MARX AND VIOLENCE: FOR AND AGAINST THE EMANCIPATION OF SOCIAL HOPE

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Abstract - The Idea of KarlMarxproposes that the solution of Capitalism must be the revolution, in order to overthrow the structure that causes the inequality of the system and pushtowards a communist society where human beings can live in equality. But the facts in history have made the meaning of human emancipation disappeared. Communism has become an image of the catastrophes and devils that swallowed people. But is it true**?**The lack of understanding of the origin of the class struggle leads to divisions and the view that others are enemies. The political revolution, without liberating itself from this illusion of otherness, is a source of violence and tragedy. Realizing the concept of Marx from the description of human nature is important for countering this and for the hope of an equal society in which human beings can live together.

Index Terms - Violence, Class Struggle, Emancipation, Revolution

I. INTRODUCTION

In 2011 there were significant protests in United States, the Occupy Wall Street. Protesters gathered at Wall Street, the important area of global economic. With the slogan "We are 99%", which shows that the gap of inequality has grown to a high level. Although the protests ended in a short time, the question arises as to the debate that must be considered. Can capitalism bring good to human life? Because of the fact thattodaythere is an income inequality around the world. While a group of people can profit from the private ownership, another group can only sell their labors to survive on each day.

The question of inequality has been going on for centuries in Europe. There is a sentence that said, '…A Specter is haunting Europe, the specter of Communism.'[1] This sentence appears in the introduction of The Communist Manifesto, co-written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Later, it became an important work that greatly influenced the movement of left-wing intellectuals and proletarians who faced the difficulties of capitalist expansion. What is the thing that is haunting people? Marx and Engels attempted to point out that the attitudes of people, whether they fear or accept it, are due to the fact that they are aware of the internal mechanisms of the Capitalistic economy. That plays a role and pushes people to surrender to the expansion of capital as if it were boundless. To destroy this tragic structure, it is necessary to push human beings into communist society, where there is no class, the source of the inequality that feeds on people. On the one hand, the concept of communism is, as it were, a demon that condemned the arrogance of the dominant class. But on the other hand, brings hope to the dominated class that they can liberate themselves from this situation.

However, amidst the class struggle, what followed was a tragic blow to the communist approach condemned by the historical facts that were recorded over and over again. Starting from the Russian Revolution,it followed by major episode of the tragedy – Stalin's Gulag, Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward and his Culture Revolution andPol Pot's Khmer Rouge[2]These images of violence raise an interesting question. How did these situations happen? Does the concept of communism must always lead to violence?I think the important issue is to understand the challenges of past failures in which communists have been criticized for failing to create a world without class and violence. That, in the end, it will only be the change of new class to rule over in the name of the Communist Party, rather than to create a classless world. Does this criticism hold true, when it comes to Marx's own idea that demands not only to revolutionize the political structure but for human beings to also liberate themselves from the illusion of capital and to understand themselves as the true nature of human beings?

II. MARX AND VIOLENCE

In addition to criticism of the possibility of Marx's theory that can work effectively or in response to contemporary social realism. One of the problems that I use as a position for discussion in this article is the relationship between Marx's theory and the violence that affects the understanding of thought and makes its particularly attack especially from the historical facts. To try to understand that, in the end, is Marx's concept necessarily related to violence? Or

[1]Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. (1964).*The Communist Manifesto*. Translated by Paul M.Sweezy. New York: Monthly Review, p.1.

[2]Malia, Martin. (1999). "Foreword : The Uses of Atrocity" In *The Black Book of Communism : Crimes, Terror, Repression*, trans by Jonathan Murphy and Mark Kramer. Harvard : Harvard University Press, P.X – Xi.

is there a problem in practice that interpreted this concept in a distorted direction, so that the concept cannot be fully realized?

Based on human history, there are criticisms of the relationship between Marxism and violence especially as what stimulating the movement of the working class. It is evident that the concept of communism lies in the role of both Offender and Victim.

The role as the offender of violence - Red Terror :After the revolution in 1917, the Soviet Union was under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. It has pushed for the creation of laws to regulate public order and laid the foundation for the creation of a new social order. However, resistance from the disagreements has led to the founding of CHEKA, the anti-insurgent group. Violence and terror were used to force the people to accept the absolute power of the party, by ways of investigating, arresting and punishing those accused of being political enemies. Many people were arrested, tortured and murdered. This is the beginning of the horrific Red Terror[3]. And even more intensified in the Stalin' era, when a number of purges were carried out in order to eradicate the political antagonism.

But the concept of communism did not only appear in the role of a violent offender. Violence is also present in the role of the victim.

The role as the victim of violence - 6 October :The use of communist concepts as a tool to legitimize the elimination of political enemies demonstrates a hostile antagonistic attitude and ends with the use of violence as retaliation. According to PueyUngphakorn, former rector of Thammasat University who expressed his views on the writing, 'The Violence and the October 6, 1976 Coup'. He saysthatbeing accused of being a Communist, the suppression of the students became the right thing to do. The most vivid image of violenceappeared in the words of KittivudhoBhikkhu who said that 'The killing of Communists is not sinful'[4], which suggests that physical violence is a consequence of a view that understands communist ideologies negatively and ultimately leads to violence.

As such, it is evident that communist concepts have been positioned in relationships that indistinguishably linked with violence. Whether in the status of the offender or the victim.Making the image of communism often appear negative and aggressive, more than the hope to fight off the troubled society. I think that the study of Marx's ideas, in response to the problem of contemporary capitalism, should start with a rethinking of the relationship between communism and violence. Because it is an understanding in order to respond to criticism that is one of the key issues in studying Marx's ideas and to lessons from past failures. I think we weighted Marx's ideas down on only the political space but neglected to grasp the part with human relationships. This is a remarkable fact that the concept of communism is advantageous because it has a clear movement path. But the unstructured movement tends to lead to violence and establish itself as a more powerful elite. Revolution is becoming a goal instead of creating a communist-free society. In simple terms, there is a way of actions, but the core of the emancipation of ideas is lost along the way. This, I think, results from two points:

First,the idea that is the very foundation of this movement is a missing jigsaw. The understanding that is only limited to the political sphere, is causing a substitution of the system, rather than the creation of a communist society that Marx expects to be a classless society.

The second,the meaning of proletarian class has never been truly emphasized. What is happening is that the focus is on assemblingof laborer, which results in a new divide.

I think it is for these very reasons, the image of Marx in the past is so violent and harsh to the point that it neglects the beauty of the social equality. If this problem can be made clearer. It will help explain Marxism and not being trapped in the mistakes of the past. If we can reach this understanding, it will open up the ways of understanding Marx's ideas andits goals toward society.

III. STRUGGLE AND FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS

At the end of The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels finish their work by saying that '…Working Men of All Countries, Unite!'[5] This book is known as the work that attack the problem, as a clear way to answer the question of how humans can move themselves out of the traps of capitalism that is full of exploitation and class struggle in the society. Considering the sentence, the most obvious thing is to talk about the direction of the struggles that must be in the same direction in order to achieve the goal of overthrowing the capitalist system. But what I consider more interesting for this sentence is the question :Who are these working men?. Why both Marx and Engels considered these people to be the key in creating the world as they expect? We can understand this point by considering the variations in human productivity that have changed Mode of Production. Especially after The Scientific Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, there was a

[3]Werth, Nicolas. (1999). "The Red Terror". In *The Black Book of Communism : Crimes, Terror, Repression*, trans by Jonathan Murphy and Mark Kramer. Harvard : Harvard University Press, p.71 - 80

[4]PueyUngphakorn. (2008). "The Violence and the October 6, 1976 Coup" in *From 14 to 6 October*. edited byCharnvitKasetsiriand ThamrongsakPetchlertanan. Bangkok : The Foundation for The Promotion of Social Sciences and Humanities Textbooks Project, p. 52 – 53.

[5]Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. (1964).*The Communist Manifesto*, p. 62.

confrontation between two class who stepped up to play the role of the old class, according to the changing history of human production, the Bourgeoisie[*] and the Proletariat[**].

Marx and Engels said that the history of the human was a rivalry between the dominated class and the dominant class. But what makes the clash between the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat differ from others is that the capitalism will usurped even an ability to live of the Proletariat. The transformation of the way in which to seek wealth from monopoly and cumulative property, allowing capital to flow freely, demand and supply. This is a market-driven equilibrium, and it allows anyone to freely enter the competition. However, there is a place for only a few groups in this system. When free competition allows some people to freely move their capital and use the advantage of retaining their ownership, forcing others out of the competition. The struggle comes from the ownership of private property, which enables the Bourgeoisie to expand their own capital to produce more and more prosperity in the hands of the minority. Causing a conflict between the classes.

How does this conflict occur? Of course, the simplest answer is that by being exploited in the economic system, where the wealthy people can use their wealth to expand their wealth. But if it is only a problem of the unequal ownership of the property, then raising wages so that workers can live better is probably enough, isn't it? But Marx has given a clear answer 200 years ago that is not enough. Because what Marx is trying to point out is not just an evil capitalist. It is not enough to change the system or change the capitalist, but it is necessary to change the whole system so that all the bad things that human beings are faced. This insight leads to Marx's next proposition as to why human beings need to be pushed towards communism.

The evil that Marx mentions is the capitalism that has reduced the value of humanity as a natural producer. In The German Ideology,Marx and Engels explain man, describing the nature of man, as something that make history in their own existence by producing to fulfill their needs. In such a way, production is based on the things that make human life possible. From eating to socializing in other ways.[6]

When we are in capitalism, Human beings as producer could not produces for equal exchange in the same space as another human being. Because capitalism makes the bargaining power of labor disappear. The most obvious is that the wages received are not equal to those lost in production, which the labor knows that while the employment area is limited, the number of workers is not limited. In such conditions, there are many workers who agree to sell themselves at lower prices. If considered the exchange in such a system, as the exchange of two things of unequal value, therefore, shows the injustice that occurs in this system.

In addition to the injustice that occurs in the area of economic exchange, it also leads to more problems. An oppressed state causes a man to be in a state of false consciousness in which they do not realize what they are[7]. In this case, they are human beings who are responsible for driving history. I consider this to be in line with the structure of the capitalist system that requires human to be controlled under the mechanism of the system. In order to take advantage of the insecurity that arises and force them to work to capitalize on the capitalist system.

First, People do not know that they are being pulled away from the nature of being a producer. The false consciousness in this sense reduces the value of humanity. When we are in capitalism, the human being is not a natural producer, but is made into another type of commodity that is responsible for the production of other products.

Second, because of the first. Human beings do not know themselves as human beings, believe that they cannot escape the framework of capitalism. They were not able to think of other forms of life as a result of systemic pressure that everyone had to live in perpetual fear of being replaced.

The dehumanization in the sense of unawareness of what we are, is an important issue that human must emancipate ourselves from and revive human life from the repressing system. Human beings must break the chains of bondage and create a new society that they can live as a human being.

IV. EMANCIPATION AND REVOLUTION

To resolve these unjust clashes between classes and destroy this false consciousness, Marx proposed that we need to utterly destroy the capitalist system. The revolution to destroy the traditional system took on an important role in Marx's thinking. We have said from the beginning that if the problem of capitalism occurs only in areas of the economy, there is inequality in the productive relations between wages and labor used in exchange, then raising wages for workers would be enough. But from the description of Marx, we see that the problem that capitalism has brought to man does not end there. We can see at least three major issues: Considering the economy, raising wages will increase the cost of production as well. Let's look at a simple way to determine the price of a product. There are two types of funding: constant capital and variable capital. Constant capital, such as the price of raw materials that lost at one time, such

[*] the Bourgeoisie – in Marx's term – means the class of modern capitalists

[**] the Proletariat – in Marx's term – means the class of labourer in a capitalist society

[6]Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels.(1989).*The German Ideology : Part One*. edited by C.J. Arthur. New York : International Publishers, p.48.

[7]Kolakowski, Leszek. (1978). *Main Current of Marxism. Vol.1 : The Founders*. Translated by P.S.Falla. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.175.

as coal, the material in which the production will move its own value into the product and gone. And even the cost of the deterioration of land and machinery, even if the value of the move is longer. But these costs will be spent on each production cycle anyway. These costs differ from the value of the variable capital that comes from labor. Labor usually provides what is called labor in exchange for wages agreed with the Bourgeois, which will be calculated as necessary to allow the labor to live on. But in capitalism, the need for capital accumulation forces the Bourgeoisie to try to exploit surplus value from the labor force so that the system can reproduce in the next round. The surplus that this is the profit will be shifted to the next production cost.[8]

Back to the issues discussed at the beginning of the article, why the rise in wages cannot really support economic viability? That's because when wages increase the cost of variable capital will increase as well. When the cost increases, that means the price of the product will rise as well. It will be a problem of inflation at a higher value. But the ratio between the money, prices of goods and labor is not really different.

The need to accumulate capital will eventually move into the political sphere. The wise Bourgeoisieuse their advantage to bring the power of the state into their hands to facilitate the movement of capital. Marx talks about this point clearly in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, which seeks to address the problem of using the state as a tool for oppressing to exercise the power of the state by using various structures, the law and regulations. During the feudal era and the capitalist era there was the clash between the old and new rulers, who were trying to dominate society. While the rulers scrambled everything into their hands, the subjects were suffering. As Marx said, during the political struggle '...The peasants had been disappointed in all their hopes; they were oppressed more than ever, one the one hand, by the low level of grain prices, on the other hand, by the growing burden of taxes and mortgage debts, and they started to stir in the departments'[9] The opponents of political power contended with each other until the end it is the Bourgeoisie who hold victory in their hands.

When capitalism has both economic power and political power in hand, the problem in third area which is the most violent will appear. It is an area that directly concerns the being of human, that is, human beings must suffer the condition in which they are alienated from their own nature as the producers who use their labor to exchange with others equally. Humans in capitalist society will no longer be able to face with other human beings on the basic of their own humanity but they will be forced to rely on a system that empowers people with an advantage, and eventually they will believe that only the system will allow them to live. This is a main problem, because this is a false consciousness that reduced human beings to a product that is being sold in the system.

The problem that occurs in the three main areas: economy, politics and values of human existence, leads Marx to proposes that since the problem of capitalism does not just surfaced superficially, but rooted in the mechanisms that correspond to each other as if there is no way out. The way to solve the problem is to attack the system directly to undermine the advantage of the class as a critical condition of the problem and to propel the human society into a communist society in which the very form of society deny the existence of the class; and create a space between human relationships so that we can confront each other equally.

When the state becomes a tool of the elite, Marx sees that only revolution can break the overwhelming structure of all the ruling classes. Otherwise, it will take the place of power of from the other classes, but still be under the old regime, which does not really solve the problem. We have to break the structure of the system to solve the problem, the advantage that causes a conflict between the class. The social power that Marx saw as the most powerful at that moment was the power of the Proletariat, because these people are most affected by pressure within the system. The laborer was the most prominent option in conflict between the social classes at that time, whereby the social movements that arise will show the conditions within themselves that lead to change.

The role in Marx's political struggles arises in this context. By revolution, it destroys the structure of the old state as a tool of class struggle and replaces it with a new social relationship that destroys the class structure that causes inequality. But the process to destroy this structure cannot happen in politics alone. The revolution may allow us to have a new society that may have a fairer social structure but if people do not realize why the old-fashioned society has problems; it is possible that the social structure will revert to its original form under the power of the new group, which does not solve the problem. Moreover, misunderstanding is also a way to break the communist concept as an alternative idea and leave it open to attack by old ideas that it will eventually lead to meaningless violence. Unable to create a society that is expected to come true.

For this reason, in addition to the revolutionary approach to change the political structure, it is necessary to change the system of thought that imprisons people at the same time because: '... the emancipation of the worker is not simply their emancipation as a class with particular interests, but also the emancipation of society and humanity as a

[8]Marx, Karl. (n.d.).*Capital : A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production Volume 1*. Translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. Moscow: Progress Publishers, p. 193 – 204.

[9]Marx, Karl.(2010)."The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." In *Surveys from Exile : Political Writings Volume 2*, edited by David Fernbach. London: Verso, p. 188.

whole.'[10] This means that it is not an erosion of the classes, but they must know how they are related to the world and to other human beings. The destruction of a political structure cannot remove hatred against the opponents, so it cannot make the concept of Marx manifest themselves fully.

However, I think that violence occurs at this point when people follow a political pattern but do not create the right mindset. Mindset of Emancipation, of the liberation of ideas. This pattern leads to a violent and aggressive approach. They see each other as enemies that must be eliminated, rather than destroying the structure of the system that is a human imprisonment. Therefore, the world of communism that can be shared equally is a difficult thing to achieved. The other side appears as the enemy; but when we remove everything, everyone is a human being who lives as a producer and drives his or her history together. The idea that communist fighting is the establishment of a new class to overthrow and replace the old class regardless of the structural problems of inequality is a problem. At this point, the need to come back to the understanding of existence of the Proletariat is necessary. It will make us understand the real problem and get rid of the false consciousness.

CONCLUSION

The separation of political space from the liberation of ideas has divided Marx's ideas and has created problems; because the way to build a society is weighed down on the one side, so neglect the heart of laying the political structure for the creation of a society in which human beings can live in equality rather than replace the new class in the traditional power structure. Understanding the context of both sides is essential to prevent Marxist ideas from getting bogged down in the myths of disaster and violence. If human beings can realize their own position. They would understand the meaning of other human beings as an equal producer.

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[10]Kolakowski, Leszek. (1978). *Main Current of Marxism. Vol.1 : The Founders*, p.140.