

## **THE INFLUENCE OF MARXISM THOUGHT THAT ARE CONTAINED IN “LES JUSTES” DRAMA SCRIPT BY ALBERT CAMUS**

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### **Abstract**

Karl Marx is told as an inspirator with great ideas. Marx claimed that there are laws of social development as well as the opening of secrets about a capitalist economy. Indeed at the level of theory, communism has a noble purpose but in practice many bad things happened. Lenin was the first thinker of marxism to bring marxism to actual practice, a revolution run by it to realize the utopia of Marxism in which Marxism in the hands of Lenin is not a philosophy of ordinary economics. The Just Assassins (original French title: “Les Justes”, a more literal translation is The Just or The Righteous) is a drama script in 1949 by French writer and philosopher Albert Camus. The drama is based on the true story of a group of Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries who killed Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich in 1905, and explored the moral issues associated with murder and terrorism. In the drama, all but one (Stepan) of "Justes" is based on historical terrorists, described in Memoirs of a Terrorist by Boris Savinkov.

This study aims to analyze the thought of an Albert Camus about a rebellion which he says is not as a form of resistance of the proletariat against the capitalist in the specific sense of Marxian or in other words that the existence of Marxism as a form of resistance to the domination of capitalism. Which prefers to human rebellion in the sense of opposing all sorts of life situations that are sickening, or in other words opposing the process of creation that has occurred by itself. With another meaning that is as a form of aspiration to obtain clarity and unity of a thought, so that in the form of a paradox, will lead to the level of form and public order. Camus believes that rebellion is one of the many essential dimensions of human nature. The Kaliayev character in this text provides a new perspective in the view of the revolution in order to bring out a political order or power existing in a society.

**Keywords:** marxism; anarchism; karl marx; bakunin; realist theater

### **Introduction**

### **Background**

Marxism is a view derived from Karl Marx. Karl Marx devised a major theory pertaining to economic systems, social systems and political systems. The followers of this Marxist theory are called Marxists. The widely known theories of Marxism in sociology are also often used in the study of historical events. Marxism is a complete, singular and unallocated world view.

Karl Marx combines an understanding of economics, political science, history and philosophy on the grounds that we can understand events that occur in the world. In his view the basic human economic needs of goods such as food and shelter form all the characteristics of society including into politics, arts, literatures, religion and law. (W.

Mansbach, Richard & L. Rafferty, Christian, 2012: 47). Marxism assumes that knowledge of economics is not enough for an understanding of the history of society. But ideology and social consciousness are also obligatory to be studied and understood.

There are two views of Marxism in Karl Marx's school of Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism. Karl Marx's thinking has always been associated with Dialectical Materialism and as a whole influenced by Hegel and Feuerbach. Meanwhile, Marx's War followed the Feurbach who was tended to critical of Hegel's loyalty and critical to idealist philosophy. As a follower of Naturalist ideology as adopted by Hegel, Karl Marx attempted to perfect the theory of Hegel. Because according to Karl Marx, Hegel always focus on the idealist and not abstract, then Karl Marx criticize Hegel's theory to be more material as in the economic aspects (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003: 26). Hegel's most important contribution was his dialectical system, while Feuerbach's most important contribution was his criticism of Hegel's idealism.

According to Karl Marx (Darsono, 2007: 64-94), historical materialism or the sociology of marxism teaches about:

- A. Social awareness breeds social consciousness
- B. Common law of the development of society
- C. Base and upper building
- D. Class and classroom
- E. State and revolution
- F. The role of time and leadership in history

## **Biography of Karl Marx**

Karl Henx Marx or better known as Karl Marx was born in Trier, Prussia (now Germany), on May 5, 1818. His father who is a lawyer made life in the family Karl Marx quite prosperous and classified as a professional middle class. Marx family can be said prosperous in Germany given the background of both parents Karl Marx is very thick with Jews. Karl Marx's father, Baruch Marx has a genuine lineage of Jews, in whom many Marxites became rabbis, while his mother Henriette was the son of a choir leader at the Nijmegen synagogue in the Netherlands (Small, 2014: 5-6). Karl Marx is the second of five children. He has a relationship not too close to his brother except with one of his sisters who would later live in Cape Town.

Young Karl Marx attended Tryer Gymnasium. The school is a special school for boys coming from middle-class family backgrounds at the time. Tryer Gymnasium's principal is Johan Hugo Wyttensbach (1767-1848) who is a friend of Karl Marx's father. The education emphasized in the school is Greek and Latin, the education is taught in order to instill strong foundations in their students, as well as the most thought-provoking sources of learning and philosophy using the language. At that time Tryer Gymnasium was a German conventional oriented to the teaching of classical sciences and the study of ancient languages.

Marx began his studies in Bonn at the age of 18, not far from his hometown. The university did not produce progress for Marx himself, the article Marx often stumble delinquency problems like general students. This made Karl Marx's father move him to a

university in Berlin with excellent educational standards and prominent teachers. Karl Marx studied philosophy at George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, who is a renowned thinker. Hegel died in 1831, but his influence continued to live thanks to the publication of his lectures on history, aesthetics, philosophy of religion, and the history of philosophy (Small, 2014: 15). Karl Marx finally received his doctorate in philosophy in 1841 from the University of Berlin.

### **Background of Rise of Karl Marx's Thought**

Marx lived after two great revolutions broke out in mainland Europe, the Political Revolution of the Bourgeois in France and the Industrial Revolution in England. The political revolution in France brought the bourgeoisie to power in the economic and political fields which made the rapid development of capitalist economy (Darsono, 2007: 14). This creates a socio-economic disparity between the capitalists and the proletarian / laborers. Meanwhile, technological developments during the Industrial Revolution in England resulted in abusive labor (human) is no longer needed because replaced by the existence of sophisticated machines more efficient, productive, and does not require much money. It is different with the laborers who have to give wages on each head. As a result, the workers are increasingly suffering from poverty and becoming unemployed.

In Karl Marx's view the basic human economic needs of goods such as food and shelter form all the characteristics of society, including politics, literature, religion, and law (Mansbach and Rafferty, 2012: 47). The great development of Marx's industrial and scientific powers will create sharp contrasts. Machine tools can shorten work and give more profit, but can also lead to hunger and overtime. Man becomes master of nature, but at the same time it becomes another human slave. In his view also the bourgeoisie subjugates the forces of nature to man, applies chemistry to industry, and makes machines, transportation, and new means of communication have created a massive breakthrough in the field of production (Winarni, 2014: 121-122). The role of mechanical machines in the field of production does bring benefits to the owners, the article compared to the workers of machine workers can produce goods needs neatly and more consistently, so in the production process there is no change in the value of qualitative goods. The orientation of the overhaul of industrial personnel from human labor to production machinery is profitability, the tendency being to reduce production costs by increasing the constant share of capital invested in machines. These conditions force producers to reduce labor to reduce costs in the production process, especially labor wages.

Marx's theory of economics reveals that the system of capitalism as a system of society in which the means of production are owned and used for the owner's personal gain. While on the other hand the workers employed are not slave laborers, but civilians with the status of independence, the goal is nothing but to gain profit / profit. Marx considers that the value of a good is determined by the amount of time socially necessary for its production. Labor sells its labor in the market in the form of goods with the socially necessary time-benchmark to produce / produce the same as what is needed to sustain its survival as well as its family (Winarni, 2014: 124). The steps that can be taken by Karl Marx in the struggle for the proletariat by entering the political sphere so as to mobilize the activities under the auspices of the government including production activities, the way of politics by the proletariat through supremacy so that the proletariat can talk in the government. Then convey ideas that uphold the interests of the proletariat in the sense of escape from the chains of the bourgeoisie.

When the imperial system fades and people live in an independent state that has certain relations with other countries, these countries grow as bourgeois society. Thus naturally all kinds of demands are limited to the geographic sphere of the state, and it is also naturally announced that freedom and equality are human rights (Muhammad: 2010: 216). As capitalist societies turned to the socialists, Marx called that period a communist society. With regard to this communist society, Marx's concept explains that the means of production do not assign special ownership to individuals, but ownership to the whole society. In this period full equity and equality in social and economic order cannot be expected. Human exploitation will be reduced, but the distribution of goods to consumers will continue to be based on the amount of work each person does (Muhammad, 2010: 217).

### **The Development of Political Economy Thought Karl Marx**

In August 1849, Marx arrived in London where he stayed until his death in 1883. For some time, most of his time was spent analyzing factionalism within the refugee community in Germany. From then on, Marx has essentially become a political economy thinker or rather a person critics of the political economy. Political economy is the name of a discipline that is born a hundred years earlier, mainly thanks to the contributions of Adam Smith (1723-1790), a man of a moral philosophy in Glasgow whose work *The Wealth of Nations* defends the free market "Unseen hands". For Marx, political economy is an intellectual partner of capitalism, and the development of political economy deeply reflects the resurrection the bourgeoisie in dominating social and political life.

Marx's analysis of modern society centers on the analysis of relationships production that allows a class to grow more prosperous and powerful by sacrificing another classes, and this is a great task even he devote the rest of his life to completing the task. Marx argues, shifts have taken place in the mode of production that underlies the societal life of the feudal system to the capitalist mode of production.

In this capitalist system, this manifests itself in the exploitation of the workers (the proletariat) by the capitalists. When workers are paid just enough to facilitate their minimal existence, the capitalists based on their position of power in the mode of production absorb more value from the products of the workers, which they call profit. One of the key aspects of the capitalist mode of production is the specific forms of alienation imposed on the proletariat. In the capitalist mode of production, workers become alienated from the products they do, alienated from the work process, alienated from "species-being" and from fellow workers. Alienation is supported by the ideological system that is spread by capitalist society. Through law, through the state, and through something similar to democracy, the proletariat is pacified to live under a false consciousness that legitimizes the state of their oppression and conceals economic exploitation of the proletariat.

Many disputes over whether Marx assumes that there will be an inevitable inevitability in the mode of capitalist projection towards communism or whether the actors the social must take an active role in ending the mode of capitalist exploitation. The frequent reference of Marx to the laws inherent in the structure of political economy seems implies an inevitable logic of that development, although it may be said that the emphasis on law (and the positivist idea of science) is a consequence of certain Engels' interpretations of Marx's work.

Due to the vague nature of Marx's view of political action, so is not clear the complex of debates about what constitutes the legitimate political actions of the proletariat and of how change can be achieved in countries where the working class is reluctant to take action against the capitalist and capitalist elites. Marx is a figure of enlightenment and very confident in the progressive changes in society, something that is clearly unpopular in the era of social theory now where ideas on progress, emancipation and major political projects are in doubt.

Nevertheless, it seems fair to say that Marx is still an important reference to contemporary debates. Not to be forgotten, in handling issues world politics such as globalization, some theorists still consider it important to defend Marxism, especially in its humanist form. Thus, it appears that Marx's thinking is still "relevant" despite many statements about it in the post-Cold War era: the legacy of Marx is still very much alive, and remains contentious as ever.

### **Theory of Bakunin**

Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin (Russian: Михаил Александрович Бакунин; born May 30, 1814 - died July 1, 1876 at the age of 62 years) is a figure of Russian politician. Bakunin is one of the best anarchist thinkers. Many even say that he is one of the "founders of the Anarchist movement". Bakunin is an anarchist who has a powerful revolutionary energy. Bakunin is a 'follower' of Proudhon's teachings, but expands it to economics when he and the wing of collectivism recognize the collective ownership of land and means of production and wishes to limit personal wealth to the work of others. Bakunin is also an anti-communist who at that time has a very authoritarian character.

In 1844, Bakunin moved to Paris. This is where Bakunin meets socialist figures like Marx and above all, Proudhon. It was from these two socialist figures that Bakunin developed his own ideas, and especially with Proudhon, Bakunin later became one of the successors of Proudhon's thought in terms of anarchism. Bakunin led anarchist groups at the International Labor Association (Internationale 1) meeting in London in 1864. This group is very much opposed to

Marx, especially about the concept of a socialist state. Bakunin strongly opposed the concept of a socialist state as Marx dictated. Marxists argue that the state is still needed during the proletarian revolution, which is the ideals of the workers, has not happened.

The state is still needed as a means to form communist communities under the dictatorship of the workers. According to Bakunin, the state is no longer needed because of power the state violates the rights of free individuals. The state must be replaced by communities that are free and economically independent. The group was later excluded from Internationale I in 1872 during the Hague Congress. The Bakunin-led anarchist group then held its own Congress in Saint Imier and produce revolutionary programs of anarchist groups. Although Bakunin greatly respected Marx, and regarded Marx as one of his teachers, many of Marx's concepts he strongly opposed. Bakunin disagreed with Marx's concept of "authoritarian socialism" and "the dictatorship of the proletariat." Bakunin likened that concept to the Russian dictatorship under the reign of Tsar Nicholas I.

## **Methodology**

This study aims to examine the foundation of Albert Camus's thinking about the concept of a revolution he poured into the play "Les Justes." This research is a qualitative descriptive study based on secondary data, using books, journals and articles who will answer whether Albert Camus has a concept of revolution that is different from what happened to the Russian Revolution in 1905?

Why Albert Camus created the character Kaliayev as the hero has the same name as the terrorist on whom the character is based but failed to harm the innocent in order to bring about the revolution?

Why did Kaliayev fail to throw bomb into the Grand Duke's horse-drawn carriage only because he saw a little boy participating with him?

On the other hand, Camus introduced one fictional character to show, Stepan. Why is he so radical and as an extremist that is often contradictory and disputes with Kaliayev, he is even prepared to kill children if ordered by the organization?

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Plot with Analysis**

#### **Act I (*In the apartment used by the terrorists*)**

The 'justes' are a group of revolutionaries plotting to assassinate the Grand Duke with a bomb. The first attempt is meticulously set up, with Kaliayev selected to throw the bomb.

#### **Act II (*as before*)**

After a period of uncertainty as to the outcome of the first attempt, Kaliayev returns, saying he could not throw the bomb at the carriage, as it contained the Grand Duke's nephew and niece. Stepan is disgusted by this, pointing out that thousands of Russian children have died as a result of Tsarist oppression, but the others take Kaliayev's side, as killing children would harm their cause.

#### **Act III(*as before*)**

Kaliayev prepares for the second attempt and tries again, two days after the first try. He successfully kills the duke. Voinov leaves the group to join the Party's propaganda division.

#### **Act IV(*in a prison*)**

Kaliayev is in prison. He has a brief discussion with Foka before Skouratov enters. Skouratov discusses Kaliayev's actions with him before the Grand Duchess enters. She shows Kaliayev the human side of his crime (the actual death of the Grand Duke) and asks him to agree to being a murderer, not a revolutionary, in exchange for his life. Kaliayev is moved by her talk of her husband but stays firm. He says, "Let me prepare myself to die. If I did not die-- it's then I'd be a murderer. Skouratov reenters and makes Kaliayev an offer:

either Kaliayev confesses and reveals the whereabouts of his fellows, or Skouratov will publish an article saying he repented his acts to the Grand Duchess, thereby making his fellows believe he betrayed them and their cause.

### **Act V (At the apartment)**

It is the night of Kaliayev's execution. Annenkov, Dora and Stepan await news of him. Voinov returns for the same reason. Some suggest that Kaliayev may have betrayed them to save his own life, but Dora knows this is not true. This is confirmed shortly afterwards by news of Kaliayev's death. Dora, normally the most gentle of the group, takes on a Stepan-like attitude. She vows to throw herself into terrorism and either to destroy tyranny single-handed to avenge Kaliayev, or be caught, executed and thereby united with him.

### **Characters**

**Ivan Kaliayev ('Yanek')** – The lead character of the play. It is he who throws the bomb that kills the Grand Duke, and goes to prison for it. Kaliayev is also known among the terrorists as 'the poet'. He, like the other 'justes', has sacrificed a good life to fight the tyranny of the Tsarist regime. Despite the sadness and danger of terrorism, Kaliayev repeatedly affirms his love for life — indeed, he is fighting so as to bring a better life to others. He and **Stepan Fedorov** frequently come into conflict. He used to be the lover of **Dora Doulebov**. Kaliayev is seen making a number of religious gestures, such as crossing himself. He is also extremely moral, and uncomfortable with the idea of killing a man. His only consolation is that, in killing the Grand Duke, he will reduce suffering for thousands of others ('La Russie sera belle') and that he will pay for the human side of his crime with his life. Even then, he makes certain that he kills only the Grand Duke. Ivan Kalyayev was the real name of the terrorist, as Camus notes in his introduction.

**Stepan Fedorov** – The only fictional revolutionary of the play, introduced by Camus to show his problems with the Communist party. Stepan enters the play having spent three years in prison before escaping to Switzerland (a reference to Lenin). As a consequence, he is very bitter and unable to appreciate the good aspects of life. He feels that 'freedom is a prison while even one man on Earth is enslaved', and frequently talks about insane acts of indiscriminate destruction, such as asking Dora 'how many bombs would it take to blow up Moscow?'. He also persistently asks to be allowed to throw the bomb, but the other members of the group see him as too unstable to be allowed to do so.

**Dora Doulebov** – Former lover of Kaliayev. She has had training in chemistry, and therefore acts as the group's bomb-maker. Dora, more than any other of the revolutionaries, remembers and talks fondly of her life before joining the Party. Though normally very gentle, Dora adopts a Stepan-like persona at the end of the play, wishing to avenge Kaliayev's death or die trying.

**Boris Annenkov** – The leader of the Party. Annenkov makes all the decisions about the assassination, such as who will throw the bomb. He acts in a mediating role in conflicts between Kaliayev and Stepan, and generally serves to calm the feelings of the other members of the group.

**Alexis Voinov** – A former university student, Voinov was thrown out of university for anti-Tsarist comments. Voinov places a very high value on truth, and feels he must fight tyranny actively. However, when he finds himself unable to throw his bomb in the first assassination attempt, he realises that he is not suited for direct violent action — he is afraid of the moment of deciding to throw the bomb, and he is ashamed of this. He decides instead to transfer to the propaganda division of the Party, saying that although the risks are the same, he does not have to see them.

The five characters above make up the 'justes' of the title.

Other characters:

**The Grand Duchess** – Widow of Grand Duke Serge. She appears in only one scene, confronting Kaliayev in prison about his actions. She emphasises the human side of the Grand Duke's death, talking about his little habits and good qualities. She asks Kaliayev to admit to being a murderer rather than a revolutionary, in exchange for a pardon, and to accept Christianity. Kaliayev finds his justification severely weakened, but manages to reject her offer.

**Skouratov** – A member of the secret police who visits Kaliayev in prison. Skouratov represents the hopelessness of struggling against a despotic society. He asks Kaliayev to betray his comrades in exchange for freedom for all of them, but Kaliayev refuses to do so. Skouratov then has published, or threatens to have published, a newspaper article saying Kaliayev did betray them, so as to destroy the unity of the group. However, if he does so, the group do not believe him.

**Foka** – A man Kaliayev meets in prison who has murdered someone while drunk. Foka is sceptical towards Kaliayev's socialism, and is instead very acceptant of the world (when Kaliayev describes the socialist vision to him, Foka simply says it is heaven). He is serving a 20-year sentence, but acts as a hangman, getting a year off his sentence for each criminal he hangs.

**Prison guard** – Not even a character. All he does is tell Kaliayev and Foka to be quiet until Skouratov arrives.

"Les Justes", this play, as it is happening everywhere, shows a troubling, or terrible relationship between murder and justice, between truth and death, between politics and infinity. Existential person will be proven when he ever rebelled. For example, when someone is ridiculed by others and he immediately feels unacceptable and shows his dislike, it can be said that the person has rebelled. Rebellion is not only done against others, but also can be done to self. The courage of a person out of his ordinary figure for the sake of getting more comfort is also a rebellion.

According to Albert Camus, in addition to physical rebellion there is also a metaphysical rebellion. Metaphysical rebellion also does not always lead to a distrust of God's existence. Rebellion can be done to be more confident in what has been believed so far. The term is seeking justification. An atheist may be the one who gets a big disappointment in the process of seeking metaphysical truth.

In February 1905 in Moscow, a group of terrorist who organized an attempt on the life of the Grand Duke Serge, uncle of the Tsar. This attempt and the unusual circumstances leading up to and following it, are the subject of "Les Justes". No matter how extraordinary some of the situations in this play may seem, they are the truth. This is not to say that "Les Justes" is a historical play. But all the characters did actually exist.

In this script, Kaliayev conflicts himself when he fail to throw a bomb at the Grand Duke. He returned to his group and sorrowfully apologized for not being able to perform his first task. *"I could not predict this... Children, those children especially... Have a good look at little kids? I could not stand that look..."*

Since we witness political assassinations and high profile murders, every now and then, in our modern world, we can easily assimilate Camus' play with our time. Stepan and Kaliayev are interesting characters in "Les Justes". The destination is same for the two men but they want to tread different paths. *"Liberty is still a prison as long as there is still anyone in chains on earth,"* says Stepan (Act I).

It is surprising, Kaliayev, who is going to hurl bomb at Grand Duke still could say "Beauty exists, joy exists!" But he is a poet who muses, "In the tranquil places where my heart wishes you..." in a place where they are planning a murder.

End justifies the means is a famous aphorism by Mao Tse Tung, loved by revolutionaries around the world. And Stepan says, *"When we decide to forget about children, that day we will be masters of the world and the revolution will triumph."*

Kaliayev says, in reaction to Stepan violent idea of revolution, *"... make me into an assassin when I am trying to be a maker of justice"* (Act II).

Let's look into another conversation in Act II. Stepan: *"We are murderers and we have chosen to be."*

Kaliayev: *"No. I've chosen to die so that murder will not triumph. I have chosen to be innocent."*

Quite true, we do not approve murders in the name of politics and revolution. The play explores the idea of rightful violence, and the characters believe it is right to kill people who inflict violence which we could relate to the anarchism concept that Bakunin created.

One of the interesting things in this play is the existance of unusual values of the true terrorists, whose most characters in the play have a sense of humanity and compassion so that they agree not to include children and wives as their target to be killed. For Stepan, any means used to bring about the revolution are justified. The main arguments in the play are between those two characters (Stepan and Kaliayev) but the other three terrorists – Annenkov, Dora and Voinov, all suffer the same anxiety as they try to convince themselves that their actions are just.

The play also reminds us of the importance of principles in life, that in every action there is always a consequence and on every option contains cause and effect. In the play, Kaliayev who had failed in carrying out his first task finally caught after he managed to bomb the Grand Duke on the second attempt. He was imprisoned and during his time in prison he received various difficult offers between remaining dead as a murderer or free but

becoming a traitor. With the difficult choices that lie ahead, he remains firm in his idealistic principle of dying on the gallows as a revolutionary socialist.

## Conclusion

In the script of "Les Justes" by Albert Camus it is explained that the notion of rebellion according to Camus is not as a form of resistance of the proletariat against the capitalist in the specific sense of Marxian or in other words that existence

Marxism as a form of resistance to the domination of capitalism, which prefers to human rebellion in the sense of opposing all sorts of life situations that are sickening, or in other words opposing the process of creation that has occurred itself. There are also other meanings contained in it, that is as a form of aspiration to obtain clarity and unity of thought, so that in the form of a paradox, will lead to the level of rules and orders.

The idea of a rebellion according to Camus is not as a form of resistance of the proletariat against capitalist in a specific sense or in other words hegemony of marxism as a form of antithesis to the domination of capitalism. But it is more to the human rebellion in the metaphysical sense that is opposed to all kinds of life situations that are sick or in other words against the process of creation that has occurred itself. There are also other meanings contained therein, that is as a form of aspiration to obtain clarity and unity of thought, so that in its paradoxical form will lead to a degree of order and order.

Camus believes that rebellion is one of the many essential dimensions of human nature. There is no point in denying the historical reality that already exists. It is a wise move to dig deeper and discover the essential principles of its existence.

The rebellious man is the man who says "yes" to life, but at the same time also welcomes him with "no", i.e "no" in suffering, crushing injustice, and other adversity. Rebellious humans always appreciate life and assume that human life has a noble value. The nobility comes from individual freedom and responsibility. To manifest happiness, rebellious man never turns to the supernatural and neither to what state he pours in the script of "Les Justes". In other words, Camus argues that the revolution should not be always done by murder nor by force.

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