

**Study on the Causes and Influence of New Marxism in Eastern Europe from a Humanitarian Perspective**

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**Abstract.** New Marxism in Eastern Europe, as an important part of the development of Marxism, has rich theoretical connotation, and its emergence also has a unique social and cultural background. This paper mainly analyzes the causes of the emergence of neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe from the humanitarian perspective. The formation and development of new Marxism in Eastern Europe is rooted in the theoretical cornerstone of Marxism at the level of ideological origin, and its ideological and theoretical basis is the reinterpretation of the humanitarian concept in traditional Marxism. It also accepted the influence of contemporary Western European modern ideological trend and Western European neo-Marxism, which promoted the deep humanitarian thinking in Eastern European neo-Marxism. At the same time, the special meaning of the new Marxism in Eastern Europe lies in that it was formed in socialism, and it was a new Marxism that introspected and criticized the socialist construction mode at that time. It is also a neo-Marxism that absorbs the national spirits of different countries in Eastern Europe and is highly localized, showing different specific contents in different countries. Neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe is a philosophical system produced under the unique social background, in which the humanitarianism thought has promoted the development of Marxist thought, and made Marxism integrate with modern society. The criticism of the Soviet model also impacted the rigid system at that time, and after it was introduced into China, it also played a positive role in emancipating the mind of our ideological and literary circles in the new period.

**Keywords:** Eastern European neo-Marxist humanitarian Soviet model.

1. Introduction

In 1950s and 1960s, the neo-Marxist theorists in Eastern Europe just experienced the heavy blow of World War II to the world ideological and cultural circles, and faced with the practical problems of socialist transformation brought about by the rigidity of Soviet model. The country's economic and social development entered a bottleneck, and political democracy was also in crisis. Therefore, the researchers of Eastern European neo-Marxism are required to put forward a deeper understanding of Marx's political philosophy and Marxist social humanitarianism, and to make a more systematic discussion and explanation on the issue of human nature in neo-Marxism. In the development process of Marxism in the 20th century, the neo-Marxist scholars in Eastern Europe not only continue to reflect on the development of human society and history from the economic and political aspects, but also reveal the profound social crisis encountered by contemporary people from the humanitarian level, especially from the humanitarian level. Their interpretation and development of Marx's philosophy and its humanitarian position is the combination of Marxist thought, history and reality. Among them, the prominent representatives are Hungarian Lukacs' ontology of social existence, Yugoslavian pragmatist and Polish Schaff's humanistic school. These schools take western modern ideological trend and western neo-Marxism as their two major theoretical sources, and at the same time, they are influenced by different national spirits and local cultures of different countries, showing their unique ideas about human problems. These discussions on humanitarianism have also had a profound impact on the modernization of Marxist thought and the building of a socialist country.
2. The causes of new Marxism in Eastern Europe

2.1 The theoretical basis of Marxism

Marxist philosophy has laid a good theoretical foundation for the development of Eastern European neo-Marxist ethics, and supported the theoretical system of Eastern European neo-Marxist theorists in philosophy, sociology and other aspects. In the historical period of 1950s and 1960s, the ideological trend of returning to Marx and reviving Marxism, represented by the Yugoslavian Pragmatist School and the Hungarian Budapest School, appeared in Eastern European countries. "The neo-Marxist theory schools in Eastern Europe have returned to Marx's thoughts, established the humanistic spirit and value position of Marxism at the ontological level, and provided a solid Marxist philosophical foundation for constructing concrete social philosophy, ethics and daily life critical theories at the epistemology and axiology levels." [1] The social and historical materialism thought in Marxist philosophy expounds the dialectical relationship between economy and production relations, human social survival and human social consciousness. Engels explained this: "If someone distorts it here and says that economic factors are the only decisive factor, then he is turning this proposition into meaningless, abstract and absurd empty talk. Economic situation is the foundation, but it has an influence on the course of historical struggle and in many cases mainly determines the form of this struggle, as well as various factors of superstructure. " [2] On this basis, Eastern European Marxists pay attention to mobilizing people's subjective initiative to change their own destiny and social reality, and advocate that "people should be invited and morally forced to realize socialism through all their efforts" [3] This view is opposite to the distorted historical materialism view that vulgarizes and simplifies Marxist theory. In the eyes of an Eastern European neo-Marxist scholar, Marxism is a "moderate historical determinism". The development of social history does not simply depend on economic relations, and the exertion of human initiative is also crucial to the development of history. This view supports the research on Marxist human problems and lays a theoretical foundation for further exploring Marxist freedom thought.

Marxism's interpretation of free development is "the all-round and free development of every individual" [4]. In the eyes of Marxism, morality should be a norm that exists in people's hearts, rather than an external constraint. "It doesn't mean a society without morality, but it means that moral authority is completely placed inside" [5] Eastern European neo-Marxist researchers represented by Heller, based on the humanitarianism in traditional Marxist philosophy, further explained freedom, a moral norm internalized by human beings, as the goal of achieving all-round development of human beings. Heller also absorbed the progressive idea of Marx's thought in the understanding of humanitarian standards, and thought that the humanitarian situation in society could be improved, and based on this, explained the idea that human development needs humanitarian protection. On the understanding of liberation, Marx put forward: "Because people lost themselves in the proletariat, and at the same time, they not only realized this loss in theory, but also were directly forced by the unavoidable, undisguised and absolutely irresistible poverty-the actual manifestation of inevitability-and generated indignation against this inhumanity, so the proletariat can and must liberate itself. However, if the proletariat does not eliminate its own living conditions, it cannot liberate itself. If it doesn't eliminate all inhuman living conditions of modern society concentrated in its own situation, it can't eliminate its own living conditions. " [6] Imagine using the method of total revolution to achieve people's liberation and real freedom of thought, expounding the inevitability of proletarian revolution from the angle of economy and class. Heller proposed that the liberation of proletariat is a political movement leading to freedom, and liberation is also because there is a historical rationality concept leading to freedom.

2.2 Western modern ideological trend and the influence of Western neo-Marxism

When criticizing the rigid highly centralized planned economic system of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia's Pragmatist School, Poland's Philosophy and Humanism School and Czech Existentialism Anthropology all took "Western Modern Ideological Trend" and "Western Neo-
Marxism” as their two theoretical sources. These schools echoed each other, and all of them were more or less influenced by western thoughts, so that there was a deviation in the direction of political construction and Marxist research. For example, the Polish school of philosophy and humanism thinks that the reform of socialism itself is of no help, and it can only rely on the developed capitalist countries to establish a set of developed democratic models, which in turn affects the existing socialist countries. Czech existential anthropology, represented by Cosic, advocates this special dialectics of human studies, and holds that Marxist dialectics is an ontology about human beings, and Marxist practical philosophy is fundamentally a practical philosophy based on ontology. Especially for the study of alienation, Eastern European neo-Marxists and Western Marxists show inheritance. On the basis of the preliminary exploration of alienation, Eastern European Marxists further criticize the living state of self-alienation. Western Marxist scholar Fromm pointed out that the development of productive forces not only gives people more freedom, but also makes people isolated. "He is free, but it also means that he is lonely, isolated and threatened from all sides. He didn't have the wealth or power that the rich man had in the Renaissance, and he also lost his sense of identity with people and the universe. Therefore, a feeling that he was worthless and hopeless overwhelmed him. Heaven is lost forever, and the individual is facing the world alone-like a stranger throwing himself into a boundless and dangerous world. The new freedom brings the feeling of uneasiness, powerlessness, doubt, loneliness and anxiety. " [7] Neo-Marxists in Eastern Europe have raised the study of the living state of human alienation to the construction of philosophical system. Petrovic pointed out that self-alienation is the essence and foundation of human alienation, and self-alienation is also closely related to people's basic way of life. Therefore, we can only know the profound essence and basic forming factors of alienation if we know people's basic methods of activities and basic ways of living. At the same time, he also pointed out that understanding self-alienation is the basis for a comprehensive grasp of human nature. The elimination of alienation is not a one-off thing. Because people have the characteristics of initiative, it urges people to gradually eliminate various specific forms of alienation in the process of constantly improving themselves, thus overcoming the self-alienation of people's way of life, which provides a realistic way to eliminate alienation. However, at the same time, it is very difficult to discard alienation and solve people's self-alienation due to the imperfection of people themselves, which leads to a long historical process of eliminating alienation. Eastern European neo-Marxism is greatly influenced by western popular thoughts, especially by western neo-Marxism. These schools and thoughts focus on the exploration of humanitarianism, which has played an important role in the research direction of Eastern European neo-Marxism.

2.3 The Soviet model prompted the reform of socialist countries in Eastern Europe.

The biggest difference between East European Neo-Marxism and other Marxism in the same period and history is that it was born in the practice of socialism under the Soviet model. "Eastern European neo-Marxism is not only the witness and participant of Eastern European socialism, but also the critic and introspector of Eastern European socialism. Its theory is full of Marxist truth about the future and destiny of socialism everywhere. The socialist experience, especially the personal experience of the existing socialism, is the unique experience of the new Marxism in Eastern Europe. Experiencing socialism with one's own experience and rethinking and criticizing the existing socialism constitute the unique historical mark of the new Marxism in Eastern Europe. It is in this sense that the thoughts and theories of neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe have precious and irreplaceable significance and value for any contemporary country that adheres to the socialist theory and socialist road. " [8]

Under the leadership of Stalin, the former Soviet Union established a highly centralized socialist model in World War II, which greatly promoted the development of the Soviet Union at that time. However, this system also has many drawbacks, especially the Soviet government's neglect of social and people's livelihood issues caused the Soviet humanitarian crisis. Since the end of World War II, the average life expectancy of the Soviet Union's population has dropped from 68.59 years from 1958 to 1960 to 67.80 years from 1978 to 1979. One-sided development of heavy industry has resulted in
social and people's livelihood not being guaranteed. The highly centralized planned economic system suppressed the vitality of the Soviet Union's economic growth, which made the growth rate of the per capita income level of the Soviet Union slow down or even stagnate since 1950s and 1960s. In terms of political thought, when Stalin extended Lenin's thought and Soviet Union's construction test to other Eastern European countries, he neglected its due national and regional characteristics, which made the symptoms of Soviet socialist construction model spread throughout Eastern Europe.

Facing a series of problems of promoting economic development and the transition from the undemocratic rigid Soviet model to socialist democracy, Eastern European neo-Marxists explored in different countries. Lukacs's ontology of social existence in Hungary is a reflection on the highly centralized socialist model of the Soviet Union and the development of Marxism. In the aspect of democracy construction, he actively seeks the organic combination of direct democracy and indirect democracy and regards people's autonomy as the essential feature of socialism. "The essence of socialist development is called the workers' committee. Expressed in theory, we can say that this is democracy in daily life. Democracy develops to the most basic level of daily life until all people make decisions on all major public issues. Today we are at the beginning of this development. But there can be no doubt that those innovations in Yugoslavia and the fact that they have become the subject of serious discussion will help the workers' committee in today's situation and finally become the basic principle of any socialist development again "[9]. The bureaucratic system under the highly centralized Soviet Union model makes the society produce a different kind of alienation phenomenon belonging to the socialist society, which can only be produced in capitalist countries. The alienation of workers' goods produced by themselves has been transplanted to socialist countries. In the view of Eastern European neo-Marxists, the centralized government under the Soviet Union model has replaced the capitalist position in capitalist countries. In order to solve the alienation of the current Soviet model and realize the all-round and free development of human beings, the representative of the Polish humanistic school put forward that human beings are the starting point, the destination and the purpose of Marxist socialism; The highest value goal of Marxism humanitarianism is personal happiness, maximum expansion of personal freedom and all-round development of human personality, so "socialist humanitarianism" and "humanist socialism" should be regarded as the central slogans of Marxism and socialism.

2.4 the influence of national culture and local culture

Neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe has been influenced by different national cultures and local cultures, and has been transformed into different concrete contents in different countries. The social history and culture of Eastern Europe contains the fine tradition of Greek philosophical rationality and humanism, and there have been many ideological emancipation movements such as Renaissance, Religious Reform Movement and Cultural Enlightenment in modern Eastern Europe, which have provided rich cultural soil for the development of new Marxism in Eastern Europe. There is a high degree of unity between the national cultural spirits such as independence and humanitarianism of all ethnic groups in Eastern Europe and the individual freedom thought of Marxism, especially the humanitarianism thought of young Marx's thought, which makes the localization movement of Marxism in Eastern Europe develop in different countries and show different cultural characteristics.

Socialist pragmatists in Yugoslavia combine the spirit of people's autonomy in their own development history to explain Marxist humanitarianism. In terms of economic model, they advocate the establishment of an autonomous socialist economy based on the association of free people. They think that the political centralization under the current Soviet model has alienated Yugoslav society, and the category of alienation is also applicable to socialist society. Philosophy should mercilessly criticize the alienated reality of socialist society, and then build a humanitarian society ideal by Yugoslav people. Poland's national civilization is characterized by a long period of alien domination and a relatively open social civilization. "The experience of resisting foreign rule has made Poles have a strong nationalism and patriotism, while the open culture has made Poles have a free spirit and critical consciousness against dogmatism." [10] Polish Marxists criticized Stalin's dogmatic Marxism
and the highly centralized political and cultural atmosphere of Poles in their own country according to the contradiction between their country's ideal of resisting dogmatism and the rigid reality of the Soviet model, and put forward the socialist humanitarianism route adapted to the national conditions of Poles. Czechoslovakia's national characteristics are more from the disadvantages of the Soviet model. In World War II, Czechoslovakia defeated German fascists with the help of the Soviet Red Army, and gained national liberation and freedom. Therefore, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia actively used the Soviet model for industrialization. However, the problems of the Soviet socialist construction model make Czechoslovakia's economic situation deteriorate day by day, the political construction is not perfect, and social problems are prominent. This social situation has further stimulated the development of Eastern European Neo-Marxism in Czechoslovakia. The Eastern European neo-Marxists represented by Cosic, Svitak and Mahwitz criticized the shortcomings of the existing socialism and called for the establishment of humane socialism. They argue that the humanitarian crisis facing the Czech Republic is the biggest social problem at present. The Czech society has neglected the existence of human beings, failed to establish a perfect humanitarian system, and criticized the problems of excessive centralization, neglect of democracy and individual freedom in the process of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia.

3. The influence of neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe

3.1 the impact on the humanitarian development of Marxism

Neo-Marxists in Eastern Europe have made a multi-faceted interpretation of the humanitarian issues in Marxism, which has promoted the development of Marxism. Take Heller's development of Marxism as an example. She not only regards the exposition of free will in Marxism as the highest moral standard of human beings, but also liberates the humanitarianism suppressed in the Soviet model. Even explain Marxist thought as a philosophy of radical philosophy to meet the needs of contemporary people. Heller created a set of humanitarian norms for socialist society by concretizing these radical philosophies into a new ethical system. She thinks that "this kind of thought' realizes its self-consciousness': only when people can also regulate a world, can people give the world a norm" [11]. For this reason, Heller formed a relatively perfect theoretical system of self-philosophy thought. "During this long period of life in Melbourne and New York, I thought about basic philosophical issues and formed my own thoughts. It was also during this period that I began to write The Power of Shame and Beyond Justice (which is part of my ethics), and also wrote General Ethics, Moral Philosophy, Fragmented Historical Philosophy and so on. In this period, I think I have completed my theoretical construction: on the one hand, it is ethical; On the other hand, it is historical philosophy. " [12] Heller not only developed the humanitarianism in Marxism into a complete system, but also put forward ways for ordinary people to reach this humanitarian standard. She advocates arousing everyone's self-criticism consciousness from his will, that is, the so-called philosophical will, and then arousing everyone's enthusiasm in life, inspiring people's subjective initiative, and then reaching the humanitarian standard. Heller summed up his philosophical thoughts as follows: "Be yourself; This is the first and perhaps the only criterion of personality ethics. " [13] In addition to Heller's development of humanitarianism in Marxism at the personal level, Eastern European neo-Marxist scholars also put forward their own views on humanitarianism at the social level, that is, social care for people. Kolakovski thinks that the current Soviet model is a great harm to humanitarianism. In this highly concentrated environment, people "have the hope of a collective paradise, just like in the Millennium movement, so this danger will be more obvious" [14]. Kolakovski believes that the existence of collective social utopia will suppress individual needs, and then destroy humanitarian principles, which is the destruction of socialist democracy. Kolakovski believes that humanitarianism should be established within the national scope, because the perfection and growth of individuals come from personal practice and social practice, and humanitarianism is the guarantee for this: "We can't expect everyone to be perfect, or we can't expect everyone to be equal, but we should realize
that the practice of virtue requires flexibility and an understanding of the infinite complexity of human affairs. Such an understanding can only come from experience. " [15]

We should also see that the Eastern European neo-Marxists have two sides to the development of humanitarian thought in Marxist thought, and admit that it has made the combination of humanitarian thought in Marxist thought with the social reality of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union obtain new interpretation and development, but some theories also deviate from the basic viewpoints of Marxism to a considerable extent. They misinterpreted the fact that there is no strict historical determinism in Marxism as a kind of thorough humanitarianism. The humanitarianism thought of Neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe is not only a personal activity method, but also a defense of people's life significance and self-worth. These thoughts are understood by Neo-Marxist philosophy as the radical needs of people, so as to fully mobilize people's enthusiasm with philosophical methods and achieve the goal of transforming the world. However, in the process of studying the development of Marxism, the neo-Marxists in Eastern Europe unilaterally attached importance to the subjectivity and subjectivity of Marxism, while ignoring the basic theoretical effectiveness of Marxism.

3.2 Criticism of the drawbacks of the Soviet model

Neo-Marxists in Eastern Europe regard humanitarianism as the core of their own research, which is closely related to the lack of democratic construction and neglect of people produced by the Soviet model at that time. They regarded the social problems generated under the Soviet Union model as the conflicts between social rationality and humanitarianism. They criticized the rigid model of the Soviet Union and left dogmatism from the perspective of individual ethics, which had a certain impact on the reform of socialist countries in Eastern Europe at that time and the ideology and socialist construction policy. In the eyes of many neo-Marxist theorists in Eastern Europe, humanitarian standards have been obliterated by socio-economic development and industrial progress. Based on this, Andras Hegjush, a Hungarian neo-Marxist researcher, said: "Many people attach these humanitarian tasks and objectives to economic benefits, and mechanically equate the latter with the improvement of living standards. The popularity of this view is supported by the ideological attitude that socialism has successfully established humanitarian social conditions, which sometimes fail to appear effectively in social daily life, and people blame economic backwardness. " [16] Neo-Marxist scholars in Eastern Europe showed a foolish and negative attitude towards this one-sided emphasis on the overall national economy, and criticized the alienation phenomenon in the current stage of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The bureaucratic style of Soviet society just moved the market economy model suitable for capitalism to the socialist environment, and individual labor changed from selling their own labor for the bourgeoisie to selling labor for government agencies in the Soviet model, which resulted in the alienation of social politics and personal ethics, and also criticized the phenomenon of personality worship derived from alienation. "The root of personality cult is only some social forces, which get strength from the bureaucratic work that fetters people's creative spirit and restricts workers' sharing of political life" [17] The negative impact of this phenomenon is that the lack of social moral standards based on personal practice leads to the lack of social vitality. Neo-Marxists in Eastern Europe adopted a merciless critical attitude towards the Soviet model, and criticized the social problems in the Soviet Union from the perspective of humanitarianism and personal ethics. However, this criticism is one-sided and imperfect. Neo-Marxists in Eastern Europe only pointed out the problems and did not systematically put forward the methods of building humanitarianism. The problem of "more than enough reform and insufficient criticism" appeared. Moreover, the criticism of some problems hurt the foundation of socialism, even violated the basic principles of Marxism, which was not conducive to systematic theoretical innovation.

3.3 Influence on Chinese ideological and cultural circles in 20th century

Neo-Marxist theorists often take a critical attitude towards the rigid economic system and political environment in the Soviet model. They are criticized as international revisionists in the Soviet literary and art circles, but China accepts them critically. After China established the guiding ideology of
"emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts" in the new period, the ideology and theory of Neo-Marxism scholars in Eastern Europe received more attention. "In the 1980s, through the re-study and reflection of Marxist classical literary theory, the consciousness of 'human' began to recover and awake, which showed that the discussion of issues such as humanity, humanitarianism and alienation broke through the original theoretical forbidden zone, and the proposition that 'literature is human studies' was established." [18] Thus, the influence of neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe has gradually penetrated into Chinese literary and artistic circles. The humanitarianism thought in the theory of Neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe has directly promoted the great debate about human nature in Chinese academic circles after the reform and opening up, and therefore a large number of new literary writers who express and discuss human nature have emerged in Chinese literary and art circles. Their works actively promote the liberation of people at the level of artistic creation: "The mechanical literary reflection theory and imitation theory are questioned with the positive aesthetic concept of 'practice', which is the sublation of Chinese tradition of expressing the truth in writing' and expressing the ambition'. [19] The theoretical system of Neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe advocates that everyone should guide himself to change the world by creating his own philosophical system, which provides theoretical support for individuals to give full play to their initiative in the new era.

However, the neo-Marxist ideological system in Eastern Europe also has some features that are not in line with China's national conditions and even contrary to Marxist thought. Eastern European neo-Marxists' excessive admiration for human subjectivity has also destroyed the general law of philosophical development to a certain extent, which is unfavorable to the development of Chinese Marxism and may lead the development of Chinese Marxism to deviate from the track of historical materialism. "Calling for humanitarianism that truly transcends the century cycle requires new resources that truly transcend 'people'. Such humanitarianism is not only reflected in the expansion of spiritual space in the humanities field, but also provides more universal, rational and valuable resources for institutional construction" [20]. On the basis of China's special social conditions in the new period, we should study and critically utilize the humanitarian thoughts of Eastern European neo-Marxist theorists and absorb their correct thoughts to promote the progress and development of Chinese Marxist thoughts.

To sum up, the development of neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe is rooted in Marxist thought and deeply influenced by the social environment at that time. From the perspective of the history of neo-Marxist ethics, the alienation thinking, dialectics and the explanation of liberal philosophy in Marxist thought are all important ideological and theoretical sources of Eastern European neo-Marxism, especially the philosophical thinking about humanitarianism has been deeply developed by Eastern European neo-Marxist scholars. Neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe has also absorbed many western modern thoughts and western neo-Marxist thoughts. The ontology of social existence of Hungarian Lukacs, the ideas of Yugoslav pragmatist and the ideas of humanistic school represented by Polish Schaff all reveal the shadow of western Marxism to some extent. The problems exposed by the Soviet model after World War II have brought great political and economic pressure to every country. Eastern European countries urgently need to solve the political undemocratic problems and find new economic development impetus, which requires a breakthrough in thinking to guide social development and socialist country reform. Each country is faced with different national conditions and has its own unique national culture and local culture, which makes Marxism show different colors in the process of development in these countries, which provides a more diverse social foundation for the development of Marxist thought, and also makes Eastern European neo-Marxist thought more abundant and diverse.

Neo-Marxism in Eastern Europe not only combines the humanitarianism thought in Marxism with the social reality of Eastern European countries since World War II, and promotes the modernization of Marxism, but also plays a warning role in guiding the construction and reform of socialist countries in Eastern European socialist countries and even around the world, arousing the attention of China, especially the ideological and literary circles, to humanitarian issues. However, the problem of over-
criticism and under-construction and the harm of over-criticism to Marxism are to be criticized and abandoned.

References


