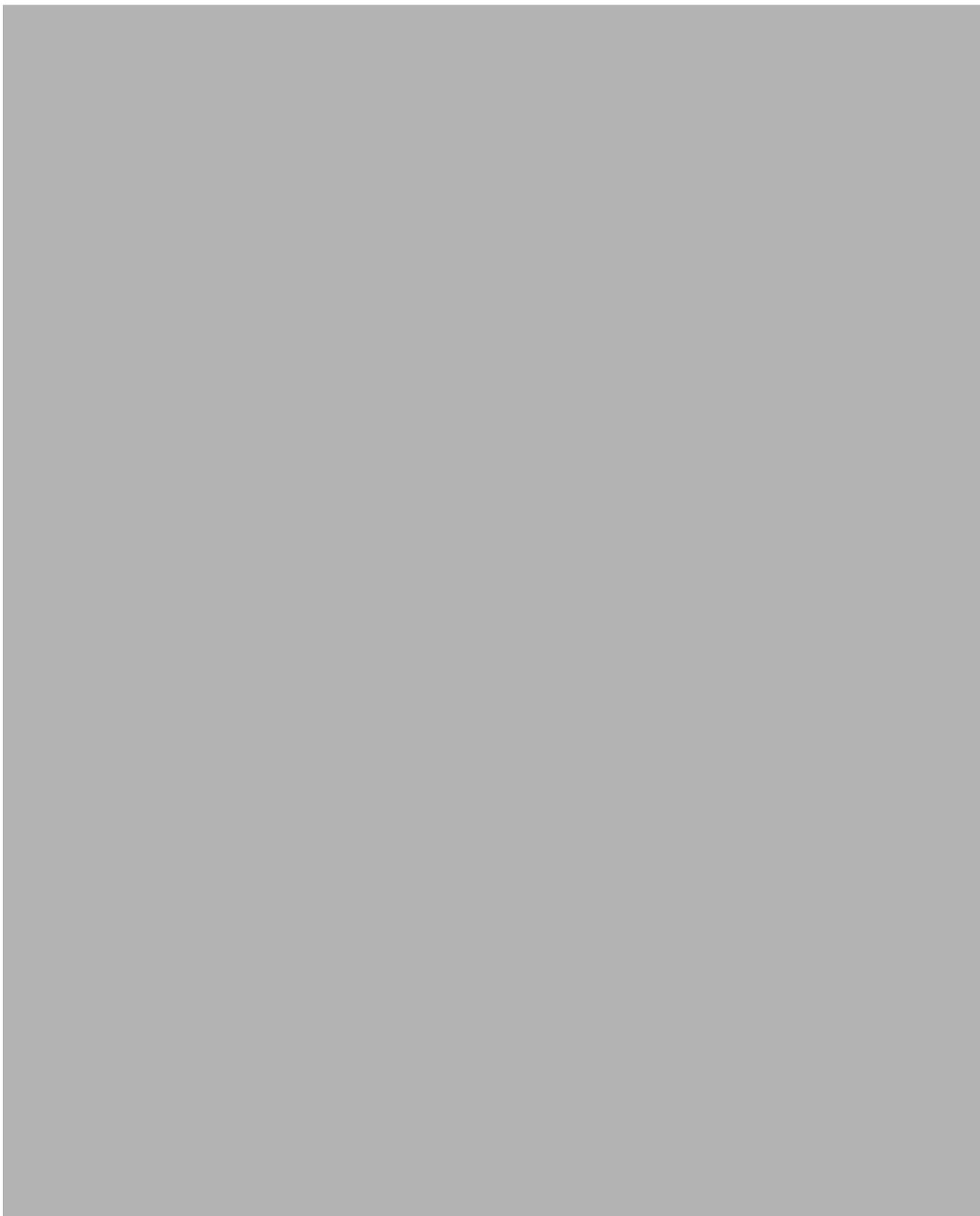
**SOURCE P6: Symonds Street New Zealand Wars Memorial**

This is the Auckland memorial to those of the fallen among the Imperial and Colonial side during the Land Wars of the nineteenth century. The memorial, on the corner of Symonds Street and Wakefield Street, was organised by the Victoria League, and unveiled in 1920. It reads: “In memory of the brave men belonging to the imperial and colonial forces and the friendly Maoris who gave their lives for the country during the New Zealand Wars 1845–1872. “Through war they won the peace we know””.

Image: Truttman, L. (2010). *Symonds Street NZ Wars memorial* [Photograph]. Ministry for Culture and Heritage. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/symonds-street-nz-wars-memorial>

Source (adapted): Timespanner (2009, July 3). Land Wars Memorial, Symonds Street. *Timespanner*. <https://timespanner.blogspot.com/2009/07/land-wars-memorial-symonds-street.html>; Bell, A. (2020, June 16). *The truth is not set in stone*. Newsroom. <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/ideasroom/the-truth-is-not-set-in-stone>

Please turn over ►

**SOURCE Q: Long live the King**

A welcome poster showing the Prince of Wales feathers between British and New Zealand flags at the top, and the royal coat of arms at the bottom.

Image: Unknown artist (1920). Haeremai, haeremai; Welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Long live the king. [Poster]. Published by A. R. Hornblow, printer and advertiser, Wellington [1920]. Ref: Eph-D-ROYAL-1920-01. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22848937