Typed and hand-written draft of article published in the Crisis, concerning the life of Karl Marx and the idea of Marxism in relation to the "Negro problem."

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Karl Marx was a Jew born at Treves, Germany in March, 1818. He came of an educated family and studied at the University of Bohn and Berlin, planning first to become a lawyer, and then to teach philosophy. But his ideas were too radical for the government and he turned to journalism, and finally, gave his life to economic reform, dying in London in 1883, after having lived in Germany, Belgium, France, and for the last thirty-five years of his life in England. He published in 1867, the first volume of his monumental work, "Kapital".

There are certain books in the world which every searcher for truth must know: the Bible, the Critique of Pure Reason, the Origin of Species, and Karl Marx, "Kapital".

Yet until the Russian Revolution, Karl Marx was little known in America. He was regarded condescendingly in the universities, and regarded even by the intelligent public as a radical agitator whose curious and inconvenient theories it was easy to refute. Today, at last, we all know better, and we see in Karl Marx a colossal genius of infinite sacrifice and monumental industry, and with a mind of extraordinary logical firmness and grasp. We may disagree with the great books of truth that I have named, and with "Kapital", but they can never be ignored.

At a recent dinner to Einstein, another great Jew, the story was told of a professor who was criticized as having no sense of humor because he tried to explain the Theory of Relativity in a few simple words. Something of the same criticism must be attached to anyone who attempts simply to indicate the relation of Marxist philosophy and the American Negro problem. And yet, with all modesty, I am essaying the task knowing that it will be but tentative and subject to criticism, on my own part and that of others. The task which Karl Marx left uncompleted.
set himself was to study and interpret the organization of industry in the modern world. This starting point was that the economic organization of any time or country is the basic phenomena out of which other human thought and expression and activities arise. In other words, their organized work is the basic thing on which is built literature, art and religion. Moreover, and equally important, this fundamental economic activity is in process of constant change and evolution. An evolution that parallels that of the physical and biological world. And that this progressive change and evolution brought social revolution, new ideas of property and wealth, new relation of employer and employee, new conceptions of labor, wage and income. One of Marx’s earlier works, “The Communist Manifesto”, issued in 1848, on the eve of the series of Democratic revolutions in Europe, laid down this fundamental proposition.

"That in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) cannot attain its emancipation from the way of the exploiting and ruling class (the bourgeoisie) without, at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinction and class-struggles."

(Kapital. Karl Marx.)
All will notice in this manifesto phrases which have been used so much lately that in the mouths of irresponsible propagandists they have almost lost their meaning. But behind them still is living an insistent truth. The class struggle between the rich and the poor is a living reality. The form in which its invested itself in our day is opposition between the capitalist or bourgeois and the wage-laborer or proletarian. The capitalist owns machines, materials, and wages with which to buy labor. The laborer owns little or nothing except his ability to work. A wage contract takes place between these two and the resultant manufactured commodity or service is the property of the capitalist. Here Marx begins his more scientific analysis based on mastery of practically all economic theory and a thoroughgoing, personal knowledge of industrial conditions over all Western Europe. His conclusions were never all properly published. He lived only to finish the first volume of his "Kapital," and the other two volumes were completed from his papers and notes by his friend Engels. The result is a work extraordinarily difficult to read and understand and one which the master himself would have been first to criticize and representing his mature and finished thought. Nevertheless, that first volume, together with the four in unfinished manuscript, lays down a logical line of thought. The gist of that philosophy is that the value of products exchanged in the open market depends upon their cost of production and that cost of production is the labor necessary to produce them. That capital consists of materials and wages paid for labor, that out of the finished product, the materials have been paid for and the wear and tear and machinery replaced, and the rent and wages paid, there remains a surplus value. This surplus value is the division between what is actually paid to laborers for their wages and the value
At every temporal crossing, the
choose a dominant direction
in constant tension.

Chronic unrest is
dependent
(Cont. Marxism and the Negro Problem.)

In exchange of the commodities which the laborers produce. It represents, therefore, exploitation of the laborer, and this exploitation inherent in capitalistic production, is the cause of poverty, industrial crises, and social revolution which Marx regarded as (over) all this work believes involves that capitalistic production will be the dominant last manifestation of the class struggle, and that by inevitable change induced by the very nature of the conditions under which production is carried on, a revolution will come which the great majority of men compose, the wage-earning proletariat, ownership of all capital, capitalistic exploitation, and production products and services according to need, and not according to the will of the owners of capital.

It makes no difference whether we regard it as a fact or hypothesis, this philosophy has laid down, certain facts are clear:

1. That the continued recurrence of industrial crises and wars based largely on economic rivalry, are forcing the world to seek a thorough-going change, whether it be violent or peaceful, as in France or Russia, or peaceful as seems perfectly possible. Nevertheless, a revolution seems bound to come. Perhaps nothing illustrates this better than recent actions in the United States: the new agriculture bill, the plans to attack unemployment and similar measures. What now has this to do with the Negro problem? First of all, it is manifest that the mass of Negroes in the United States belong distinctly to the working proletariat, and even these more prosperous classes have no special connection with the capitalistic system. Nevertheless, this black proletariat is not a part of the white proletariat. They are to work together in many cases; and influence each other's rate of wages. They have some complaints against
It goes without saying that every idea of the reason and every formulation of any theory must have been thoroughly assailed.

The Euler theory of value has been denied, the theory of market value reinterpreted, and materiality of market nobody seeks to. While materialistic circles, at least until this decade, never have been different as monarchical systems among the rules of material history.

But with the Russian revolution it's the world revolution, most thoughtful men today are beginning to admit.

Labour within their gamblings is the same foundation, value and what ever you call it — exploitation, theft, business, commerce, etc., of society, reducing wage with one individual system... the world turns out simultaneously hundreds of millions, etc. to a monopoly slavery because there two hands food
(Cont. Marxism and the Negro Problem.)

...capitalists, except that his condition of work more difficult, he was naturally
more com... they do...

...and White Negro Labor in America...exclusion...capital...suffers because of its fundamental
iniquities of this whole Capitalistic system, this lower and most feudal disp...revolutionary
change was not from the Capital...the suffering comes not from the Capital.
...from decent homes. To neglect home when him.

...It is no wonder that amount to say that...he...the Zion. We must impressed the Negro...the...in...the...to do...William Green...William's...the...does...literacy...that...
Inscrutable, ranging as = since the day of Kahl
from Chatalshero to the
interim, revealed, mottled &
cheated, later in any cumbered land.
to lend their deliberate intention to hide Negroes and Mennonites and any other element of common labor in a given workplace as an instrument to their interests as those are to the interests of Capital.

This new development of a petty bourgeoisie within the American working class is a post-Marxian phenomenon and the result of the tremendous speed with which development in industry has given an effective social-economic organization. Industrial technique and mass production have brought in the production of goods and services which contain desires in the instant market. A new class of technical engineers and managers have arisen forming a working class anatomy between the older proletariat and the modern owners of Capital. The new owners of Capital are small as well as large investors – workers who have invested in owning banks and small holdings in factories and banks. These new owners or investors are substantially buying homes and forming companies on installment as well as the large hire investors. Between owners and owners of Capital stand today the bankers and bankers who distribute Capital and direct the engineers and the engineers, the owning and the hired workers. For a new petty bourgeoisie exists whose interests are bound with those of the Capitalists and antagonistic to those of common labor. On the other hand, common labor in America with the strike for being motivated by any money that runs against Capitalism have become less in number and strength has been blinded by the American vision of the freedom of wage
6. Their "plan" on which former Negroes have been so-called as "miserable subjects" in China, India, Africa, the West Indies, and other parts of the world. No matter how things have been in the past, the present condition of the Negro is determined by the whites. No spell of a while passed cannot be changed in a moment. If the Negro was to make black workers black economists and people in Africa under them begin to educate Negroes and to improve their condition, the same result would be as if we tried to make white workers white economists and people in Africa under them began to educate white people and to improve their condition, the same result would not ensue. We have been told that in the West Indies, in South America, in the United States, in Africa, Negro workmen are being used in the same way, but the conditions are different. The Negro workmen are not learning anything and are not improving themselves in any way. In West Africa, a Negro worker is developing much more quickly than a white worker. The employment of Negroes is only kept down by the government, which is always ready to take advantage of the situation and to employ Negroes to do the work of white men, who are not willing to do it.
In the United States also a shady foreign is being dealt
in by the white man. There is a tendency among Negro leaders, both South and North, to see
in the white man only a tool for their own ends. The fact is that the Negro is a tool for
white man's exploitation.

In many respects the white man is the Negro's master. He is more than a tool for
exploitation. He is a tool for the control of the Negro's life. He is the master of the
Negro's mind. He is the master of the Negro's body. He is the master of the Negro's
soul. He is the master of the Negro's heart. He is the master of the Negro's
intelligence. He is the master of the Negro's culture.

The reaction of many Negro problems would not be so markedly
pressed against this class of men. This class furnishes
white capital, white engineers, white workers to strengthen this class for
exploitation.

Under these circumstances:

What shall we say of the Marxist philosophy and of its relation

to the American Negro? We can only say, as it seems to me, that the
Marxist philosophy is logical and adequate, as a diagnosis of the situation
in Europe in the middle of the 19th Century, it was undeniable.

But it has to be modified in the United States of America and
especially so far as the Negro group is concerned. The Negro is
exploited to a degree that means poverty, crime, delinquency and
indigence. And that exploitation comes not from a capitalistic
class but from the white capitalists and the white proletariat. His
only defense is such internal organization as will protect him from
both, which the Negro group has not yet accomplished.

To what extent has the race grown any large development
of capitalistic exploitation?
Meanwhile comes the Great Depression. It levels all immensity, collective. The fantastic industrial structure of America is shattered. Work stops. The trade unions of skilled labor are doomed. Unskilled labor and common labor are laggards of depression. Communist, socialist, unionist actions, the defeated hungry and unemployed. Voices from the White House. It is a call to reason. It is a call to return to normal production. It is a call to the return of normal conditions. The new capitalism to its old obligations. The old democracy of our forefathers. The new capitalism to its old obligations. The new democracy to its old obligations.