

1: The Accumulation of Capital - Rosa Luxemburg - Google Books

The Accumulation of Capital. During the years Rosa Luxemburg lectured on political economy at a German Social Democratic Party school of activists.

Tadeusz Kowalik, the doyen of Polish political economists, died at his home in Warsaw on July 30, 1982. He challenged both the commonly accepted view of the Keynesian Revolution and the inability of Polish Communists to come to terms with their revolutionary past and find a place for themselves in the modern world. In 1947, he completed undergraduate studies in law at Warsaw University with outstanding results and went on to study for a doctorate in economics under Oskar Lange. Kowalik completed his doctoral studies in 1950. He lasted only two years in this position before being removed when the ruling party started to close down the discussion on reform. However, under the patronage of his supervisor, he kept his position as lecturer in political economy at the social science university run for party activists and commenced research for the habilitacja, the second research degree that Polish academics must obtain. During his first visit to the United Kingdom in the early 1950s, Kowalik defended a version of the then-fashionable Convergence Thesis—that the communist and the capitalist worlds were both gradually becoming welfare technocracies tempered by democracy. The democratic West was becoming more socialist in the development of the welfare state with Keynesian economic policies, underpinned by state control of key sectors of the economy, which secured high rates of employment and greater equality. The Communist bloc already had full employment and social equality, and its technological capability was demonstrated in by the Soviet Sputnik spaceship. The KPP had been disbanded in 1956 and its leadership executed by Stalin. His meeting with Deutscher was put forward as evidence of the ideological laxity that needed to be purged, despite the formal rehabilitation of the KPP in 1956. But Kowalik retained his position at the Polish Academy of Sciences. After 1956, Kowalik was active in unofficial, dissident university discussions. The resumption of strikes after the imposition of wage austerity in the late 1950s culminated in the establishment of the Solidarity trade union. The result was the set of principles that now adorn a wall in the European Trade Union Confederation in Brussels, enshrining full employment, freedom of organization, the right to strike, equal pay, social welfare, and participation in management as rights for all workers. Following the suppression of Solidarity at the end of 1981, Kowalik wrote and edited prolifically in the underground press in support of the union and its principles of democratic syndicalism. These were also the themes of reformed socialism that Kowalik had been advocating since the 1950s. He had been radicalized both by the poverty he experienced in his youth and the struggle against the Nazi occupation of Poland, and these brought him to join the KPP in 1947. His economic ideas were formed initially by Lange, who encouraged him to read Marx and take seriously all schools of thought in economics. Kalecki had participated in these debates largely as an observer, drawing from them what he needed for his own theoretical development, rather than engaging in more systematic comprehension and criticism of the Marxists. Following his interviews with Kowalik, Kalecki returned to these authors and went on to publish a paper recording his understanding that Luxemburg and Tugan-Baranovsky had both addressed the key issue of aggregate demand in capitalism. The key function of demand in a capitalist economy is that it is necessary to allow capitalists to realize profits. It is in this context that the problem of aggregate demand is found in Tugan-Baranovsky and Luxemburg. According to Kalecki, both were right in identifying the difficulty of realizing profit as the central problem of capitalism. But they were wrong in regarding this difficulty as being overcome in practice, either by external markets Luxemburg or shifts towards more capital-intensive production Tugan-Baranovsky. By the time the paper came out Kalecki was dead and Kowalik was forbidden to publish under his own name. The Academy had an autonomous position among those Polish institutions dominated by the Communist authorities, and the Lange project was considered of national and international importance. In it he tried to reconstruct the political economy of the first half of the twentieth century, a task that Karl Marx set out to achieve for mid-nineteenth-century political economy and never completed. There is, of course, an intellectual background to the book that reaches back to Marx. As criticism of authoritarian rule became more common, it spread into open discussion of alternative ideas not only about socialism, but also about capitalism. In the

course of writing the book Kowalik analyzed the key figures of early to mid-twentieth-century political economy in a strikingly original way. The most prominent among those who did so was Rosa Luxemburg. This mistaken interpretation of Luxemburg was related to false accusations against her by both Sweezy and Bukharin whom Sweezy cited, namely that her analysis required that consumption be held constant—that it assumed, in other words, conditions of simple reproduction. An Anti-Critique, which was her response to critics. The English-speaking world was not to know of this because, apart from Italian and Spanish editions of his book, his great work on Luxemburg was not translated into any foreign language. Sweezy himself was to change. Kalecki was well-known in the United States in the early 1930s when Sweezy wrote his book. But The Theory of Capitalist Development contains no mention of Kalecki, although Keynes makes an appearance in the conclusion. Sweezy crossed paths with Kalecki when, at the end of 1933, the latter settled in New York and began working for the United Nations, and they met regularly for discussions right up to his return to Poland. Steindl put forward an analysis of U.S. Such a reduction in prices would help to keep real wages stable. Instead corporations keep their prices high, relative to wages, and operate at less than full productive capacity. Their unused capacity discourages further investment, with the result that profits fall, discouraging investment still further. Steindl therefore clearly put forward underinvestment as being the cause of difficulties in realizing surplus value, rather than insufficient consumption in the economy. The problem of how surplus is to be realized remains an intractable problem in capitalism. But, in his work with Paul Baran, this problem now appeared not as underconsumption but as insufficient investment or capital accumulation. But by the time his defense of Luxemburg was published, Kowalik would have been aware that Sweezy had shifted his position. Like Sweezy, Kowalik considered the business-cycle theory of Kalecki as the medium through which Keynesian ideas are linked to those late-nineteenth-century debates on capitalist reproduction. Rather, Keynes saw in an imperfect way what Kalecki realized much more clearly on the basis of the Marxist discussions around the work of Luxemburg. In 1938, two additional volumes were published which contained selected papers that had been previously edited for political reasons. In the Polish Communist authorities agreed to more democratic elections and transferred their financial dependence from Moscow to Washington. The results were a catastrophic rise in unemployment and inflation. The fall of communism brought disillusionment to Kowalik, not just on account of the political shift towards free market capitalism, but also because of the associated neglect of his heroes Luxemburg, Kalecki, and Lange. As the political wing of Solidarity degenerated into a nationalist reaction to foreign control over the Polish economy, Kowalik argued that capitalism did not have to come in the brutal form of markets regulated by mass unemployment. In particular, constitutional commitments to full employment had to be respected. After engaging with a series of short-lived left-wing parties he settled down to the role of the conscience of leftist economists, debating and writing in support of socialist alternatives. His last book, *From Solidarity to Sellout: General Problems* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1975), "Selected Essays of Oskar Lange" (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1984), Edward Elgar, 1984, 49 "Cambridge University Press, 1984" "Almost by stealth, he became a central and deeply ambiguous figure in twentieth-century political economy. Clarendon Press, 1984, Is it workers who are consuming too little, or capitalists, and does it make any difference? Monthly Review Press, 1975" 76, Oxford University Press, 1984, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984, Monthly Review Press, 1984" Basil Blackwell, 1984" Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966), chapter 4. However, Desai, King, and Howard extend the notion of underconsumptionism to any lack of aggregate demand in a capitalist economy. See note 13 above. Routledge, 1984

2: The Rosa Luxemburg Reader - IMHO Journal

*The Accumulation of Capital [Rosa Luxemburg] on www.enganchecubano.com *FREE* shipping on qualifying offers. This work has been selected by scholars as being culturally important, and is part of the knowledge base of civilization as we know it.*

Several important Luxemburg texts that have been translated into English for the first time by Ashley Passmore and me: The editors have contributed an introduction that argues for Luxemburg as a Marxist for our times. Cornerstone Publications, Persian edition: Nika Publishing, Turkish edition: Her fiery critical intellect and ardent spirit are as vital for this time as in her own. With meticulous care, including valuable endnotes, editors Hudis and Anderson project her in the fullness of her being and thought. You go on being our source of fresh water in thirsty times. Imagine as you read between the lines of what she wrote, the expression of her eyes. She loved workers and birds. She danced with a limp. Everything about her fascinates and rings true. One of the immortals. The Dissolution of Primitive Communism: The Politics of Revolution: Social Reform and Revolution 6. Theory and Practice 9. Writings on Women A Tactical Question b. Spontaneity, Organization, and Democracy in the Disputes with Lenin Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy On the State of Russian Social Democracy The Crisis in German Social Democracy Speeches and Letters on War and Revolution, a. The Socialization of Society c. What Does the Spartacus League Want? Our Program and the Political Situation e. Order Reigns in Berlin Part V:

3: Rosa Luxemburg - Infogalactic: the planetary knowledge core

Rosa Luxemburg The Accumulation of Capital No part of this book may be reprinted accumulation, and is a sine qua.

It is significant that in the history of economics we find only two attempts at an exact exposition of this problem: In the interim, the problem was ever with bourgeois economics. Yet bourgeois economists have never been fully aware of this problem in its pure aspects, detached from related and intersecting minor problems: Seeing that the problem is of paramount importance, their attempts may all the same help us to some understanding of the trend of scientific economics. What is it precisely that constitutes this problem of the reproduction of total capital? At first sight it may be difficult to see in what respect the idea of reproduction differs from that of repetition which we can all understand – why such a new and unfamiliar term should be required. But in the sort of repetition which we shall consider, in the continual recurrence of the process of production, there are certain distinctive features. First, the regular repetition of reproduction is the general sine qua non of regular consumption which in its turn has been the precondition of human civilisation in every one of its historical forms. The concept of reproduction, viewed in this way, reflects an aspect of the history of civilisation. Production can never be resumed, there can be no reproduction, unless certain prerequisites such as tools, raw materials and labour have been established during the preceding period of production. So long as hunting and fishing were the main foundations of social existence, frequent periods of general starvation interrupted the regular repetition of production. Some primitive peoples recognised at a very early stage that for reproduction as a regularly recurring process certain measures were essential; these they incorporated into ceremonies of a religious nature; and in this way they accepted such measures as traditional social commitments. Thus, as the thorough researches of Spencer and Gillen have taught us, the totem cult of the Australian negroes is fundamentally nothing but certain measures taken by social groups for the purpose of securing and preserving their animal and vegetable foodstuffs; these precautions had been taken year by year since time immemorial and thus they became fossilised into religious ceremonials. Yet the circle of consumption and production which forms the essence of reproduction became possible only with the invention of tillage with the hoe, with the taming of domestic animals, and with cattle-raising for the purpose of consumption. On the other hand, at all stages of social development, the process of production is based on the continuation of two different, though closely connected factors, the technical and social conditions – on the precise relationship between man and nature and that between men and men. Reproduction depends to the same degree on both these conditions. We have just seen how reproduction is bound up with the conditions of human working techniques, how far it is indeed solely the result of a certain level of labour productivity; but the social forms of production prevailing in each case are no less decisive. In a primitive communist agrarian community, reproduction as well as the whole plan of economic life is determined by the community of all workers and their democratic organs. The decision to re-engage in labour – the organisation of labour – the provision of raw materials, tools, and man-power, as the essential preliminaries of labour – the arrangement of reproduction and the determination of its volume are all results of a planned co-operation in which everybody within the boundaries of the community takes his part. In a society producing by capitalist methods, reproduction assumes a peculiar form, as a mere glance at certain striking phenomena will show us. In every other society known to history, reproduction recurs in a regular sequence as far as its preconditions, the existing means of production and labour power, make this possible. As a rule, only external influences such as a devastating war or a great pestilence, depopulating vast areas of former cultural life, and consequently destroying masses of labour power and of accumulated means of production, can result in a complete interruption of reproduction or in its contraction to any considerable extent for longer or shorter periods. A despotic organisation of the plan of production may on occasion lead to similar phenomena. In all these cases the causes of these interruptions of reproduction obviously lay in the one-sided determination of the plan of reproduction by those in power. Societies which produce according to capitalist methods present a different picture. We observe that in certain periods all the ingredients of reproduction may be available, both labour and means of production, and yet some vital needs of society for consumer goods may be left

unfulfilled. We find that in spite of these resources reproduction may in part be completely suspended and in part curtailed. Here it is no despotic interference with the economic plan that is responsible for the difficulties in the process of production. Quite apart from all technical conditions, reproduction here depends on purely social considerations: Thus profit becomes an end in itself, the decisive factor which determines not only production but also reproduction. Not only does it decide in each case what work is to be undertaken, how it is to be carried out, and how the products are to be distributed; what is more, profit decides, also, at the end of every working period, whether the labour process is to be resumed, and, if so, to what extent and in what direction it should be made to operate. There is, as we shall see, an external characteristic which shows clearly this specific historical peculiarity of the capitalist process of reproduction. Comprising not only production but also circulation the process of exchange, it unites these two elements. Capitalist production is primarily production by innumerable private producers without any planned regulation. The only social link between these producers is the act of exchange. In taking account of social requirements reproduction has no clue to go on other than the experiences of the preceding labour period. These experiences, however, remain the private experiences of individual producers and are not integrated into a comprehensive and social form. Moreover, they do not always refer positively and directly to the needs of society. They are often rather indirect and negative, for it is only on the basis of price fluctuations that they indicate whether the aggregate of produced commodities falls short of the effective demand or exceeds it. Yet the individual private producers make recurrent use of these experiences of the preceding labour period when they re-engage in reproduction, so that glut or shortage are bound to occur again in the following period. Individual branches of production may develop independently, so that there may be a surplus in one branch and a deficiency in another. But as nearly all individual branches of production are interdependent technically, glut or shortage in some of the larger branches of production lead to the same phenomenon in most of the others. Thus the general supply of products may alternate periodically between shortage and surplus relative to the social demand. Herein lies the peculiar character of reproduction in a capitalist society, which differs from all other known forms of production. In the first place, every branch of production develops independently within certain limits, in a way that leads to periodical interruptions of production of shorter or longer duration. Secondly, the individual branches of reproduction show deviations from social requirements amounting to all-round disparity and thus resulting in a general interruption of reproduction. These features of capitalist reproduction are quite characteristic. In all other economic systems, reproduction runs its uninterrupted and regular course, apart from external disturbance by violence. Every such spiral starts with small loops which become increasingly larger and eventually very large indeed. Then they contract, and a new spiral starts again with small loops, repeating the figure up to the point of interruption. This periodical fluctuation between the largest volume of reproduction and its contraction to partial suspension, this cycle of slump, boom, and crisis, as it has been called, is the most striking peculiarity of capitalist reproduction. It is very important, however, to establish quite firmly and from the very outset that this cyclical movement of boom, slump, and crisis, does not represent the whole problem of capitalist reproduction, although it is an essential element of it. Periodical cycles and crises are specific phases of reproduction in a capitalist system of economy, but not the whole of this process. In order to demonstrate the pure implications of capitalist reproduction we must rather consider it quite apart from the periodical cycles and crises. Strange as this may appear, the method is quite rational; it is indeed the only method of inquiry that is scientifically tenable. In order to demonstrate and to solve the problem of pure value we must leave price fluctuations out of consideration. The approach of vulgar economics always attempts to solve the problem of value by reference to fluctuations in demand and supply. Classical economists, from Adam Smith to Karl Marx, attack the problem in the opposite way, pointing out that fluctuations in the mutual relation between demand and supply can explain only disparities between price and value, not value itself. In order to find the value of a commodity, we must start by assuming that demand and supply are in a state of equilibrium, that the price of a commodity and its value closely correspond to one another. Thus the scientific problem of value begins at the very point where the effect of demand and supply ceases to operate. In consequence of periodical cycles and crises capitalist reproduction fluctuates as a rule around the level of the effective total demand of society, sometimes rising above and sometimes falling below

this level, contracting occasionally even to the point of almost complete interruption of reproduction. However, if we consider a longer period, a whole cycle with its alternating phases of prosperity and depression, of boom and slump, that is if we consider reproduction at its highest and lowest volume, including the stage of suspension, we can set off boom against slump and work out an average, a mean volume of reproduction for the whole cycle. This average is not only a theoretical figment of thought, it is also a real objective fact. For in spite of the sharp rises and falls in the course of a cycle, in spite of crises, the needs of society are always satisfied, more or less, reproduction continues on its complicated course, and productive capacities develop progressively. How can this take place, leaving cycles and crises out of consideration? Here the real question begins. The attempt to solve the problem of reproduction in terms of the periodical character of crises is fundamentally a device of vulgar economics, just like the attempt to solve the problem, of value in terms of fluctuations in demand and supply. Nevertheless, we shall see in the course of our observations that as soon as economic theory gets an inkling of the problem of reproduction, as soon as it has at least started guessing at the problem, it reveals a persistent tendency, suddenly to transform the problem of reproduction into the problem of crises, thus barring its own way to the solution of the question. When we speak of capitalist reproduction in the following exposition, we shall always understand by this term a mean volume of productivity which is an average taken over the various phases of a cycle. Now, the total of capitalist reproduction is created by an unlimited and constantly changing number of private producers. They produce independently of one another; apart from the observation of price fluctuations there is no social control – no social link exists between the individual producers other than the exchange of commodities. The question arises how these innumerable disconnected operations can lead to the actual total of production. This general aspect of our problem indeed strikes us immediately as one of prime importance. But if we put it this way, we overlook the fact that such private producers are not simply producers of commodities but are essentially capitalist producers, that the total production of society is not simply production for the sake of satisfying social requirements, and equally not merely production of commodities, but essentially capitalist production. Let us examine our problem anew in the light of this fact. A producer who produces not only commodities but capital must above all create surplus value. The proceeds from the commodities he has manufactured must not only recompense him for all his outlay, but in addition they must yield him a value which does not correspond with any expense on his part, and is pure gain. If we consider the process of production from the point of view of the creation of surplus value, we see that the capital advanced by the capitalist is divided into two parts: The second part is spent on wages. This holds good, even if the capitalist producer does not know it himself, and in spite of the pious stuff about fixed and circulating capital with which he may delude himself and the world. Marx called this first part constant capital. Its value is not changed by its utilisation in the labour process – it is transferred in toto to the finished product. The second part Marx calls the variable capital. This gives rise to an additional value, which materialises when the results of unpaid labour are appropriated. The various components which make up the value of every commodity produced by capitalist methods may be expressed by the formula: In this formula c stands for the value of the constant capital laid out in inanimate means of production and transferred to the commodity, v stands for the value of the variable capital advanced in form of wages, and s stands for the surplus value, the additional value of the unpaid part of wage labour. Every type of goods shows these three components of value, whether we consider an individual commodity or the aggregate of commodities as a whole, whether we consider cotton textiles or ballet performances, cast-iron tubes or liberal newspapers. Thus for the capitalist producer the manufacture of commodities is not an end in itself, it is only a means to the appropriation of surplus value. This surplus value, however, can be of no use to the capitalist so long as it remains hidden in the commodity form of the product. Once the commodity has been produced, it must be realised, it must be converted into a form of pure value; that is, into money. All capital expenses incorporated in the commodity must shed their commodity-form and revert to the capitalist as money to make this conversion possible so that he can appropriate the surplus value in cash. The purpose of production is fulfilled only when this conversion has been successful, only when the aggregate of commodities has been sold according to its value. The aim and incentive of capitalist production is not a surplus value pure and simple, to be appropriated in any desired quantity, but a surplus value ever growing into larger quantities,

surplus value ad infinitum. But to achieve this aim, the same magic means must be used over and over again, the means of capitalist production – the ever repeated appropriation of the proceeds of unpaid wage labour in the process of commodity manufacture, and the subsequent realisation of the commodities so produced. Thus quite a new incentive is given to constantly renewed production, to the process of reproduction as a regular phenomenon in capitalist society, an incentive unknown to any other system of production. But in a capitalist system of production, it is not consideration of social needs which actuates the individual private producer who alone matters in this connection. His production is determined entirely by the effective demand, and even this is to him a mere means for the realisation of surplus value which for him is indispensable. Appropriation of surplus value is his real incentive, and production of consumer goods for the satisfaction of the effective demand is only a detour when we look to the real motive, that of appropriation of surplus value, although for the individual capitalist it is also a rule of necessity. This motive, to appropriate surplus value, also urges him to re-engage in reproduction over and over again.

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The third condition is as follows: provided that part of the realised surplus value has been added to capital for the purpose of accumulation, this new capital must first assume its productive form of labour and inanimate means of production.

Needless to say, the absolute figures of the diagram are arbitrary in every equation, but that does not detract from their scientific value. It is the quantitative ratios which are relevant, since they are supposed to express strictly determinate relationships. Those precise logical rules that lay down the relations of accumulation in Department I seem to have been gained at the cost of any kind of principle in construing these relations for Department II; and this circumstance calls for a revision of the immanent connections revealed by the analysis. It will now be easy to show, assuming as a point of departure for enlarged reproduction that the constant capital in Department II was not smaller than in simple reproduction, that there would have been disequilibrium between Department I and Department II: If Rosa Luxemburg did not abstract from a number of other factors, such as the rise in the rate of exploitation and the rise in the organic composition of capital, her argument would have been even stronger. It is easy to prove that if the rate of exploitation rises, so that the ratio of surplus value to wage s : Any rise in the portion of the surplus value accumulated would work in the same direction, as well as any growth of the organic composition of capital. The above-mentioned three tendencies – the rise in the rate of exploitation, rise in the rate of accumulation, and rise in the organic composition of capital – Marx assumed to be absolute and immanent laws of capitalism. However, there is one important factor which cancels out all the above factors and is immanently connected with them: The rise in the organic composition of capital, the improvement of technique, has been historically and logically connected with the rise of Department I compared with Department II. Thus it was calculated that the ratio of net output of capital goods to that of consumer goods was in Britain as follows: The figures for the United States were: The figures for Japan: We shall give a diagrammatic example for each of these two processes. We shall assume also that the other factors the rate of exploitation at percent, the organic composition of capital where constant capital is five times bigger than variable capital remain unchanged. Thus at the end of the first year, instead of a surplus in Department II as presumed by Rosa Luxemburg, a surplus appears in Department I, amounting to 3. End of second year: The surplus in Department I is now End of third year: From the above diagrams it is clear that if we assume that the rate of exploitation and the organic composition of capital remain unchanged, while the rate of accumulation in Department I is higher than in Department II, then overproduction appears in Department I. Let us illustrate this process diagrammatically. We shall assume that the rate of exploitation, the organic composition of capital and the rate of accumulation are the same in both departments and they remain unchanged. At the same time, we shall assume that half the surplus value produced in Department II is being transferred to Department I. The progress of enlarged production could then be described by the following diagrams: Now the first argument falls through owing to the fact that exchange between enterprises in the same department can serve to realise the surplus value: Secondly, quite a large number of consumer goods can serve also as means of production: Thirdly, without the possibility of transference of capital from one department to another, the postulate that the rate of profit throughout the economy tends to equality, which is basic Marxian economics, loses its foundation. From the diagrams given above it becomes clear that a relative increase of Department I compared with Department II, if all other conditions remain unchanged, brings in its wake surpluses in the exchange relations in Department I. Can this factor not counteract the one pointed out by Rosa Luxemburg to be the cause of a surplus in Department II? Are the different counteracting factors not in fact two sides of one coin, the progress of capitalist economy? Of course this is so. Rosa Luxemburg came to the conclusion that a surplus must appear in Department II because she paid attention to only one side of the coin. Considering both sides, it is clear that it is possible in pure capitalism for proportionality between the two departments to exist, while the accumulation in both is regular, not erratic. However, the theoretical possibility of the preservation of correct proportionalities between the two departments, which will prevent overproduction by their mutual exchange while accumulation goes forward

on an even keel, does not mean that in actual life the anarchic and atomistic working of capitalism leads to continuous and stable preservation of the proportionalities needed. And here the factor Rosa Luxemburg pointed to – the existence of non-capitalist formations into which capitalism expands – is extremely important. If it is not a prerequisite for enlarged reproduction as Rosa Luxemburg argued, it is, at least, a factor that eases the process of enlarged reproduction, of accumulation, by making the interdependence of the two departments less than absolute. From this we get most complicated relations, divergencies in the speed and direction of accumulation for the two departments, different relations with non-capitalist modes of production as regards both material elements and elements of value. Hence the exchange between capitalist industry and the non-capitalist sphere, even if it is small in absolute terms, may have a tremendous effect on the elasticity, and hence stability, of capitalism. In her book Rosa Luxemburg goes backwards and forwards between analyses of the schemas of reproduction – which describe exchange relationships between the two departments of industry – and another set of relations between the two departments: Capitalist prosperity depends upon the increasing output and absorption of capital goods. But this depends in the last analysis upon the capacity of industry to sell an increasing output of consumer goods. However, in trying to sell its products, capitalist industry enters into deepening contradictions, the most fundamental of which is that between production and the limited market: Relying on this factor – even if she herself did not develop all the main consequences of it – one can try and sum up the effect of the expansion of capitalism into non-capitalist territories thus: By increasing the internal market in the industrial countries, the tendency for overproduction is weakened, unemployment decreases, wages rise. The export of cotton goods from Britain to India presupposes that India is able to pay for it straight away, by exporting cotton, for instance. On the other hand, the export of capital for the building of a railway presupposes an export of goods – rails, locomotives, etc – beyond the immediate purchasing power or exporting power of India. In other words, for a time the export of capital is an important factor in enlarging markets for the industries of the advanced countries. However, in time this factor turns into its opposite: In other words, the act of exporting capital from Britain to India expands the market for British goods; the payment of interest and profit on existing British capital in India restricts the markets for British goods. Hence the existence of great British capital investments abroad does not at all exclude overproduction and mass unemployment in Britain. Even if the surplus of capital looking vainly for investment were very small, its cumulative influence could be tremendous, as it would create pressure in the capital markets, and strengthen the downward trend of the rate of profit. This in turn would have a cumulative effect of its own on the activity of capital, on the entire economic activity, on employment, and so on the purchasing power of the masses, and so again in a vicious circle on the markets. The export of surplus capital can obviate these difficulties and can thus be of great importance to the whole of capitalist prosperity, and thus to reformism. This to some extent explains the technical backwardness of British industry, the pioneer of the industrial revolution, as compared with that of Germany today, for example. This weakens the tendencies to overproduction and unemployment, wage cuts, and so on. Of course, in changed circumstances, in which Britain has ceased to hold a virtual monopoly in the industrial world, this factor may well cause the defeat of British industry in the world market, unemployment and cuts in wages. This increase of wages means widened domestic markets without a decrease in the rate and amount of profit, in other words, without weakening the motive of capitalist production. If not for the barrier a financial one to mass Indian immigration into Britain, wages in Britain would not have risen throughout the last century. The crisis of capitalism would have got deeper and deeper. Reformism would not have been able to replace revolutionary Chartism. Whatever one thinks, one cannot doubt the tremendous service Rosa Luxemburg did in drawing attention to the effect of non-capitalist spheres on the stability of capitalism. However, even if Rosa Luxemburg did not include this factor in her analysis – and it is extraneous to the main line of her argument about the possibility or impossibility of enlarged reproduction in pure capitalism – one cannot explain the rise in real wages itself independently of the main feature Rosa Luxemburg pointed out: Actually, what is needed for smooth reproduction is not only that a certain proportionality be kept between the production of Department I and that of Department II in the whole economy, but that the proportionality between the departments be kept also in every branch of the economy. Thus, for instance, the production of clothing machinery Department I will need

to fit the demand for this kind of machinery in the clothing industry Department II. She took it that the periodical cycles are phases of reproduction in capitalist economy, but not the whole of the process. Therefore, she abstracted her analysis from the cycles in order to study the process of reproduction in purity and as a whole. How can this take place, leaving cycles and crises out of consideration? Here the real question begins. When we speak of capitalist reproduction in the following exposition, we shall always understand by this term a mean volume of productivity which is an average taken over the various phases of a cycle. Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital* London, , pp. We have not the space to deal with it here. The reader should consult the source. And this is said not by a disciple of Malthus, but of Marx, for whom the primary factor should not be population increase but capital accumulation! In her argument Rosa Luxemburg made a number of side errors which were discovered subsequently by N. Bukharin in his *Der Imperialismus und die Akkumulation des Kapitals*, although he did not disprove her central thesis even though he thought he did. Thus, for instance, Rosa Luxemburg devoted a good deal of attention to purely monetary problems of capital accumulation – whether, for instance, one should include the production of money commodity gold, silver, etc in Department I, as Marx did, or, as she herself proposed, should add a third department. It seems that in a number of places in her book Rosa Luxemburg confuses the question: But as this is of only secondary importance to her main thesis, we shall not deal with it here. This was pointed out by F. Sternberg, in *Der Imperialismus* Berlin, , p.

5: Monthly Review | Tadeusz Kowalik and the Accumulation of Capital

Accumulation of capital is based on continuous cycles of what Marx called "primitive accumulation." The techniques of this accumulation are, in my own words, enslavement, colonization, and land rape. There is a limit to it I make no judgment of Luxemburg's criticisms of Marx or other theorists.

Luxemburg later stated that her father imparted an interest in liberal ideas in her, while her mother was religious and well read with books kept at home. From 1890, she belonged to the Polish left-wing Proletariat Party founded in 1882, anticipating the Russian parties by 20 years. She began political activities by organizing a general strike in 1895; as a result, four of the Proletariat Party leaders were put to death and the party was disbanded, though the remaining members, including Luxemburg, kept meeting in secret. In 1897, she passed her Matura secondary school graduation examinations. After fleeing to Switzerland to escape detention in 1898, she attended the University of Zurich as did the socialists Anatoly Lunacharsky and Leo Jogiches, where she studied philosophy, history, politics, economics, and mathematics. She specialized in Staatswissenschaft government science, the Middle Ages, and economic and stock exchange crises. Her doctoral dissertation, "The Industrial Development of Poland" Die Industrielle Entwicklung Polens, was officially presented in the spring of 1900 at the University of Zurich, which awarded her a Doctor of Law degree. Her dissertation was published by Duncker and Humblot in Leipzig in 1901. She was an oddity in Zurich as she was one of the very few women with a doctorate. She plunged immediately into the politics of international Marxism, following in the footsteps of Georgi Plekhanov and Pavel Axelrod. Luxemburg believed that an independent Poland could arise and exist only through socialist revolutions in Germany, Austria, and Russia. She maintained that the struggle should be against capitalism, not just for Polish independence. Her position of denying a national right of self-determination under socialism provoked a philosophic disagreement with Vladimir Lenin. Germany Rosa Luxemburg around 1903 Luxemburg wanted to move to Germany to be at the centre of the party struggle, but she had no way of obtaining permission to remain there indefinitely. In April she married the son of an old friend, Gustav Lubeck, in order to gain a German citizenship. They never lived together and they formally divorced five years later. Luxemburg hated the stifling conservatism of Berlin. She despised Prussian men and resented what she saw as the grip of urban Capitalism on social democracy. Their clear position was that the objectives of liberation for the industrial working class and all minorities could be achieved by revolution only. The recently published Letters of Rosa Luxemburg shed important light on her life in Germany. This farsightedness partly explains her remarkable popularity as a socialist icon and its continued resonance in movies, novels and memorials dedicated to her life and oeuvre. She was active there in the left wing of the SPD, in which she sharply defined the border between the views of her faction and the Revisionism Theory of Eduard Bernstein. She attacked him in her brochure Social Reform or Revolution, released in September 1905. She argued that the critical difference between capital and labour could only be countered if the proletariat assumed power and effected revolutionary changes in methods of production. She wanted the Revisionists ousted from the SPD. Foreseeing war, she vigorously attacked what she saw as German militarism and imperialism. Between 1905 and 1907, she was imprisoned for her political activities on three occasions. In 1907, she told a large meeting: The Reichstag unanimously agreed to financing the war. The SPD voted in favour of that and agreed to a truce Burgfrieden with the Imperial government, promising to refrain from any strikes during the war. This led Luxemburg to contemplate suicide: Shortly after her death, her fame was alluded to by Grigory Zinoviev at the Petrograd Soviet on 18 January 1918. As a result, in June Luxemburg was imprisoned for two and a half years, as was Karl Liebknecht. Rosa Luxemburg, Friends smuggled out and illegally published her articles. Among them was The Russian Revolution, criticising the Bolsheviks, presciently warning of their dictatorship. Nonetheless, she continued to call for a "dictatorship of the proletariat", albeit not of the one party Bolshevik model. In that context, she wrote the words "Freiheit ist immer die Freiheit des Andersdenkenden" Freedom is always the freedom of the one who thinks differently and continues in the same chapter "The public life of countries with limited freedom is so poverty-stricken, so miserable, so rigid, so unfruitful, precisely because, through the exclusion of democracy, it cuts off the living

sources of all spiritual riches and progress. German Revolution of 1919 See also: German Revolution of 1919 Luxemburg was freed from prison in Breslau on 8 November Today we can seriously set about destroying capitalism once and for all. Nay, more; not merely are we today in a position to perform this task, nor merely is its performance a duty toward the proletariat, but our solution offers the only means of saving human society from destruction. The Red Flag encouraged the rebels to occupy the editorial offices of the liberal press. In response to the uprising, the Social Democratic leader Friedrich Ebert ordered the Freikorps to destroy the left-wing revolution. Luxemburg was knocked down with a rifle butt by the soldier Otto Runge, then shot in the head, either by Lieutenant Kurt Vogel or by Lieutenant Hermann Souchon. Barricade during the Spartacist uprising The execution of Luxemburg and Liebknecht inspired a new wave of violence in Berlin and across Germany. Thousands of members of the KPD as well as other revolutionaries and civilians were killed. Luxemburg was held in high regard by Lenin and Leon Trotsky, who recognised her revolutionary credentials at the Third International. Last to strike was the Bavarian Soviet Republic, which was suppressed on 2 May However, Vogel escaped after a brief custody. Pabst and Souchon went unpunished. His account has been neither confirmed nor denied, since the case has not been examined by parliament or the courts. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were buried at the Friedrichsfelde Central Cemetery in Berlin, where socialists and communists commemorate them yearly on the second Sunday of January. Karl Kautsky, the ethical socialist, rejected neo-Kantian arguments in favour of social Darwinism. The proletariat had to be re-organized in and in 1911, as a precondition, before they could act. These formed the substantive form of arguments with Rosa Luxemburg in 1911, when the two seriously fell out. Kautsky was older than Luxemburg, more cautious, and he read mass strikes as adventurism. But radical qualitative change for the working class would lead Luxemburg into an age of revolution, which she thought had arrived. She was determined to push capitalism to its limits to develop class consciousness. According to Aronowitz, the vagueness of Luxemburgian democracy is one reason for its initial difficulty in gaining widespread support. Luxemburg herself clarified her position on democracy in her writings regarding the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union. Early on, Luxemburg attacked undemocratic tendencies present in the Russian Revolution: Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element. Public life gradually falls asleep, a few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible energy and boundless experience direct and rule. Yes, we can go even further: Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently. Not because of any fanatical concept of "justice" but because all that is instructive, wholesome and purifying in political freedom depends on this essential characteristic, and its effectiveness vanishes when "freedom" becomes a special privilege. But socialist democracy is not something which begins only in the promised land after the foundations of socialist economy are created; it does not come as some sort of Christmas present for the worthy people who, in the interim, have loyally supported a handful of socialist dictators. Socialist democracy begins simultaneously with the beginnings of the destruction of class rule and of the construction of socialism. Rosa Luxemburg opposed the sending of the working class youth of each country to what she viewed as slaughter in a war over which of the national bourgeoisies would control world resources and markets. She broke from the Second International, viewing it as nothing more than an opportunist party that was doing administrative work for the capitalists. Rosa Luxemburg, with Karl Liebknecht, organized a strong movement in Germany with these views, but was imprisoned and, after her release, killed for her work during the failed German Revolution of 1918-19 - a revolution which the German Social Democratic Party violently opposed. In the polemic, she argued that capitalism needs to constantly expand into noncapitalist areas in order to access new supply sources, markets for surplus value, and reservoirs of labor. Therefore, according to Luxemburg, capitalists sought to realize profits through offloading surplus commodities onto non-capitalist economies, hence the phenomenon of imperialism as capitalist states sought to dominate weaker economies. This however was leading to the destruction of non-capitalist economies as they were increasingly absorbed into the capitalist system. With the destruction of non-capitalist economies however, there would be no more markets to offload surplus commodities onto, and capitalism would break down. Spontaneity and organisation, she argued, are not separable or separate

activities, but different moments of one political process; one does not exist without the other. These beliefs arose from her view that class struggle evolves from an elementary, spontaneous state to a higher level: The working classes in every country only learn to fight in the course of their struggles. The masses are in reality their own leaders, dialectically creating their own development process. The more that social democracy develops, grows, and becomes stronger, the more the enlightened masses of workers will take their own destinies, the leadership of their movement, and the determination of its direction into their own hands. Therefore, "the German proletariat are also Her sharp criticism of the October Revolution and the Bolsheviks was lessened insofar as she compared the errors of the Revolution and of the Bolsheviks with the "complete failure of the international proletariat. They stated that the lessons of actual experience, such as the confrontation with the bourgeois parties, had forced them to revise the Marxian strategy. It is a formidable undertaking, and one that will not be accomplished in the blink of an eye just by the issuing of a few decrees from above. But in spite of her mistakes she wasâ€”and remains for usâ€”an eagle. And not only will communists all over the world cherish her memory, but her biography and her complete works the publication of which the German communists are inordinately delaying, which can only be partly excused by the tremendous losses they are suffering in their severe struggle will serve as useful manuals for training many generations of communists all over the world. We have suffered two heavy losses at once which merge into one enormous bereavement. There have been struck down from our ranks two leaders whose names will be for ever entered in the great book of the proletarian revolution: Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. They have been killed. They are no longer with us! Freedom is always the freedom of the one who thinks differently. Not because of the fanaticism of "justice", but rather because all that is instructive, wholesome, and purifying in political freedom depends on this essential characteristic, and its effects cease to work when "freedom" becomes a privilege. April Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element. Or the victory of socialism, that means the conscious active struggle of the international proletariat against imperialism and its method of war. The contradiction between the powerful, decisive, aggressive offensive of the Berlin masses on the one hand and the indecisive, half-hearted vacillation of the Berlin leadership on the other is the mark of this latest episode. But a new leadership can and must be created by the masses and from the masses. The masses are the crucial factor. They are the rock on which the ultimate victory of the revolution will be built.

The Accumulation of Capital (full title: *The Accumulation of Capital: A Contribution to an Economic Explanation of Imperialism*, *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals: Ein Beitrag zur Ökonomischen Erklärung des Imperialismus*) is the principal book-length work of Rosa Luxemburg, first published in 1913, and the only work Luxemburg published on economics during her lifetime.

Luxemburg later stated that her father imparted an interest in liberal ideas in her, while her mother was religious and well read with books kept at home. From 1894, she belonged to the Polish, left-wing Proletariat Party founded in 1882, anticipating the Russian parties by 20 years. She began political activities by organizing a general strike in 1895; as a result, four of the Proletariat Party leaders were put to death and the party was disbanded, though the remaining members, including Luxemburg, kept meeting in secret. In 1897, she passed her Matura secondary school graduation examinations. After fleeing to Switzerland to escape detention in 1898, she attended the University of Zurich as did the socialists Anatoly Lunacharsky and Leo Jogiches, where she studied philosophy, history, politics, economics, and mathematics. She specialized in Staatswissenschaft government science, the Middle Ages, and economic and stock exchange crises. Her doctoral dissertation, "The Industrial Development of Poland" *Die Industrielle Entwicklung Polens*, was officially presented in the spring of 1900 at the University of Zurich, which awarded her a Doctor of Law degree. Her dissertation was published by Duncker and Humblot in Leipzig in 1901. She was an oddity in Zurich as one of the very few women with a doctorate. She plunged immediately into the politics of international Marxism, following in the footsteps of Georgi Plekhanov and Pavel Axelrod. Luxemburg believed that an independent Poland could arise and exist only through socialist revolutions in Germany, Austria, and Russia. She maintained that the struggle should be against capitalism, not just for the Polish independence. Her position of denying a national right of self-determination under socialism provoked a philosophic disagreement with Vladimir Lenin. Despite living in Germany for most of her adult life, Luxemburg was the principal theoretician of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland later the SDKPiL, and led the party in a partnership with Jogiches, its principal organizer. Germany Rosa Luxemburg around 1905 Luxemburg wanted to move to Germany to be at the centre of the party struggle, but she had no way of obtaining permission to remain there indefinitely. In April she married the son of an old friend, Gustav Lubeck, in order to gain a German citizenship. They never lived together and they formally divorced five years later. Luxemburg hated the stifling conservatism of Berlin. She despised Prussian men and resented what she saw as the grip of urban capitalism on social democracy. Luxemburg was a member of the uncompromising left-wing of the SPD. Their clear position was that the objectives of liberation for the industrial working class and all minorities could be achieved by revolution only. The recently published *Letters of Rosa Luxemburg* shed important light on her life in Germany. This farsightedness partly explains her remarkable popularity as a socialist icon and its continued resonance in movies, novels and memorials dedicated to her life and oeuvre. She was active there in the left wing of the SPD, in which she sharply defined the border between the views of her faction and the Revisionism Theory of Eduard Bernstein. She attacked him in her brochure *Social Reform or Revolution*, released in September 1905. She argued that the critical difference between capital and labour could only be countered if the proletariat assumed power and effected revolutionary changes in methods of production. She wanted the Revisionists ousted from the SPD. Foreseeing war, she vigorously attacked what she saw as German militarism and imperialism. Between 1905 and 1907, she was imprisoned for her political activities on three occasions. In 1914, she told a large meeting: The Reichstag unanimously agreed to financing the war. The SPD voted in favour of that and agreed to a truce *Burgfrieden* with the Imperial government, promising to refrain from any strikes during the war. This led Luxemburg to contemplate suicide: Shortly after her death, her fame was alluded to by Grigory Zinoviev at the Petrograd Soviet on 18 January 1918 *Bundesarchiv Bild 146-1998-0001-0001, Rosa Luxemburg*. As a result, in June Luxemburg was imprisoned for two and a half years, as was Karl Liebknecht. Friends smuggled out and illegally published her articles. Among them was *The Russian Revolution*, criticising the Bolsheviks, presciently warning of their dictatorship. Nonetheless, she continued to call for a "

dictatorship of the proletariat ", albeit not of the one party Bolshevik model. In that context, she wrote the words "Freiheit ist immer die Freiheit des Andersdenkenden" Freedom is always the freedom of the one who thinks differently and continues in the same chapter "The public life of countries with limited freedom is so poverty-stricken, so miserable, so rigid, so unfruitful, precisely because, through the exclusion of democracy, it cuts off the living sources of all spiritual riches and progress. In January , a second revolutionary wave swept Berlin. Today we can seriously set about destroying capitalism once and for all. Nay, more; not merely are we today in a position to perform this task, nor merely is its performance a duty toward the proletariat, but our solution offers the only means of saving human society from destruction. The Red Flag encouraged the rebels to occupy the editorial offices of the liberal press. In response to the uprising, the Social Democratic leader Friedrich Ebert ordered the Freikorps to destroy the left-wing revolution. Luxemburg was knocked down with a rifle butt by the soldier Otto Runge, then shot in the head, either by Lieutenant Kurt Vogel or by Lieutenant Hermann Souchon. The execution of Luxemburg and Liebknecht inspired a new wave of violence in Berlin and across Germany. Thousands of members of the KPD as well as other revolutionaries and civilians were killed. Luxemburg was held in high regard by Lenin and Leon Trotsky , who recognised at the Third International her revolutionary credentials. Last to strike was the Bavarian Soviet Republic , which was suppressed on 2 May However, Vogel escaped after a brief custody. Pabst and Souchon went unpunished. His account has been neither confirmed nor denied, since the case has not been examined by parliament or the courts. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were buried at the Friedrichsfelde Central Cemetery in Berlin, where socialists and communists commemorate them yearly on the second Sunday of January. What did revisionism have to say about the objective development of capitalism? Karl Kautsky , the ethical socialist , rejected neo-Kantian arguments in favour of social Darwinism. The proletariat had to be re-organized in and in "11, as a precondition, before they could act. These formed the substantive form of arguments with Rosa Luxemburg in , when the two seriously fell out. Kautsky was older than Luxemburg, more cautious, and he read mass strikes as adventurism. But radical qualitative change for the working class would lead Luxemburg into an age of revolution , which she thought had arrived. She was determined to push capitalism to its limits to develop class consciousness. In the polemic, she argued that capitalism needs to constantly expand into noncapitalist areas in order to access new supply sources, markets for surplus value, and reservoirs of labor. Therefore, according to Luxemburg, capitalists sought to realize profits through offloading surplus commodities onto non-capitalist economies, hence the phenomenon of imperialism as capitalist states sought to dominate weaker economies. This however lead to the destruction of non-capitalist economies as they were increasingly absorbed into the capitalist system. With the destruction of non-capitalist economies however, there would be no more markets to offload surplus commodities onto, and capitalism would break down. Spontaneity and organisation, she argued, are not separable or separate activities, but different moments of one political process; one does not exist without the other. These beliefs arose from her view that class struggle evolves from an elementary, spontaneous state to a higher level: The working classes in every country only learn to fight in the course of their struggles The masses are in reality their own leaders, dialectically creating their own development process. The more that social democracy develops, grows, and becomes stronger, the more the enlightened masses of workers will take their own destinies, the leadership of their movement, and the determination of its direction into their own hands. Therefore, "the German proletariat are also Her sharp criticism of the October Revolution and the Bolsheviks was lessened insofar as she compared the errors of the Revolution and of the Bolsheviks with the "complete failure of the international proletariat. They stated that the lessons of actual experience, such as the confrontation with the bourgeois parties, had forced them to revise the Marxian strategy. 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leaders whose names will be for ever entered in the great book of the proletarian revolution: Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. They have been killed. They are no longer with us! Freedom is always the freedom of the one who thinks differently. Not because of the fanaticism of "justice", but rather because all that is instructive, wholesome, and purifying in political freedom depends on this essential characteristic, and its effects cease to work when "freedom" becomes a privilege. April Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution, becomes a mere semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element. Or the victory of socialism, that means the conscious active struggle of the international proletariat against imperialism and its method of war. The contradiction between the powerful, decisive, aggressive offensive of the Berlin masses on the one hand and the indecisive, half-hearted vacillation of the Berlin leadership on the other is the mark of this latest episode. But a new leadership can and must be created by the masses and from the masses. The masses are the crucial factor. They are the rock on which the ultimate victory of the revolution will be built. I was, I am, I shall be! The title reads "I am a terrorist. The engraving on the nearby pavement reads Ich war, ich bin, ich werde sein I was, I am, I will be. Dresden has a street and streetcar stop named after Rosa Luxemburg. The names remained unchanged after the German reunification. Red Rosa now has vanished too. She told the poor what life is about, And so the rich have rubbed her out. May she rest in peace. In a conversation with Count Harry Kessler , one such refugee lamented: Infamous, that fifteen thousand Russian officers should have let themselves be slaughtered by the Revolution without raising a hand in self-defense!

7: The Accumulation of Capital - Wikipedia

The accumulation of capital - Rosa Luxemburg. Rosa Luxemburg's major work, in full, in pdf format. Attachment Part 2 looks at the market and explores why, despite.

She was born in Zamosc but spent her childhood and youth in Warsaw. She came from a family of Polish-speaking Jewish merchants, and her mother brought her up in a liberal atmosphere, instilling in her a love of classical German culture. She grew up in a period when the tsarist government was increasing its political and religious oppression and when socialist activity was beginning in Poland. While still in high school Rosa Luxemburg became active in the socialist movement, and in she was forced to flee abroad. She entered the University of Zurich with the intention of studying natural sciences but soon shifted to political economy. In addition to the university program, she studied the works of Adam Smith , Ricardo, Rodbertus, and, above all, Marx. The analysis in this book formed the basis upon which the Polish Social Democratic party built its political program. In order to be able to take part in the German socialist movement, she acquired German citizenship through a fictitious marriage with a German emigrant. From until her death she lived, except for short intervals, in Berlin. Immediately upon her arrival in Germany she joined Karl Kautsky in the fight against Eduard Bernstein and his revisionist followers. In she returned to Warsaw under an assumed name to help the revolutionary movement there but was soon arrested. After her release from jail she went first to St. The work contains a sociological analysis of the driving forces of social revolution and its mechanismâ€”an analysis, on the one hand, of the role of the masses and, on the other hand, of the organization and role of the leaders. In this pamphlet she also developed the view that the general strike is the fundamental instrument in the struggle of the working class for power. As the orthodox Marxists discussed their revolutionary experiences, particularly their experiences with political strikes, essential differences among them emerged. This led to a break between Luxemburg and Kautsky, which meant that the German Social Democratic party became divided into three groups: Beginning in she lectured at the Berlin school of the Social Democratic party. Her most famous economic work, *The Accumulation of Capital* , also grew out of these lectures. The book has as its main theme the conditions of economic growth under capitalism, and its original contribution lies, therefore, in the field of economic theory. The main factor that gives capitalist production its dynamic power is the expansion toward noncapitalist areas, both underdeveloped countries and spheres of noncapitalist production within capitalist countries. This expansion comes about because capital accumulates, while at the same time demand within the capitalist society does not increase fast enough to absorb the increasing supply of goods. During the imperialist phase of capitalism this difficulty is solved by the production of arms. The arms not only absorb domestic capital but also help create new markets in the colonies. Luxemburg saw free international trade as only an episode in the history of capitalism and criticized Marx for disregarding the historical conditions that affected the accumulation of capital; she charged Marx with considering historical conditions important only in relation to the birth of capitalism and exclusively with reference to private accumulation. Luxemburg believed instead that the relations between capitalism and its precapitalist surroundings constitute a source of tension and international conflict. These lead to a series of wars and social revolutions that in turn start the process of the decline of capitalism. Initially, the reactions to *The Accumulation of Capital* were negative. Such theorists as Karl Kautsky, Otto Bauer , and Nikolai Bukharin not only rejected the major theory of the book but even questioned whether the problems investigated by Luxemburg were important ones. Luxemburg was again imprisoned during World War I , this time for her antimilitary activities. She devoted the three years she spent in jail to theoretical and journalistic writing. *The Russian Revolution* is one of the most controversial works in socialist political literature, where it occupies a position similar to that of *The Accumulation of Capital* in economic literature. Luxemburg acclaimed the October Revolution as the most important result of World War I , but this did not prevent her from criticizing Bolshevik practice. Thus, she deplored the fact that the postrevolutionary political system was a dictatorship not of the masses, but over the masses. She was disappointed that the large land-holdings had been divided among the peasants, for she felt that this created a new and powerful class of proprietors, i. She

also disapproved of Bolshevik policy toward nationalities. Upon her release from prison at the end of , Luxemburg immediately joined the German revolution. Late that year she and Karl Liebknecht together founded the German Communist party and wrote its program. They were both arrested early in and were both assassinated by the soldiers in whose custody they had been placed. With a preface by Wilhelm Pieck. With an introduction by Hector Abhayavardhan. With an introduction by Bertram D. New York Review of Books 8, no. Verlag fur Literatur und Politik. Cliff, Tony Rosa Luxemburg: Quarterly for Marxist Theory []: Her Life and Work. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Pages 1-10 in Vladimir I. Oelssner, Fred Rosa Luxemburg: Eine kritische biographische Skizze. Sternberg, Fritz Der Imperialismus. Sternberg, Fritz Der Imperialismus und seine Kritiker. Cite this article Pick a style below, and copy the text for your bibliography.

8: The Rosa Luxemburg Reader - Kevin B. Anderson

ROSA LUXEMBURG SOCIAL PAGE - Join us now: www.enganchecubano.com

9: Tony Cliff: Rosa Luxemburg ("Accumulation of Capital")

4 PAUL ZAREMBKA INTRODUCTION No Marxist has written more about accumulation of capital theoretically than Rosa Luxemburg (,), who devoted a long book to it, and then a long.

Wings of Oppression Jettisoning the critical Saccharomyces cerevisiae 434 First world war history in english ICT tools and concepts The Yale Editions of Horace Walpole`s Correspondence, Volume 19 How to Dine like the devil and feel like a saint Business Companion Geography of the middle east worksheet Guide to personal service contracting. Elements of Continuum Mechanics and Conservation Laws Phenomena, comment and notes Bpi auto loan application form A new science is essayed : from On the constancy of the jurispudent Successful small gardens Parental role differentiation, by P. Slater. Introduction to restitution Vector analysis and an introduction to tensor analysis The British brothers ASME Ash Fusion Research Project Writing the lives of writers As one Devil to another Maa durga chalisa Appareled in celestial light : transcendent nature experiences in childhood Laws establishing the practice of veterinary medicine Womens pleasure, or, how to have an orgasm as often as you want Successful personnel recruiting selection Grade 11 cbse maths textbook Children at home and in day care Early Eastern record. The war debt, and how to meet it Dreams, schemes, and mysteries Hare hunting. The editor. Powerpoint 2000 Essentials, Advanced (CI) Applied chemistry for diploma engineering in hindi The Misadventures of Dinky Child welfare problem Kaplan nbde part 2 lecture notes The Candlemass Road Investing : from Mao caps to small-market caps