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MARX

ECONOMIC
AND PHILOSOPHIC
MANUSCRIPTS
OF 1844

KARL
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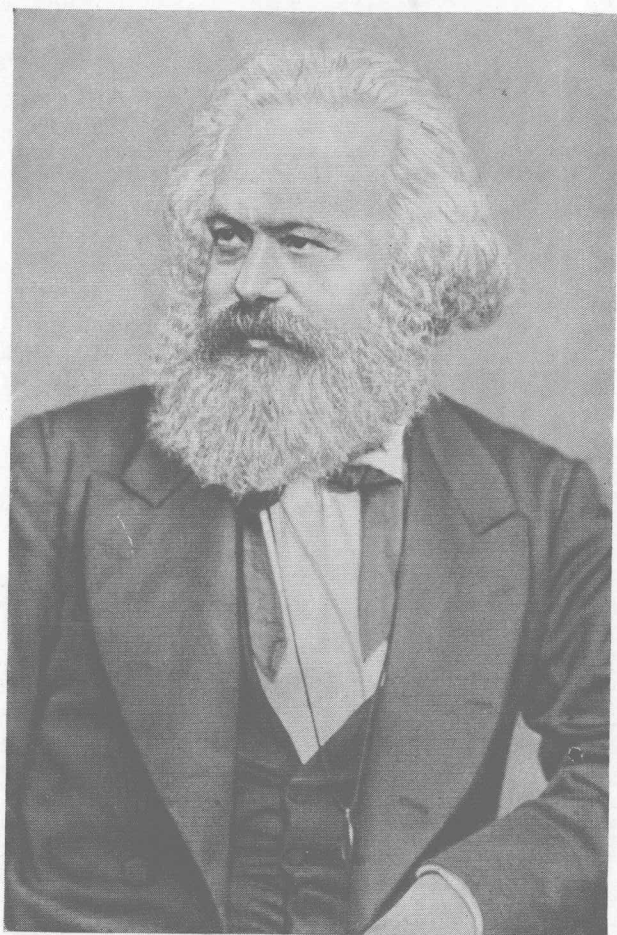
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This volume of Karl Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* was translated from the German text contained in Marx-Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. I, Bd. 3. Corrections were made of typographical errors and the author's obvious slips spotted by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. when preparing the latest Russian edition (К. Маркс, Ф. Энгельс, *Из ранних произведений*, 1956).

The Appendix to the present volume contains *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy* by F. Engels, translated from the German text contained in Marx-Engels, *Gesamtausgabe*, Abt. 1, Bd. 2.

The present volume was translated by Martin Milligan, who also supplied notes on Hegelian terminology and most of the footnotes.



Karl Marx

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INTRODUCTION

Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 are a rough draft of Karl Marx's first economic investigation. The subject of this unfinished work, which has come down to us incomplete, is a criticism of the bourgeois political economy and the bourgeois economic system.

The title given by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, embraces three manuscripts. The first and earliest is largely of a preparatory nature; Marx's own observations and conclusions alternate in it with passages from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois economists. Just the four last pages have survived of the second manuscript. The third manuscript consists of supplementary remarks to the missing pages of the second manuscript. They refer to such matters as private property and labour, private property and communism, and the power of money in bourgeois society. A large section of the third manuscript is devoted to a critical analysis of Hegelian dialectic and Hegelian philosophy on the whole.

In all three manuscripts emphasis is laid on the "estrangement of labour," or the "alienation of the labourer" in capitalist society. The category of "estrangement" was prominent in Hegel's philosophy and particularly in Feuerbach's philosophic criticism of religion. However, Hegel spoke of the alienation of self-consciousness and Feuerbach of the alienation of the abstract, non-histori-

cal and non-class man. Marx speaks of the "estrangement," or "alienation," of the labourer. He imparts an entirely new economic, class and historical content to the conception of "estrangement." By "estrangement," or "alienation," Marx means the forced labour of the labourer for the capitalist, the appropriation by the capitalist of the product of a worker's labour and the separation of the labourer from the means of production which, being in the capitalist's possession, confront the labourer as an alien, enslaving power. Here Marx comes close to an exposition of the characteristic features of capitalist exploitation.

As he criticizes the bourgeois economists from the standpoint of socialism Marx reveals and emphasizes the "inimical mutual antithesis" of labour and capital. He shows that the more wealth a labourer produces under capitalism the poorer he grows, that the very process of the economic development of capitalist society leads inevitably to revolution and raises the question of workers' emancipation, which, as he points out, "contains universal human emancipation."

Speaking of the "estrangement of labour" as of an economic fact, Marx underscores that reference is made to real, objective life and that the struggle to eliminate this "estrangement" is a practical revolutionary struggle for a communist remodelling of all society. He notes the tremendous importance of material production—"the ordinary industrial production"—in man's history and its influence on religion, law, morals, science, art, etc. Unlike Hegel and Feuerbach, Marx turns to a specific, materialistic study of man, stressing the latter's active part in nature and society.

In his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* Marx is still under the strong influence of Feuerbach, which comes to the surface, in particular, in his overestimating Feuerbach and in the fact that he makes use of such Feuerbachian concepts as "man—the species being."

“naturalism,” “humaneness,” etc., in proving some of the points of the new world outlook he was then developing, although he does impart to these terms a new content. It is not just the Feuerbachian terminology, but the Hegelian as well, that Marx still uses in all three of his manuscripts. But in spite of Feuerbach’s appreciable influence, Marx begins in this early work to lay the foundation of that revolutionary materialistic world outlook which was soon further developed in *The Holy Family* and, in particular, *The German Ideology*.

The Appendix contains Frederick Engels’s *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*, which he began in late 1843 and completed in early 1844. In it Engels “examined the principal phenomena of the contemporary economic order from a socialist standpoint and concluded that they were necessary consequences of the rule of private property” (Lenin). In this his first and as yet insufficiently mature work in the sphere of social science Engels began a critique of bourgeois political economy and with it a critique of capitalist society from the point of view of the enslaved and exploited masses. In criticizing the bourgeois economists, Engels dealt at length with the misanthropic Malthusian theory of population. He proves the utter absurdity of this “theory” and lays special stress on the part played by scientific progress in developing the productive forces of society.

*The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of
the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.*

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

(The translator offers the following notes on certain important German terms which are frequently used in the material translated in the present volume, partly to explain the way in which they have been translated, and partly as an aid to understanding the texts.)

Aufheben (past tense: *aufhob*, p.p. *aufgehoben*; noun: *Aufhebung*).

Aufheben (literally "to raise up") has two opposed meanings in popular speech. (i) It can mean "to abolish," "to cancel," "to annul," "to do away with," etc. (ii) It can mean "to preserve." Hegel, valuing the word just because of this double, negative and positive, meaning (see *The Logic of Hegel*, tr. Wallace, 2nd ed., p. 180), uses it to describe the positive-negative action by which a higher logical category or form of nature or spirit, in superseding a lower, both "annuls" it and "incorporates its truth." Unfortunately, there is no single English word with the same double meaning, except "sublate," a technical term adopted for the purpose by some translators of Hegel; but as this is likely to be unintelligible to the general reader, it has not been used in the present volume. Instead, "supersede" has generally been used to render *aufheben*, where it seemed that the word was being used in this double, positive-negative sense, and occasionally it has been rendered as "transcend." Where,

on the other hand, it seemed that *aufheben* was being used simply or predominantly in its commonplace negative sense, the negative words listed above—"abolish," "annul," etc.—have been employed.

Entäussern (p.p. *entäussert*; noun: *Entäusserung*).

The ordinary dictionary meanings of *entäussern* are "to part with," "to renounce," "to cast off," "to sell," "to alienate" (a right, or one's property). The last of these best expresses the sense in which Marx usually uses this term. For "alienate" is the only English word which combines, in much the same way as does *entäussern*, the ideas of "losing" something which nevertheless remains in existence over-against one, of something passing from one's own into another's hands, as a result of one's own act, with the idea of "selling" something: that is to say, both "alienate" and *entäussern* have, at least as one possible meaning, the idea of a sale, a transference of ownership, which is simultaneously a renunciation. At the same time, the word *entäussern* has, more strongly than "alienate," the sense of "making external to oneself," and at times, when this has seemed to be the aspect of its meaning uppermost in the author's mind, the word "externalize" has been used to render it in English. *Veräussern*, whose occurrence is noted at one point in the text, means "to sell" and "to alienate" in the same way as *entäussern*, but without the overtone of "renunciation" or of the counter-position of the thing alienated to the one who has alienated.

Entfremden (p.p. *entfremdet*; noun: *Entfremdung*).

The ordinary dictionary meanings for *entfremden* are "to estrange," "to alienate," but in the present volume "estrange" has always been used. The reason is not only that "alienate" was needed for *entäussern* (see above), but also that *entfremden* is only equivalent to "alienate" in one sense of the English word—in the sense in which we

speak of two people being "alienated," or of someone's affections being "alienated." *Entfremden* has not the legal-commercial undertones of "alienate," and would not be used, for instance, to describe a transfer of property. Hence, despite the fact that translators of Marx have often rendered *entfremdet* as "alienated," "estranged" seems better, especially as Marx does also use *entäussert*, which is the equivalent of "alienated" in its legal-commercial sense.

Wesen

There is no English word with the same range of meaning as *Wesen*.

Wesen can mean, for one thing, "essence," and some translators of Marx have treated it as if it could mean nothing else. But even when it does mean "essence," "essence" should be understood, not in the sense of something super-mundane or rarefied, but almost in the opposite sense of the "solid core" of something—its essential, as against its inessential, characteristics—its "substance" as against its accidental features—the "essential nature" or even the "very being" of something.

But secondly, *Wesen* is also the quite commonplace German word for a "being," in such phrases as "a human being" (*ein menschliches Wesen*); or the "Supreme Being" (*das höchste Wesen*).

Thirdly, *Wesen*, as Hegel points out, "in ordinary life frequently means only a collection or aggregate: *Zeitungs-wesen* (the press), *Postwesen* (the post office), *Steuers-wesen* (the revenue). All that these terms mean is that the things in question are not to be taken singly, in their immediacy, but as a complex, and then, perhaps, in addition, in their various bearings." Hegel adds that: "This usage of the term is not very different in its implications from our own." (See *The Logic of Hegel*, tr. Wallace, 2nd ed., p. 209, and p. 202 f.)

This last usage of the term is also not very different from Marx's, when, for instance, he seeks to make positive use of the concept of *das menschliche Wesen*. "The essence of man," he says, "is no abstraction inherent in each separate individual. In its reality it is the ensemble (aggregate) of social relations."

(*Theses on Feuerbach*, VI, as translated by R. Pascal in the Appendix to *The German Ideology*, Parts I and III, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, London, Lawrence & Wishart. 1939.)

FOREWORD

In the texts translated in the present volume, Marx frequently plays on the various meanings of *Wesen*, using it at times in two or even more of its senses in the one sentence. The English translator can only render the different senses by different English words, and explain their common equivalent in a note, as has been done in this volume.

The title of Marx's work and the headings of the various parts of the manuscript, but in square brackets, were given by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The parts of the manuscript are numbered in square brackets in which black and then down says the "introduction" which is given in the preface, and the Chapter of Hegelian Dialectic and Philosophy as a whole which was put in the end in an appendix with the reference made by Marx in the "introduction."—E.A.

The text of the present book under the editor's title, *Marx and Engels*, contains 43 large pages divided into two columns and paginated by Marx himself. At the end of the first manuscript (pp. XXXI-XX) is the "introduction" which is given in the present volume at the beginning, preceding the text of the first manuscript.

The text of the second manuscript is broken up into three columns with two vertical lines, and each of the columns on each page is paginated with a heading written in brackets: *Wesen of Labour*, *Wesen of Capital*, *Wesen of Man*. p. XVII includes it is said, the column headed *Wesen of Man* which is filled in, and after p. XXII to the end of the first manuscript Marx wrote across the three columns, dated 1845, the heading: The text of these six pages (pp. XXXI-XXXII) is given in the present book under the editor's title, *Marx and Engels*.

The third manuscript contains 43 large pages divided into two columns and paginated by Marx himself. At the end of the first manuscript (pp. XXXI-XX) is the "introduction" which is given in the present volume at the beginning, preceding the text of the first manuscript.

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ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHIC MANUSCRIPTS OF 1844¹

BY KARL MARX

PREFACE

I have already given notice in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*,² the critique of jurisprudence and political

¹ *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* by Karl Marx has come down to us in the form of three manuscripts, each of which has its own pagination (in Roman figures). Just the last four pages have survived of the second manuscript (pp. XL-XLIII). Each of the 27 pages of the first manuscript is broken up into three columns with two vertical lines, and each of the columns on each page is supplied with a heading written in beforehand: *Wages of Labour, Profit of Capital, Rent of Land*. After p. XVII, inclusive, it is only the column headed *Rent of Land* which is filled in, and after p. XXII to the end of the first manuscript Marx wrote across the three columns, disregarding the headings. The text of these six pages (pp. XXII-XXVII) is given in the present book under the editor's title, *Estranged Labour*. The third manuscript contains 43 large pages divided into two columns and paginated by Marx himself. At the end of the third manuscript (pp. XXXIX-XL) is the "Introduction," which is given in the present volume at the beginning, preceding the text of the first manuscript.

The title of Marx's work and the headings of the various parts of the manuscripts, put in square brackets, were given by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The parts of the manuscripts are published in the sequence in which Marx put them down, save the "Introduction," which is given in the beginning, and the *Critique of Hegelian Dialectic and Philosophy as a Whole* which was put in the end in accordance with the reference made by Marx in the "Introduction."—Ed.

² *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (German-French Year-Books) was edited by K. Marx and A. Ruge and published in German. The

science in the form of a critique of the *Hegelian* Philosophy of Right. In the course of elaboration for publication, the intermingling of criticism directed only against speculation with criticism of the various subjects themselves proved utterly unsuitable, hampering the development of the argument and rendering comprehension difficult. Moreover the wealth and diversity of the subjects to be treated, could have been compressed into *one* work only in a purely aphoristic style; whilst an aphoristic presentation of this kind, for its part, would have given the *impression* of arbitrary systematizing. I shall therefore issue the critique of law, ethics, politics, etc., in a series of distinct, independent pamphlets, and at the end try in a special work to present them again as a connected whole showing the interrelationship of the separate parts, and finally, shall make a critique of the speculative elaboration of that material. For this reason it will be found that the interconnection between political economy and the state, law, ethics, civil life, etc., is touched on in the present work only to the extent to which political economy itself *ex professo*¹ touches on these subjects.

It is hardly necessary to assure the reader conversant with political economy that my results have been won by

only issue was a double number which appeared in Paris in February 1844. In it were printed Marx's *Zur Judenfrage* (*On the Jewish Question*) and *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechts Philosophie. Einleitung* (*Contribution to a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right. Introduction*) and Engels's *Umriss zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie* (*Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*) and *Die Lage Englands* (*The Position of England*). "Past and Present" by Thomas Carlyle. These works mark the final transition of Marx and Engels to materialism and communism. Differences of principle between Marx and the bourgeois radical Ruge were chiefly responsible for the discontinuation of the journal.—*Ed.*

¹ Particularly.—*Ed.*

means of a wholly empirical analysis based on a conscientious critical study of political economy. } Whereas the uninformed reviewer who tries to hide his complete ignorance and intellectual poverty by hurling the "utopian phrase" at the positive critic's head, or again such phrases as "pure, resolute, utterly critical criticism," the "not merely legal but social—utterly social—society," the "compact, massy mass," the "oratorical orators of the massy mass,"¹ this reviewer has yet to furnish the first proof that besides his theological family-affairs he has anything to contribute to a discussion of *worldly* matters. }²

It goes without saying that besides the French and English Socialists I have made use of German socialist works as well. The only *original* German works of substance in this science, however—other than Weitling's writings—are the essays by Hess published in *Einundzwanzig Bogen*,³ and Engels's *Umriss zu einer Kritik*

¹ Marx refers here to Bruno Bauer who had published in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* two long reviews dealing with books, articles and pamphlets on the Jewish question. Most of the quoted phrases are taken from these reviews in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft I, Dezember 1843; Heft 4, März 1844. The expressions "utopian phrase" and "compact mass" can be found in B. Bauer's article "Was ist jetzt der Gegenstand der Kritik?" published in *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, Heft 8, Juli 1844.

Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung (*General Literary Gazette*), a German monthly, was published by the Young Hegelian B. Bauer in Charlottenburg from December 1843 to October 1844.

K. Marx and F. Engels gave a detailed critical appraisal of this monthly in their book *Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik*. Cf. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Critique*, Moscow, 1956.—Ed.

² Passages enclosed in braces were crossed out by Marx in his manuscript.—Ed.

³ The full title of this collection of articles is *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz (Twenty-One Sheets from Switzerland)*, Erster Teil, Zürich und Winterthur, 1843.—Ed.