

The Evolution of Marx's Early View of the State

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Abstract

Marx's view of the state is an important part of Marxist theory. However, Marx did not write a work specifically discussing his national thought, but expounded his own view of the state on the basis of criticizing the views of others. When he was a university student, Marx believed in Hegel's rational view of the state, but after experiencing a series of social practice and material interests, he was questioned, began to re-examine the rational view of the state, and further established a materialist view of the state. Studying Marx's early state view can clearly grasp the dynamic process of Marx's ideological transformation, and it is also of great significance to Marxist state theory.

Keywords

Country view, Human liberation, the proletariat.

1. Introduction

Based on the completion of Marx's transformation from materialism to communism and from democrats to communists, this article defines the early period as the period of Marx's university to the period of "Germany and France Yearbook". Marx's early state view was a critical period for the transformation of his state ideology. According to its main content, it can be roughly divided into three parts: reflections on the Essence of the Country in the Period of "Rheinland", Re-examination of the relationship between civil society and the state in the period of Kroznach, and during the "German-French Yearbook" period, through the analysis of religious issues, the theory of human liberation was put forward, and the material force to achieve this highest goal was the proletariat.

2. Period of the Rheinland

During his time in university, Marx was quick-thinking and keen on studying in various disciplines. He was also one of the most radical and representative of the young Hegelian school, and he believed in Hegel's rational state. After entering society, he personally participated in the actual political struggle with the Prussian government during his tenure as the editor of the Rheinland newspaper. His in-depth contact with social issues and rethinking of material interests prompted Marx to re-examine Hegel's rational state view. In the process of reflecting on reality and searching for truth, he began to gradually establish his own materialistic view of the country. Marx's articles in the "Rheinland" included "Debate on Press Freedom and Publication of Provincial Meetings", "No. 179 "Coron Daily" Editorial" and "Debate on Forest Theft Law" and many other critical articles.

2.1. Freedom of the Press

"Debate on Press Freedom and Publication of Provincial Conferences" is the first article published by Marx in the "Rheinland". It is based on "Review of Prussia's Recent Book Censorship Order", which firmly defends the freedom of press and publication. Fiercely criticized the Prussian government's interference in the freedom of the press and keenly identified that the political positions of the debaters are based on the interests of their respective levels: The Princely debater advocate the necessity of censorship of newspapers, and

denounce that the core of freedom of publication is that free publications are the expression and embodiment of the people's spirit, and they want publications to be a tool for expressing their views; The main point of the aristocratic debater is that free publications are not perfect. They try to stifle freedom of the press with the argument that human beings are never mature. They point out that people are imperfect at birth and therefore need education. Because people are imperfect, free publications are not perfect, and because publications have a great impact on people, bad publications will spread bad thoughts by any means to achieve their own goals. Therefore, they oppose freedom of publication. The essence is to praise the freedom of privileged hierarchy; Urban-level debaters oppose freedom of the press for two reasons. On the one hand, in order to obtain the benefits of this class from opposing the freedom of the press, they tried to compare their own freedom of business operation with the freedom of the press, aiming to make the freedom of the press under the urban privileges. On the other hand, it was to prevent the revolutionary people from gaining freedom. Fear that people express their spiritual existence in publications to prevent their own interests from being touched.

It is in this debate on freedom of the press that Marx discovered "the unique position of each class". Those who participated in the debate did not regard freedom as "the natural right of all rational people", but as a "feature of a specific group of people", such a position cannot make any laws governing news. That's why, Marx said: "The debate shows us that the prince class, the aristocracy, and the urban-level is against the freedom of the press. Therefore, the controversy here is not an individual person, but a class[1]. "It is hierarchical interests and social status that determine the political stand of the debater. However, Marx believed that the state should be autonomous and independent of any interests, but in the Prussian authorities each represented the interests of their respective strata.

In July 1842, Marx wrote the "No. 179 "Coron Daily" Editorial", in which he criticized the "Philosophy of Religion" by the editor-in-chief of the Coron Daily. This prompted Marx to think about the basic issues of the state. Helmes believes that the most necessary condition for the formation of any social group is religion, and therefore asserts that religion is the foundation of the country, and that the modern country is a "Christian country", and religion determines the rise and fall of the country. Helmes maintains Christianity very much. Any speech and behavior that opposes or attacks religion is indirectly against the country, because a strong religion makes the country prosper, and vice versa. The only argument he defends is the long-term existence of Christianity. In the article, Marx criticized Helmes's religious determinism. Since this period was still influenced by Hegel's rational view of the state, Marx pointed out that free rationality is the foundation of the state, and the state is the embodiment of rationality.

"The Debate on Press Freedom and the Publication of Provincial Conferences" and "No. 179 "Coron Daily" Editorial", the two articles mainly explained the relationship between Marx's freedom of press and the rational state: Freedom of the press is the basis of a rational country. Limiting freedom of the press is equivalent to stifling free rationality. A country without free rationality as a basis cannot be called a true country; A rational country is a necessary condition for the realization of freedom of the press. In a rational country, freedom of the press is not an expression of the spirit of a small group of elites, but the embodiment of the spirit of the whole people, and a sound link between individuals, the country and the society. If these two articles are Marx's in-depth thinking of state issues from the spiritual realm, then in the article "The Debate on the Law of Forest Theft" is Marx's discussion of state issues from the economic issues of material interests in the real social field.

2.2. Material Interests

"The Debate on the Law of Forest Theft", the core issue of this debate is whether the poor people picking up dead branches in the forest are considered as theft, and the representatives of the nobility and the city stand on the stand of safeguarding the interests of the forest owners. Of

course, this also involves their own interests. Marx believed that the state should obey the customary rights to oppose the plunder of the rich. The relationship of natural domination and possession has been reversed, and people are dominated by trees, because trees are only a commodity that objectively expresses social and political relations. This dehumanization is the direct consequence of the "Prussian State" advice to the legislator [2]. The forest owner requires the state to formulate laws to exploit the habitual right of the poor to pick up dead leaves since ancient times, and to aggravate any behavior that harms their private interests, in an effort to reduce the state to a tool for their class to oppress the poor people at the bottom. From this debate, Marx realized the conflicts and contradictions between private interests and general interests in the real society, and realized that the Prussian state became a "material means" for the lords, nobles, and urban hierarchies to plunder and exploit the working people. In other words, the Prussian state is not a representative of the general interests of the broad masses of people. It regards private interests as the ultimate goal and acts as a tool to protect private ownership, which violates the essence of the state. It can be seen that at this time Marx questioned the rational state view he believed in.

During the Rhineland, all the manuscripts made by Marx showed that he had a deeper understanding and understanding of economic, interest and other practical issues, and realized that material interests determine the country to a certain extent, and the country is not as Hegel's Talking about the realization of universal rationality, this contradiction prompted Marx to shake the rational state view. Marx successively published controversies about communism with rival newspapers in the newspapers, such as commenting on the Hanoverian liberal opposition, participating in discussions on forest theft laws, municipal reforms, protective tariffs, hierarchical committees, draft divorce laws, etc. These politically influential articles have caused the government to exert greater pressure on the Rhineland. On January 21, 1843, the Rhineland was blocked by the Prussian government for its radical political stance. Marx retreated from "society back to his study" and came to the small town of Kroznach. During the retreat to the small town, Marx had plenty of time to think about Hegel's rational state view more deeply.

3. Kroznach Period

Marx studied and extracted 23 historical and political works here, and formed 5 "Kroznach Notes". Based on these thought accumulations and the social experience of the period of the Rhineland, he questioned Hegel's rational view of the state. Wrote a landmark classic, "Criticism of Hegel's Philosophy of Law".

3.1. Hegel's Theory of the Relationship between Civil Society and State

Hegel's fundamental view on the relationship between the state and civil society is that the state determines the family and civil society. After the disintegration of the family, each member of the family, as an independent individual, became a civil society. Every member in a civil society has the purpose of pursuing the private and special interests of an individual, although the principle of speciality and the principle of universality complement each other in this field, this abstract principle of universality cannot eradicate the inherent contradictions of civil society. Therefore, civil society must transition to the state, and the state sublates the family and civil society within itself. In Hegel's understanding, "For the two fields of family and civil society, on the one hand, The state is their external inevitability and supreme power. Their laws and interests are subordinate to the nature of this power and depend on this power. However, on the other hand, The state is their inner goal, and the power of the state lies in the unity of its universal ultimate goal and individual special interests [3]. Because the state is the highest stage and the last link of ethical ideas, which internally includes family and civil society. Family and civil society are only the different levels of presentation of national ideas in these two links.

Therefore, the state determines family and civil society and is higher than both. The fully developed family and civil society are just two ideal development areas that the country first differentiated for its own development needs and serve as its own internal links. Therefore, the country is logically prioritized, dominating and surpassing families and citizens society.

3.2. Marx's Theory of the Relationship between Civil Society and State

The true relationship between civil society and the political state is the core content of "Criticism of Hegel's Philosophy of Law". Marx criticized Hegel's view that the state determines the family and civil society. In Marx's view, Hegel's starting point is the state in the ideal, and the conclusion that the logic of the state is prioritized is illogical. Marx understands civil society and the country from the actual activities of people, he profoundly revealed that the family is the natural basis for the formation of the state, while civil society is the man-based basis for the formation of the state. Both are the necessary conditions and components for the existence of a political state. Otherwise, the state cannot exist. This leads to the opposite conclusion to Hegel, that the family and civil society determine the state. Marx pointed out that Hegel's error was: Hegel regards the family and civil society as the conceptual realm of the state and the finitude of the state, that is, the state divides itself into these two fields and presupposes them, aiming to return to itself, beyond the two to become itself for the infinite reality spirit. But the actual relationship is not so, "The relationship of reality is reduced to phenomena by speculative thinking [4]", in Hegel's philosophy everything becomes head and foot upside down, "The idea has become an independent subject, and the actual relationship between the family and civil society and the country has become an imaginary internal activity of the idea [5]" In fact, the family and civil society are the driving forces, also are the truly active forms of state existence.

The Kroznach period was a period when Marx's view of the state had a substantial change: on the one hand, Marx has transcended political rationality and has shifted from the recognition and defense of the rational view of the state to the questioning and criticism of Hegel, and he has gradually established a historical materialist view of the state; On the other hand, due to the research excerpts of a large number of historical and political works, this provided the possibility and basis for Marx's subsequent turn to political economics research. It can be said that the Kroznach period was a link between Marx's establishment of a materialist view of the country, and laid a solid theoretical foundation for the later articles with social implications in the "German-French Yearbook".

4. "German-french Yearbook" Period

Marx's view of the state gradually improved with Marx's deepening of practical life and changes in ideology. "Germany and France Yearbook" is a special political commentary. Marx and Lugar decided to practice the idea of combining Germany and France. The articles written by Marx during this period clearly had a socialist flavor. In the first and last issue, two articles were published in Marx's "On the Jewish Problem" and "Introduction to a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law".

4.1. Political Liberation

The central theme of "On the Jewish Problem" is "the separation of the contemporary state from civil society, and the subsequent failure of liberalist political liberation of society [6]". He also pointed out that what Powell said about the political liberation of the bourgeoisie is indeed positive for civil society, but it still has limitations, that is, it has not touched the foundation of the country.

Marx said: "The political emancipation of Jews, Christians, and believers of all religions is the liberation of the country from Judaism, Christianity, and all religions [7]". In other words, when

the country becomes itself and no longer maintains any religion, it becomes a true country and liberated from religion when it is in accordance with its own norms and methods that conform to its own essence. The content of political liberation can be summarized into three aspects: first, to complete the liberation of religion, that is, the liberation of religion from politics; Second, the country's original feudal system was completely disintegrated; The last is the completion of national idealism and the completion of civil society materialism. The realistic way of political emancipation is to carry out a large-scale political revolution. When the political revolution overthrew the feudal system, broke the hierarchical system, and abolished all privileges, political life and civil social life changed from the original interdependence to a mutually opposed state. Specifically, the state becomes the so-called free "community", and human beings exist as citizens in the political state, realizing the universality and similar existence that they should have.

4.2. Human Liberation

Marx believes that through political liberation, it is indeed possible to remove political shackles to a certain extent and get rid of the special class and class shackles of trade associations. However, the country that achieved political liberation is not yet a country in the true sense, but a Christian country. In other words, political emancipation has not eliminated the differences in reality. People living in the political state and civil society live a split dual life, namely, the false and universal community life in the political state and the self-interested and isolated individual life in the civil society. "The division of people into the duality of public and private, and the transfer of religion from the state to civil society is not an individual stage of political liberation, but its completion[8]." Political liberation is only a stage in the historical process of human liberation. People have achieved political liberation through the "intermediary" of the state, but man himself has not yet been liberated. To achieve universal freedom and development of mankind, we must rise from political liberation to human Emancipation, only human emancipation can overcome and surpass the shortcomings of political emancipation, so that the country can truly perform its functions. The human emancipation proposed by Marx is a social and political ideal opposed to the "individual emancipation" and "individual freedom" of the bourgeoisie. Marx clearly pointed out: "Only when the actual individual is also an abstract citizen and, as an individual, becomes a kind of existence among his own experience life, his own personal labor, and his personal relationship, only when people recognize their own 'original power' and organize this power into a social force, and thus no longer regard social power as a dominant force and separate from themselves, only at that time can human liberation be completed[9]." In other words, there are four basic conditions for achieving human liberation: First of all, it requires a high degree of development in science, technology, and productivity, and a great wealth of social products; Second, class differences disappear completely, whether it is between urban and rural areas, between workers and peasants, or between mental and manual labor, to achieve equality for all in all areas of life and production; Furthermore, the national and regional boundaries are gradually disappearing, forming a community of all mankind; Finally, all members of the country generally establish communist ideas, and people live a life of great material and spiritual richness, and their intelligence, physical strength, and personality develop comprehensively and freely together on the premise of harmonious development with the entire society.

4.3. The Special Nature of the Proletariat

The second article "Introduction to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" can be said to be an abstract of the "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law". The first half of the article restates the old topic, all the key points have been clarified in detail in the "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law", "But there was a very innovative emphasis at the time, that is, the proletariat was

emphasized as the liberator of the future society[10]. "The proletariat as the liberator of the future society is determined by the special nature of the proletariat itself. Marx pointed out that the proletariat is a class that is completely bound by chains. The proletariat suffers universally and therefore has the strongest desire for liberation; The proletariat is not a class in the traditional sense, that is, a class bound by the possession of specific means of production. On the other hand, the proletariat is a class that can show the disintegration of all classes. The proletariat is at the bottom of society, and cannot achieve its own emancipation without realizing the complete emancipation of other classes. It can be said that the formation of the proletariat means the demise of classes and the disintegration of existing society.

4.4. The Historical Mission of the Proletariat

Marx firmly believes that only the proletariat can achieve human liberation, because the proletariat regards philosophy as its spiritual weapon, and philosophy regards the proletariat as its material weapon. Marx compared the proletariat to the "heart" and philosophy to the "mind", and profoundly pointed out that only the combination of the proletariat and philosophy can complete human liberation. The application of philosophical theory to practical activities and the ultimate elimination of the proletariat can achieve real liberation rather than theoretical liberation. The practical activities of the proletariat must be guided by philosophical theories. This can achieve the ultimate goal of eliminating itself and realizing human liberation. As Marx said: "Philosophy cannot become a reality unless it abolishes the proletariat; the proletariat cannot destroy itself without turning philosophy into a reality[11]." The emancipation of the proletariat has an inherent unity with the emancipation of all mankind. The proletariat itself has no special interests, and its class interests are consistent with the interests of social development and human progress. Therefore, the historical mission of the proletariat is to liberate all mankind. Human emancipation can only be achieved through the emancipation of the proletariat, and the proletariat can emancipate itself only by emancipating all mankind! It can be seen that the two articles in the "German-French Yearbook" period have the same theme, analyze and criticize the capitalist system from different angles, and the purpose of the articles is to achieve human liberation.

5. Conclusion

From the period of "Rheinland" to the period of "German-French Yearbook", it was a critical period for the transformation of Marx's early state thought. Lenin also said that Marx had completed the transition from materialism to communism and from democrats to communists by the time of the "Germany and France Yearbook. Through the above analysis, we can clearly see the dynamic process of Marx's transition from a rational view of the country to a materialistic view of the country. Marx's view of the country in the mature period was deepened and expanded on the basis of his earlier thoughts. To some extent, it can be said that the early Marxist view of the state was the core part of Marx's view of the state, and it also played an important role in the formation of Marxist state theory.

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