

POLITICAL SCIENCE is published each March and September by the School of Political Science and Public Administration, in conjunction with the Victoria University College Political Science Society.

EDITOR : R. S. Parker, M.Ec., Professor-in-charge, School of Political Science, Victoria University College, P.O. Box 196, Wellington, New Zealand.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE : R. H. Brookes, B.Sc.Econ., A. T. Howarth, M.A., B. C. Lumsden, B.A.

BUSINESS MANAGER : L. J. Fitzgerald, B.A., c/o Victoria University College.

POLITICAL SCIENCE is intended as a forum for the recording of research, the discussion of issues, and the criticism of published work in the fields of political theory and political institutions with special, but not exclusive, reference to New Zealand. Contributions by practitioners, teachers, students and others interested in politics in New Zealand or abroad are welcome. Opinions expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the Editor or the Editorial Committee.

Trade enquiries should be addressed to the Business Manager, who will also deal with advertising rates and local subscriptions. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. Enquiries are invited for distribution rights in the United Kingdom, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Australia.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES : NEW ZEALAND AND UNITED KINGDOM, 10s. for 4 issues, post free (single copies 2s. 6d. plus postage) from the Business Manager, *POLITICAL SCIENCE*;

AUSTRALIA, 12s. for 4 issues, post free (single copies 3s. plus postage) from the Business Manager, *POLITICAL SCIENCE*;

CANADA AND U.S.A., \$2 for 5 issues, post free (single copies 40 cents plus postage) from Stechert-Hafner, Inc., 31 East 10th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

Political Science

VOLUME 5 MARCH, 1953

NUMBER 1

Contents

Party Discipline in Australia (I) : J. D. B. Miller 3

An Historical Survey

The Twenty-one Day Rule : G. A. Schubert, Jr. 16

The Politics of Legislative Procedure

A Jesuit on DIAMAT : Review Article J. F. Kaln 30

The 1952 Presidential Election : Warren E. Miller 43

A Study by the Survey Research Centre

How Marxism Came to New Zealand : Herbert Roth 56

A Note on Ideological Diffusion

BOOKS REVIEWED : TEN GREAT ECONOMISTS by Joseph A. Schumpeter, reviewed by Frank Holmes ; THE INHERITANCE OF THE COMMON LAW by Richard O'Sullivan and THE RATIONAL STRENGTH OF ENGLISH LAW by F. H. Lawson, reviewed by H. R. C. Wild ; THE FINANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) by J. M. Drummond, reviewed by T. W. M. Ashby. 60

How Marxism came to New Zealand

by HERBERT ROTH

NOTE—This brief article is published as containing some interesting facts on a topic that deserves much fuller treatment, viz. the history of political ideas in New Zealand. Much similar material needs to be published before a balanced survey can be attempted of the influence of any political doctrines in this country.—Ed.

Marx, as is well known, gave some space in *Das Kapital* to a discussion of Wakefield's theory of colonization, but his first practical contact with New Zealand problems was concerned with a much less important matter. In January 1871, a Working Men's Mutual Protection Society was formed in Christchurch to warn prospective immigrants to New Zealand about the severe depression then raging in this country. The secretary, James McPherson, had somehow heard of the International Working Men's Association (Marx's First International) and he wrote to their headquarters in London asking them to inform their British affiliations about conditions in New Zealand.

From the International, in turn, McPherson received reports of meetings and congresses and this influence is obvious in his pamphlet *Reasons Why the Working Men of New Zealand should become Internationalists*, published early in 1872. 'Our interests imperatively demand,' he wrote, 'that we should take upon ourselves the making of the laws, which hitherto have operated so harshly against us.' He urged New Zealand workers to 'fight under the banner of the International', but he only incompletely absorbed the message of internationalism, for in the same pamphlet we find violent attacks on Chinese immigration to the South Island gold fields.

'I shall visit Westland and the Otago goldfield about April, 1872,' concluded McPherson, 'when I shall have received more information from the General Council of the Working Men's International Association, London.' Nothing, unfortunately, is known about this

visit, or of McPherson's further contacts with London. The First International, I have been told, appointed as its representative in New Zealand an English member about to emigrate to this country, but a search of shipping lists fails to reveal whether this man ever arrived here.

Some ten years later, the growth of the factory system, sweating and depression, and the successes of the 'New Unionism' in Britain caused a sudden demand for socialist literature. W. P. Reeves, under the pseudonym Pharos, wrote a series of articles for the *Lyttelton Times* on socialist theories from the ancient Greeks up to Marx and Lassalle and their followers in Britain. In 1890, these articles were published in pamphlet form: *Some Historical Articles on Communism and Socialism; their Dreams, their Experiments, their Aims, their Influence*.

Marx's works began to be studied in this country and they were advertised regularly in socialist periodicals. Thus, the *Forward*, an 'independent journal of social reform' published in Auckland in 1896, offered for sale Marx's *Theory of Value*, together with Fabian Tracts and Essays and works by Blatchford and Bellamy. The *Socialist*, published in Christchurch in 1897, advertised Marx's *Capital* and Engels's *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

Two years later we have the first local publication devoted to an exposition of Marx's ideas. A. R. Barclay, lecturer in Constitutional History at Otago University, published in pamphlet form an address he gave before a Roslyn audience on *The Origin of Wealth, Being the Theory of Karl Marx in Simple Form*. 'Probably to Marx, more than to any man in the world, is owing the labour legislation in New Zealand,' wrote Barclay, and he called Marx 'perhaps the greatest name in Germany' and 'one of the most brilliant intellects and greatest scholars of our age' who deserved a place 'in the first ranks of the immortals'.

While paying tribute to the way Marx had laid bare the evils of capitalism, Barclay averred that Marx had found no solution for these evils, and he proceeded to propound his own panacea, the nationalisation of the means of production. Later that year, in December 1899, Barclay was elected to the House of Representatives for Dunedin City, and in 1907 he introduced into Parliament a motion for the nationalisation of the supply of food and clothes. He quoted Marx in his introductory speech, but his motion was defeated by a large majority.

Meanwhile the New Zealand Socialist Party had been established, with branches in Wellington, Auckland, and Christchurch. It consisted largely of recent immigrants from Britain and other countries, and united supporters of the Independent Labour Party, the Social-Democratic Federation, the American Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party, and even a few intellectual anarchists. Only the extreme smallness of their numbers seems to have prevented the frequent splits which were such a feature of the political labour movement overseas.

The main activity of the Socialist Party was educational; public lectures were given each week and economic classes were conducted which studied Marx together with other socialist writers. Through its connection with the Australasian Socialist Federation in Sydney, the party was affiliated to the Second Socialist International, but it could hardly be described as Marxist. Influenced largely by Blatchford's *Clarion*, the *Labour Leader*, and later the 'direct actionism' of the American I.W.W., it received what Mélin called 'the reflection rather than the direct rays of Western socialism'.

There were, however, among the members of the Socialist Party people who considered themselves Marxists; Marx's works were studied and widely distributed, and there was even an attempt, by a Johnsonville painter, at a Marxist interpretation of Maori history. In 1912, in reply to the Unity Proposals of the American 'Professor' W. T. Mills, the N.Z. Socialist Party adopted a resolution that 'unity can only be effected and effective if based upon the revolutionary Marxian conception of the class struggle, with the socialist objective clearly avowed and the name, procedure and principles of the International Socialist Movement adopted'.

Another pamphlet on Marxism was published in Auckland early in 1913: *Marxian Economics Simplified*, by an author who went under the pseudonym of Marxian Grocer's Assistant. The author's real name is still a mystery and no copy of this pamphlet seems to have survived.

Six months earlier, there had been formed the first avowedly Marxist organisation in New Zealand, the Petone Marxian Club. Its leader was Raymond Tune, a tally clerk employed by the Gear Meat Company, who drew his inspiration from the Socialist Party of Great Britain. A dozen members, mainly Petone workers, but including a local school teacher, attended the first meeting on 21st October, 1912, and unanimously passed the following resolutions: That this Club meet every Monday night at 8 p.m. right up to the day of the Revolution, and That this Club be reserved exclusively for the

discussion of Marxism. They pledged themselves to support 'none other than a Marxian Revolutionist' and this pledge was signed, during the first year of the Club's existence, by some thirty members.

The subjects discussed at the weekly meetings seem rather odd at times, e.g. Confiscation of the Family, or Prostitution and the Industrial Reserve Army, but somehow the Petone Marxian Club managed to keep alive right through the war years. In the second half of 1918, the balance sheet shows nineteen meetings with an average attendance of eight members. Expenditure, besides rent, consisted of eight copies of Marcy's *Shop Talks on Economics*, five copies of Marx's *Value, Price and Profit*, three subscriptions to a Canadian socialist paper, and 200 copies of the *Bolshevik Declaration of Rights*.

By this time Marxist study classes had been formed in other centres, such as Huntly and the West Coast, and in 1919, these groups united to form the New Zealand Marxian Association which became, two years later, the N.Z. Communist Party. Influenced by events in Russia, the *Maoriland Worker*, the official organ of the Labour Party, published articles on Marxist economics for some months, and Harry Holland, in 1921, brought out a pamphlet on *The Marxian Theory of Value*, but from the twenties onwards the history of Marxism in New Zealand is essentially the history of the N.Z. Communist Party.