

A New Appraisal of Marx's theory As a Political Theory and as a Theory of Conflict Resolution

Antonino Drago*Formerly of the University "Federico II" of Naples - I, Italy****Corresponding author:** Antonino Drago, Formerly of the University "Federico II" of Naples - I, Italy.**Submitted:** 13 November 2025 **Accepted:** 24 November 2025 **Published:** 27 December 2025**doi:** <https://doi.org/10.63620/MKSSJER.2025.1105>**Citation:** Drago, A. (2025). *A New Appraisal of Marx's theory As a Political Theory and as a Theory of Conflict Resolution*. *Sci Set J of Economics Res*, 4(6), 01-12.**Abstract**

I present an appraisal of Marx's theory on the basis of a new conception of the foundations of social science as constituted by two dichotomies. On these dichotomies Marx's theory implicitly took the alternative choices to those of dominant economic theory of capitalism. But his theory did not entirely conform to these choices. Moreover, I interpret by means of Galtung's recent theory of conflict resolution Marx's theory. At his time the latter theory represented a great intellectual progress; its enormous relevance in the history of peoples of last two centuries is justified also by this fact; but it was ambiguous about the kind of conflict resolution, whether violent or not. Its ambiguities give reason of the historical regression of Marxist movement as well as societies subsequently built according to his theory. However, I show that both Marx's theory and Marxist movement have prepared, for better or for worse, a new history of mankind, of a pluralist kind.

Keywords: Marx's Theory, Two Fundamental Dichotomies, Galtung's Conflict Theory, Marx's Theoretical Ambiguities, The History of the Marxist Movement, Revolutions in the 20th Century, Political Pluralism.**Two Dichotomies as the Foundation of the Natural Sciences**

In Marx's time (1848) almost the entire science of nature belonged to the old paradigm (the Newtonian one) whose foundations were confused with metaphysics (recall e.g. the absolute space and the absolute time of Newton's mechanics). Instead he wanted to build a full scientific theory of both society and its historical dynamics. As a fact, Marx founded his theory (mainly, economy) without appealing to any metaphysical notion. In retrospect, we see that his theory is similar to the few non-metaphysical, scientific theories of his time: Chemistry, Sadi Carnot's Thermodynamics, Lobachevsky's non-Euclidean geometry; unfortunately, they were largely ignored by Marx.

Being elapsed more than a century and a half from that time, the alternative scientific theories to the dominant ones are numerous at present time, so that through a comparison of them one can accurately characterize the alternative nature of such a kind of theories; or better, one can define the foundations of natural sciences and, in a similar way, the foundations of social sciences; through them one can characterize the model of an alternative

theory and hence to appraise in accurate terms Marx's theoretical effort [1].

My previous studies have shown that there exist many scientific theories - e.g. Lazare Carnot's mechanics (1783), classical chemistry (1789), Sadi Carnot's thermodynamics (1824), Lobachevsky non-Euclidean geometry (1840), Einstein's first theory of quanta (1905), theory of computation (1936) - whose fundamental concepts and mathematical techniques do not include the notion of actual infinity (AI) - e.g. infinitesimals, endpoints of a straight line, Newton's basic notions -; but only those including the notion of no more than potential infinity (PI), the only kind of infinity that is actualized by operational means; e.g. to count natural numbers in a unlimited way without achieving a last number; to approximate an exact value by means of an unlimited sequence of measurements, whose results never obtain it (as instead the scientists claim to get by appealing to AI and moreover they claim that this idealistic practice is the most productive for science progress). Moreover, the organization of each of the above theories is different from the traditional, de-

ductive one, which was suggested by Aristotle (AO); the new organization is based on a crucial problem and the theory looks for a new scientific method for resolving it (PO).

In sum, the foundations of a scientific theory are constituted by two dichotomies, respectively concerning the kind of mathematics and the kind of organization of a theory. By means of them the foundations of Newton's Mechanics are characterized by the two following choices: AI, because it uses the infinitesimal analysis, and AO, because the theory is deductively derived from (the celebrated three) principles [2]. Instead L. Carnot's mechanics and the other above mentioned theories (except for Einstein's one) do not use infinitesimal calculus, but only an elementary mathematics, perfectly adequate to the operative physical notions; therefore, their choice on the kind of mathematics is PI [3]. Moreover, each of these theories is a PO theory, since it is based on the search for a new resolution method of a given problem (respectively: which are the invariant magnitudes of

Table 1: The Two Main Models of a Scientific Theory (MST)

Structural representation (the one determined by the two fundamental choices)	Subjective representation (as scientists conceive it through surrogatory notions)	Objective representation (as teachers formalized it through tools of reasoning)
NEWTONIAN MST (AO + AI)	'Dissolution of the finite cosmos and geometrization of space'	Classical logic Analytic method Infinitesimal analysis (main example: differential equations of the 2° order)
CARNOTIAN MST (PO + PI)	'Evanescence of the force - cause and discretization of matter'	Non-classical logic Synthetic method symmetry or cycle (main example: S. Carnot's cycle in thermodynamics)
Some centuries	One century	One generation

Legenda: MST = Model of Scientific Theory; AO = Aristotelian Organization according to classical Logic; PO = Problematic Organization according to intuitionist Logic; AI = Actual infinity; PI = Potential infinity,

In the central column the several intuitive notions belonging to the subjective representation of a MST are summarized by a pair of propositions; the first pair was suggested by Koyré in order to summarize the subjective notions characterizing the birth of modern science; actually, they indicate the MST of Newton's Mechanics, the theory to which the historical process of this birth was directed [6]. The second proposition (which I found out by means of an analogy that is structural in nature, because it is based on the above defined alternative choices), summarizes the subjective notions of the alternative Carnotian theories. (The last line indicates how much time, on average, the elements of that representation persist before a change). As a fact, Newtonian MST has played a dominant role in the history of science, so much to devalue all theories of the alternative MST, i.e. the Carnotian ones, as "phenomenological", "genetic", "immature"; that is, as having each achieved only a first stage of development towards a future development which will necessarily lead to be based on the choices AO and AI. Because of its dominant role, the first MST may be rightly called a "paradigm" in the sense of both Kuhn and Feyerabend [7, 8].

An Extension of the Two Dichotomies Till to Concern Social Sciences

A previous paper extended the two fundamental dichotomies,

an impact of bodies; which and how many are the elements of matter; which is the maximum efficiency of heat / work conversions; what are quanta of light; what is a computation). This second couple of choices, PI&PO, determines a model of scientific theory (MST) which is alternative to the MST of the AI&AO choices, inaugurated by Newton's theory. It can be shown that the contrast between these two MTS gives reason of the history of classical Physics as well as the crisis of the early 1900s [4, 5].

Three different representations of a MST are possible: first, the structural one which is constituted by the fundamental choices that determine the structure of a theory, i.e. the corresponding MST; second, the subjective one which is constituted by the notions that subjectively synthesize the fundamental aspects of this theory; third, the objective one which is constituted by the (mathematical and logical) tools which this theory makes use of. The following Table shows all them in detail.

discovered in the natural sciences, to two fundamental dichotomies for the social sciences [9]. The latter ones are represented by translations into social terms of the essential contents of the former dichotomies.

According to Alexander Koyré (1957), in the history of Western society the birth of modern natural science occurred when human mind made use of the notion of infinity within both mathematics and physics. In the same span of time, for the first time the notion of infinity has been actualized within social life by a process of infinite accumulation of money, i.e. the social process of capital's growth (AI)¹. Moreover, it is clear that the idea of the organization of all the concepts and all the laws of a theory of natural science can be extended to the idea of the organization of the entire society; for example, the social organization determined by compulsive economic laws established by few capitalists, is analogous to the organization of a deductive scientific theory (AO), where every proposition is deductively derived from few axioms, located at the top of the theory.

We note that after a long period of time in which authoritarian social institutions (empires, kingdoms, centralized states) dominated society, in the time of French Revolution the above mentioned alternative scientific theories born; in particular, in

opposition to the top-down organization of the aristocratic State (AO), two alternative movements born whose organizations were aimed at solving problems (PO) respectively, how people can gain civil rights (freedom) and (subsequently) how the movement of workers can obtain social justice; both their programs wanted to develop unlimited personal relationships (PI), through respectively new laws and economic constraints.

A Structural Characterization of Marx's Theory

In history, the first social theorists conceived of society as a vertical organization governed by kings, armies, Church (AO) and its historical evolution as managed by, at the top of society, either nobles, or "geniuses", or "an Absolute Spirit" (AI). These theories, being based on the AO&AI choices – that may include abstract and even mythical targets - supported idealistic interpretations of society.

The typical theory of capitalist economics, Adam Smith's, may be characterized through the following two choices. He conceived the economic organization of society - generated by allowing full freedom of initiative to the cleverest persons - as governed by an "invisible hand"; which actually represents in metaphysical terms capitalists' ability of organizing society according to AO. Moreover, the title of his most famous book was intended to suggest how the "Wealth of Nations" may be obtained; in reality, it presents the growth of capital (AI) within a country, in particular England, which at that time had rampant capitalists (and which, moreover, was accumulating an unlimited amount of resources from many colonized countries in the world). All in the above well represents in intellectual terms an authoritarian organization of capitalist society (AO), whose target is an unlimited increase of capital (AI).

Almost a century after Smith, Karl Marx started an important theoretical contribution to both economic science and historical consciousness of mankind. In order to rationalize his rejection of capitalist society in a convincingly way, the young Marx began a critical review of all social knowledge illustrating that type of society. He started with Hegel's philosophy of right; but then he was attracted to Economics, whose study later absorbed almost all of his energy.

Marx interpreted the growth of capitalism as an infinite and absolute process (AI): "Accumulate, accumulate! This is Moses and the prophets!"¹². His project was to eliminate the unlimited growth of capital within the development of mankind by improving human relations of one after one kind till up to solidarity of the proletarian class, at the international level too, in order to eventually achieve "a human society and a social humanity". That means the PI choice.

Moreover, his economic theory lacks any assured principle from which to derive, as theorems of the deductive method, economic or social laws (AO). Instead, he proposes to the workers, who

are exploited by capitalism, a revolution aimed at abolishing the capitalist society (non OA). To this aim his main book presents – since its title - a great universal problem (PO): how understand the historical and social phenomenon of the capital in order to suggest a method for solving the problem of justice in society through an overcoming the capitalism. His program for an alternative to the dominant organization introduced into people's intellectual life a social dichotomy representing in modern political terms the ancient and universally known dichotomy: either freedom [for the most able people] or justice [for all].

In conclusion, Marx's theory is characterized by the following two choices: the development of human relationships till up to those of class solidarity (PI) as a political alternative to the infinite growth of the social force of capitalism (AI); and the choice of an organization aimed at resolving the problem of social justice (PO) by overcoming capitalism's rule (AO), in order to eventually build an alternative society³.

Previous choices characterize Marx's theory as an alternative theory, since they are exactly the opposite ones to both the social choices of dominant capitalism and the dominant theoretical choices of Smith's theory (and, in general, "classical economy"). Moreover, his pair of choices is similar, within natural science, to those of Carnotian MST (whose main theory is L. Carnot's mechanics) that is alternative to the pair of choices of the dominant MST, started through the birth of Newton's mechanics, which then played the role of the dominant theory.

Further evidence of the validity of this parallelism between social theories and scientific theories is obtained by comparing Marx's economic theory, based on the social choices PI&PO, with a theory of natural sciences, S. Carnot's thermodynamics, based on the scientific choices PI & PO. Both theories deal with commodities producing goods. But while the latter deals with every material commodity capable - by combustion through a heat engine - to produce a (social) good (i.e. work), Marx' theory deals with one more commodity – i.e. workers' labor-force - which in a factory by manipulation produces goods [10]. Under this light Marx extended the notion of "physical commodity" to the social notion (invented by him) of "labor-force" and made it his basic category of an objective kind.

A further confirmation of the parallelism is given by exploiting the already mentioned Koyré's categories for interpreting the birth of modern science. They are given by a pair of sentences: "Dissolution [non PO] of the finite cosmos [non PI] and geometrization [AI] of space [AO]. (Within square brackets the choices or refusals to which Koyré's words allude; by his word "geometrization" I mean the historical process of mathematization of reality that culminated into the calculus of infinitesimals applied by Newton's theory to reality). For Carnotian physical theories I suggested, under the light of the alternative PI&PO choices, the pair of sentences: "Evanescence [not AO] of force-cause [non

¹Unfortunately, most scholars of the foundations of economy have ignored this category, as if the unlimited growth of capital was either a premise that cannot be analyzed by their macroeconomic analyses or a far result of their microeconomic analyses.

²Marx 1867, vol. 1, end of chapter 22. Notice that a characterization of the subjective representation of capitalism (i.e. a capitalist life) was left to a bourgeois scholar, Max Weber (Weber 1991). Also this characterization is based on AI. Weber recognized as an essential feature of the capitalist life a devotion to the infinite growth of capital; this devotion requires from the capitalist an ascetic attitude, which in fact prolongs the medieval religious one aimed at an infinite personal growth towards God.

³Another evidence for these choices is found in Marx's mathematical works. In his last years (1880-84), he intensively studied various theories of the foundations of infinitesimals in order to try to refund these intriguing notions. (Marx 1983) He rejected the metaphysics of infinitesimals (called by him "the ghosts of the defunct quantities"), (AI) as well as the dominant axiomatic attitude (non AO); rather, he finalized his theory at solving the problem of what are the infinitesimals (PO); and he chose an operative point of view which is close to the point of view of constructive Mathematics (PI), born a few decades after his death.

AI] and discretization [PI] of matter [PO]". (sect.s 6.2-6.4) Let now look for two similar pairs of sentences by interpreting social phenomena in a parallel way of previous pairs of sentence. In correspondence to Koyré's pair characterizing dominant science I suggest (Marx's interpretation of) the birth of capitalism: "Dissolution [non PO] of the mercantile economy [non PI] and capitalist monetization [AI] of the entire market, workers included [AO]". Similarly, Marx's theory of alternative society may be characterized by the pair of sentences: "Extinction [non AO] of capitalism [non AI] and a society based on justice [PO] through the increasing solidarity of the working class [PI]"⁴.

In sum, the above agreement between Marx's theory and Carnot's theories concerns all three representations of a scientific theory: in their structural representations both share the same choices (PI & OP); in their objective representations Marx's theory extends the objective notion of commodity; and similar à la Koyré sentences characterize their subjective representations⁵. This characterization of Marx's theory shows that his purpose of formulating it as a theory of natural science was successful. Today we see that it shares the main elements of all three representations of a scientific theory; but, correctly, only the elements of the alternative theories (chemistry, thermodynamics, etc.), those of the Carnotian MST. This appraisal of Marx' theory is more appropriate than the common philosophical characterization, according to which this theory is the result of an "overcoming" of Hegel's philosophy; in fact this philosophical process has not yet been clarified.

We also note that the above appraisal qualifies Marx as the first economist basing his theory not on some notions related to natural or social sciences (space, market, trade, prices, taxes, etc.) or, at most by directly connecting (as Smith does) his basic notions to the two choices, AI&AO, considered by him as the only possible ones; but he bases his theory by characterizing all four fundamental choices that a scientific theory can make: both the choices of the dominant theory and the choices of the alternative theory. In other words, Marx also introduced into Economics the intellectual conflict between opposing choices and theories; and this conflict is of a radical nature, because it concerns two alternative scientific foundations.

One may argue that precisely because his theory of society has been radically alternative (even in a "scientific" sense) to the dominant one, Marx could suggest a political program for a radical change of society. Moreover, precisely because he based his theory on the structure of the two dichotomies - the two dominant choices and the two alternative choices -, Marx for the first time revealed the structural aspects of the science, which includes a basic conflict between the alternatives choices on dichotomies; a conflict giving an implicit support to his revealing the conflicts within society (alienation servant-master, economic surplus, class division of society, class struggle, economic exploitation of factory's workers by a capitalist, historical laws of the defeat of capitalism, etc.). In the past this Marx's theoretical contribution occurred in absence of any other theory of conflict resolution. This further characterization of Marx theory stands at the same level as the other two - political and economic – characterizations.

Therefore, Marx's theory not only concerns politics and economics (that he moreover unites together), but it also includes a theory of social conflict resolution; although ignored as a theory. (We will deal with it after the following section, which characterizes in more accurate terms previous political-economic interpretation of Marx' theory). Hence, his program, founded on so deep bases, generated a radical political movement in the World.

A More Detailed Examination of Marx's Political-Economic Theory

Yet, Marx' theory corresponds to the above characterization in a partial way. A first reason for this ambiguity is that all his work remained unfinished; during his lifetime *Das Kapital* was published only in part. On his death, his gigantic study program remained unfinished, even in the economic subject. It is obvious that later interpretations of what his theoretical thinking essentially presented, were controversial.

The second is that Marx's criticism of the social and historical development of capitalism does not concern the productive forces, which he sees - like capitalism does - as positively developing along the history of mankind. Although aimed at stopping the growth of capitalism through a workers' anti-capitalist political revolution, Marx' theory believed on the unavoidable progress of productive forces. Rather, according to Marx, mankind's historical progress (in technological and scientific factors and in human knowledge) was inevitable and eventually it will determine the fall of capitalism; by developing such social forces, bourgeoisie "digs the grave with its own hands". Therefore, Marx harshly criticized Ludd, the mythical worker who tried to hinder technological progress which was entered inside his factory through new machines.

But today we know that the historical development of productive forces is ambiguous; if it is "tamed" by mankind, it contributes to the development of its self-sufficiency, social interrelations and human knowledge; they all represent a PI development. But if it occurs independently from the political will of the people, as an absolute growth, similar to Hegelian Absolute Spirit's development) it subordinates human life to an absolute power of a new fetishism, technology; hence it represents the choice AI. Therefore, Marx left room for an almost fatalist interpretation of the history: owing to the unavoidable development of productive forces, proletariat would simply replace the bourgeoisie in the management of society, which will be progressed by the same productive forces as before. He never resolved this ambiguity of his political theory.

The third reason is that his friend, Friederich Engels (an industrial entrepreneur), wrote a controversial book, *Anti-Duehring*, supporting the idea that economic progress alone (AI) is the lever for the political progress towards the new proletariat's society. In book's preface Engels stated that he had written some of his parts together with Marx (whose economic survival was financed by him); this declaration involved Marx in supporting this reductive conception of proletariat's liberation.

The fourth reason is that Engels mistakenly presented Marx's thought as belonging to an exclusive philosophical tradition,

⁴These sentences also agree with the categories of one of the most important Marxist historians of pre-capitalist economy (Sohn-Rethel 1975).

⁵Another formal connection, much more detailed, was provided by (Saslow 1999).

the German one; and worst, to its idealist tradition, whose basic choices were clearly the opposed ones to those (implicitly) chosen by Marx, PI and PO. Truly, Engels presented Marx as overturning this idealistic tradition; but no common agreement followed on which kind of overturn Marx's theory represented.

Thus, Engelsian version of Marx's theory blurred Marx' choice for PI: its choice PI blended ambiguously with the opposite AI choice of both the absolutized technological progress and the German idealized philosophy. PO choice was confused with the AO choice: while waiting Marx' clarifications of his overturn of Hegel's dialectical philosophy, in politics Engels acted according an authoritarian (OA) manner (see his leadership of the Second International).

The above listed ambiguities - here accurately recognized thanks to the fundamental choices -, give reason of the great difficulties encountered by past scholars in interpreting Marx's theory. Although along the past century very different types of interpretations have been suggested, none of them resulted a widely accepted one.

Marx's Theory of Social Conflict and His Theory of Conflict Resolution

Owing to his implicit consciousness of the alternative choices Marx's theory was the first in the history of social theories to overtly introduce the notion of conflict⁶. Let us then examine Marx's theory as a theory of social conflict [11].

In a previous article I presented a general theory of conflict resolution (CR). It applies the basic idea of Galtung's definition of a conflict: an A-B-C. This acronym means the following points:

1. A conflict includes three independent dimensions, all coexisting within it.
2. They are: A, assumptions, pre-conceptions; B, behavior, objective facts; C, contradiction, subjective experience of conflict⁷. These three dimensions are a consequence of Galtung's non-violent attitude, which takes into account not only, as usual, facts (B) and feelings (C) concerning the two parties of a conflict, but also their basic motivations (A) in the face of the conflict; actually, it is by taking into account above all the motivations that the non-violent method can be successful in suggesting how to achieve a cooperative attitude between the two parties.

Whoever follows a violent method can easily offer a rational justification for a final violent solution of the conflict, up to the suppression of the adversary; it is enough for him to see the conflict according to only one of the three previous dimensions, seen as an absolute motivation; the adversary can be judged as guilty – and hence to be suppressed - because either he has committed essentially evil actions (B), or is a public threat to the life of all

(C), or he have motivations (A) that are totally negative. For this reason who is moved by a violent attitude closes his mind inside a narrow - because one-dimensional - view of the conflict. Viceversa, who perceives only one dimension of a conflict can rarely achieve a consensual resolution, even if he has a peaceful attitude which leads him to appeal to values (A), or do good deeds and offer benevolent words (B); or, even less, appeal to best feelings (C).

In the history of mankind the birth of Courts has represented an advancement of mankind's effort to find out more appropriate CR; as first they take into account the dimension of facts (B); yet they are considered under the light given by another dimension: the laws that may be assumed as the commonly accepted rules (A) for resolving all conflicts. However, a process of non-violent CR is even more advanced. In order to reach such kind of solution, one has to find out an agreement which does not leave aside or repress any dimension of the two parties. In other terms, being inspired by non-violence (A), one has to invent a clever strategy for conciliating justice (B) with charity (C).

It should also be noted that bourgeois class produced its own theory of mankind's history; but about conflicts this theory was of an elementary type. It recognized above all the historical dynamic of an unlimited and mythical growth of Capital on itself. Inside this history Bourgeoisie of course considered national wars, but just as conflicts among the social structures, i.e. states, legitimating its social power. Yet, it ignored the conflicts inside society because it considered only the conflicts of relatively minor importance, essentially those of the only dimension (B). It saw workers as representing nothing more than one among many social groups; bourgeoisie noticed this group because it was possibly refractory to its growth through some negative behaviors (B): indolence in working and protests addressed to obtain higher wages. The bourgeoisie essentially contrasted these social reactions by means of its social power, based on the liberal tradition of State laws, ensuring the prerequisites for capitalism's growth (A): freedom of private property and freedom of enterprise. Therefore, for its defense, bourgeoisie appealed to an already completed intellectuality, i.e. liberal jurisprudence. Instead, the proletariat had to rationalize its conflicts by starting from scratch; it laboriously achieved new ideologies motivating an opposition to bourgeoisie's political power; they were based on the claim of social justice (proletariat's dimension A), to be realized even by overcoming liberal laws (bourgeoisie's dimension A). Therefore, the ideologies (A) of these two groups presented antagonistic contents so much to be a priori mutually incompatible.

In the history of the theory of conflicts Marx's theory represents a qualitative leap in mankind's understanding of social conflict. Marx characterized it in structural terms, i.e. he recognized its

Note that Western thinking is highly refractory to include it. Even the famous book of the history of science, that of Thomas Kuhn, whose title itself includes the word "revolutions" (Kuhn 1969), does not represent real conflicts, because it describes a historical evolution of science of a continuous kind ("normal science"). He declares that there exist "revolutions", each abruptly replacing for the old paradigm a new paradigm through a change which instantly occurs within the minds of all scientists, as a unexplained phenomenon of Gestalt. But he did not study the revolution in the physics of early 20th century, but only a lateral change from Priestly's chemistry to Lavoisier's chemistry.

It is well known that Sigmund Freud represented an inner conflict through the three inner actors that all together constitute a personality, namely Super-ego, Ego and Id; they clearly correspond to respectively: A, B and C. Even the military Klaus von Clausewitz (1838, section 1.1.28) declared that his strategic thinking about war is characterized by "a fascinating trinity": "What is a war?... As a total phenomenon, its dominant tendencies always make war a fascinating trinity--composed of primordial violence, hatred, and enmity, which are to be regarded as a blind natural force; of the play of chance and probability within which the creative spirit is free to roam; and of its element of subordination, as an instrument of policy, which makes it subject to reason alone"; that is, respectively, A, C and B. Notice that the essential novelty of Clausewitz's thinking was the inclusion of politics (A) into the strategic thinking.

origin in the structure of society, divided in different classes. Moreover, he saw this struggle as being acted not by two, but by three social actors: beyond bourgeoisie and proletariat, the laws of Capital, which dominate society and govern the history of mankind. More precisely, these laws cause the issues of dimension A of the class conflict; bourgeoisie applies these laws to social life - in particular workers' life; this application con-

stitutes dimension B; the social contradictions suffered by the proletariat because of the management of social life by the bourgeoisie represent dimension C. In opposition, proletariat suffers exploitation inside the factory and oppression inside society (C); it tries to react through social actions which its ideology (mainly Marx's) addressed to a revolution.

MARX' theory of social conflicts: The actors

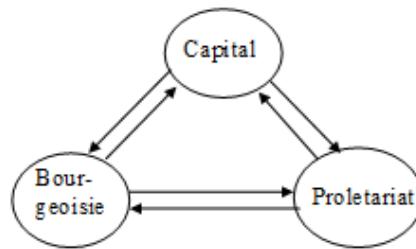


Figure 1

The conflicting dynamics of society is generated by all interactions of these three social actors: the social contradictions (C) lead workers to react (B) to the politics of the bourgeoisie applying capital's laws (A).

Marx illustrated the structural dynamics of class conflict by means of three writings, which correspond exactly to the A, B, C dimensions of this conflict. Parisian manuscripts represent the experience that the proletariat has of social contradictions; that is, the subjective experience (C) of structural oppression, caused by the domination of Capital (A); this writing ignores the social organization (e.g. bureaucracy, the army, technology, industrial development, etc.) managed by bourgeoisie, because here Marx, by following a subjective viewpoint, feels far away all the institutions (including trade unions, elsewhere defined as an imprisoning proletariat into a "golden cage"). Instead, in *Das Kapital* Marx tries to describe the objective historical dynamics of a society, as it results from bourgeoisie's application (B) of Capital's economic laws (A) in order to manage the proletariat (which here passively undergoes these laws). Finally, *Fragment on the machines* is an attempt to analyze (by ignoring proletariat) how Capital's economic laws (A) will change in the future due to technological advancements; this paper represents the conflict between the bourgeoisie, which manages society (B), and future capital's development (A).

We conclude that, as a whole, Marx's theoretical framework on social conflict, being well up to the harsh social and ideological conflict existing in the society of its time, was far superior to bourgeois' social ideology, which almost ignored the two representations, structural and subjective, of that conflict and moreover it misinterpreted its dynamics.

The Shortcomings of Marx's Theory of Conflict Resolution

In Marx's time, usually CR resorted to violent methods, until the

suppression of the adversary. But the birth of the factory conflict introduced an exception, since a capitalist could not suppress his opponent, the proletariat, otherwise the production of goods and therefore his profits would be finished. On the other hand, even the workers could not go so far as to suppress the boss, because the factory would have been closed, leaving them without work and wages. The factory was therefore the first social space in which (collective) conflicts had to be resolved without the suppression of the adversary, although one of them, the proletariat, manifestly was the weakest one, a losing born.

Workers learnt to fight capitalists mainly through strike. In material terms, a strike constitutes a method of struggle that is non-violent in nature: first of all, it does not suppress any actor. Moreover, it charges a greater cost to workers themselves (who do not receive wages) than to the capitalist, who has to support a limited reduction of the factory production and therefore his earnings. In addition, in social terms a strike is a breaking of the solidarity of common citizenship; a workers' strike calls civil society to press the capitalist to grant better labor relations and wages.

Moreover, the limitation of violence in the factory's life led society to introduce laws admitting unions; which then have empirically discovered new techniques and new methods of struggle, all of a non-violent type; above all, dialogue and negotiation. Thus, the practice of CR within a factory has introduced within social life a non-violent method of collective CR⁸.

Now let's look more closely at Marx's theory of the resolution of social conflicts. To Marx was clear the overall result of the resolution of class conflict; this conflict had to be resolved by a historical progress, attributing the political power to the proletariat which will manage a new historical age of mankind. But this positive resolution to the class conflict had a pre-requisite:

⁸Let us recall that the other 19th century theory of CR, Freud's, proposed the cooperative solution of inner conflict. It is built on the basis of human relations; the non-violent method of dialogue generates a resolving process (through a 'transfert').

the exploited class had to acquire social power through an internal growth, that is, by becoming aware of the historical development of society as a whole. Therefore, Marx's slogan "Workers from all over the world, unite!" invited the proletariat not to carry out an immediate revolt and / or constitute an army as more armed as possible, but rather to grow in the awareness of the possibility of a historical revolution, which, spreading from one country to another, would change the history of mankind. Thus, the historical change of consciousness, being a non-violent historical process, did not necessarily have to be expressed in a violent way;⁹ in fact, Marx, Engels and even Lenin contemplated the possibility of a democratic resolution of class conflict, where the word "democratic" means a historical change without social trauma, e.g. through political elections [12].

Moreover, once again I recall that Marx's theory has remained unfinished. In particular, Marx did not detail the historical change of the proletarian class, from being "a class in itself" to "a class for itself", that is, a proletarian class capable of pursuing as its true interests the universal interests of the whole of humanity. Nor he had enough time for detailing the social processes by which the consciousness of the proletariat could grow, nor for detailing the historical change leading to take political power. In addition, Marx' theory of everyday life class conflicts was different from the best one, because it did not notice the historical novelty of the exclusion of direct violence within the factories.

Therefore, Marx illustrated his immediate awareness of the dynamics of social conflict as a dualistic one: without taking into account a third party (that means also mediations) it resulted unavoidably antagonistic. Hence, his main legacy was to consider his emphasizing the subjective hardness of the conflict within a factory as a lesson to be drawn for the life inside civil society, including how to strongly react to bourgeoisie which applies capitalism's economic laws to social life.

Since wanting to change the world after that the philosophers had interpreted it, Marx recognized the most advanced interpretation of this change within in Hegel's philosophy of the historical and social processes, as subjected to dialectical laws. He however, recognized the bourgeoisie's origin of Hegel's dialectical laws: this dialectical logic determined its final result by a mere verbal addition of a negation to a verbal description of negative social situation. However, Marx conceived class conflict in such a radical, ideological terms that he contrasted two kinds of logic; on one hand, bourgeoisie's reasoning in classical logic and on the other hand proletariat's reasoning according to a new kind of dialectical logic. Marx wanted to correct Hegel's dialectical laws by turning up-down its theological attitude, so that Hegel's dialectical logic had to change into a dialectical logic expressing a proletarian arguing. However Hegel's logic was never defined in a formal way (today we know that it is only a fuzzy philosophical approximation of modern intuitionist logic). Moreover, it was never decisively changed in proletarian terms. In sum, Marx claimed even an alternative logic, but he was unsuccessful to satisfactorily qualify this alternative. In conclusion, Marx was only partially aware of the best way of resolving a social conflict.

Thus, he left wide room to theorize a pragmatic management of an ever more harsh class conflict, which ultimately led to conceive the wanted historical change allowing proletariat ascent to social power as the (physical?) suppression of the enemy (capitalists) even through a society disrupt like a war.

The History of the Marxist Movement

Even more ambiguous than Marx's theory was the history of the Marxist movement, which later became the more important workers' movement. This movement has been much wider and more powerful than previous political movements that have been promoted by appealing to scientific theories; e.g. that scattered worldwide by the former students of École Polytechnique, who spread technological progress in all countries in order to everywhere mobilize the social life; or that of chemists, who spread Lavoisier's new chemistry as a new intellectual world (Ben-David 1975).

All in the above suggests that Marxism has to be linked to the alternative sciences. Unfortunately, in the past almost all Marxist theorists linked it to philosophy, as a combination of Hegel's philosophy (whose dialectics should have been "reversed") and materialistic philosophy; and, in order to take into account the real society, they focused their attention on a science that seemed a sure science of society also because it has been the major subject of Marx' studies, that is economy.

Already during Marx's life, Engels (through the book *Anti-Dühring*) reduced the entire theory to a merely economic representation of capitalism; this was the so-called "vulgar-Marxism", which ignored the role played by civil society with respect to the class conflict. Owing to Engels' leadership of it determined the politics of Marxist movement. The other theorists, without suspecting that Marx's point of view could be characterized by the two alternative choices, which are valid also for characterizing the foundations of the other scientific theories, improved very little Marx' theory.

Moreover, Marx's theory of CR was reductively simplified to represent class conflict as a conflict between only two actors, namely capitalism and proletariat, the bourgeoisie being conceived as a mere executor of the dominion of the former one.

In this way "the dialectical movement of the historical conquest of social power by the proletariat" became a transcendent historical law without a clear political strategy; the theory of CR was reduced to the simplest possible one: the usual dualistic representation of a violent conflict, whose resolution was simply the suppression of the other. This theory was maintained also in order to make a distinction from the wing of the reformist social democrats, willing to compromise with bourgeoisie's formal democracy. The overall result of these shortcomings was the conception of the historical revolution as an act of violent elimination of the counterpart, i.e. the opposite practice of the CR of both workers and Unions inside a factory. Thus the two politics of the proletariat's two main institutions – union and party - were not in agreement. This ambiguity generated a tension between on one hand the daily politics of workers inside a factory and, on the other hand, Party's general politics outside the factory.

Moreover, the subsequent Marxist theorists were not capable of radical innovations that would improve the theory, although a new historical phase of capitalism had been in the meantime started (companies managed by boards of directors, birth of the multinationals, decreasing role played by state on society), plus within the democratic societies the introduction of universal suffrage.

The First International of Marxist movement included the anarchists. Marxists agreed with them not only on the overcoming of the capitalist society (not AI) but also on a self-reliant organization of society (PO). Yet, Marx wanted to increase the central power of the management of the movement (AO), thus clashing with the anarchist Bakunin (1871), who left the movement. During the Second International, an even more authoritarian attitude was adopted by Engels, who, for example, expelled Duehring from the International, because the influence of the latter on the workers could exceed that of Marx. Moreover, Engels planned (against Marx's opinion; see Critique to Gotha's program, 1875) an alliance with the radical wing of the bourgeois class. In 1896, almost all anarchists came out from the Movement.

Then Lenin theorized that, since the proletarians were not able to reach autonomously the consciousness of the historical processes, the direction of the movement had to be composed of professional intellectuals; who had to attribute to themselves an authoritarian role, so much that the union had to function as a belt for the transmission of the commands of the Party directed by them. Thus, since the time of First International and even more so in the time of Second, workers' movement has undergone an authoritarian leadership (AO).

Worse still happened among the Russian Marxist revolutionaries. Lenin imposed his leadership and a vertical organization (AO), first on the group of Bolsheviks, and eventually on the Soviets (= workers' parliaments) which have gained the leadership on the movement making Russian revolution. After having won the revolution, he imperiously organized the Party-state (for example, in 1922 he assimilated to it the people movement Proletkult (Worker Culture), created in 1917 for promoting an alternative to bourgeois culture in order to make the proletarian class a class for itself. Shortly afterwards, Stalin imposed on the Russian people a manifest dictatorship (AO), which went far beyond the political justification of having to force people to perform a social transition to the final socialist society of the proletarian class. That dictatorship was one of the toughest in the history of mankind. In addition, through the Third International USSR imposed a top-down organization on all Marxist parties in the world [13].

Even more unfortunate was the fate of PI choice. Duehring, a socialist mathematician, was very active in introducing an alternative to the dominant scientific theories, in particular in both Mathematics and Mechanics. By writing the book Anti-Duehring on purpose, Engels forced the International to expel him. Afterwards, Engels established a neat distinction between natural sciences (in which the subject of study is objective for all social classes, therefore also for the proletarian class) and social sciences (in which human and social actions have the capacity to change the pre-conditions of the object of study; therefore only in this case proletarian class is the historical bearer of an alternative science)¹⁰. Consequently, Engels' book (and his program for Gotha International Conference (1875))¹¹ led Marxist movement to abandon any search for discovering an alternative within natural sciences and hindered any idea of technological development that was alternative to the bourgeois one. This attitude ruled out any attempt to question the growth of machines in relation to workers' labor. Later, the historical task of the proletarian class no longer was conceived as involving a change in the productive forces, but only a change of the social institutions of the bourgeoisie (first and foremost the State). Its task was therefore reduced to replace the bourgeoisie in the management of the same productive forces as before (including science and art; for one of the last program for an alternative science see [14, 15]).

Surprisingly, Marxist revolution first occurred not in England or Germany, the most advanced countries in the historical progress, but in the backwards Russia; that implied that its people was the less prepared to meet the enormous problems of the after-revolution.

When Lenin planned the economic development of USSR, he launched the slogan "Electrification [AI] plus Soviets [PO]"; he mistakenly thought that the political relations among workers were sufficient to limit and control technical and scientific imperatives. The result was that the whole Marxist movement no longer recognized an alternative to capitalist technological development which later on progressed independently from the political constraints; see e.g., the introduction of Taylorist slavery in Russian factories, which was exalted in its aberrant socialist version, the Stakhanovism, and later was exalted as the best development of productive forces, now growing independently from politics. Especially during the time of Third International, the choice for an incessant technological development led USSR to eventually fall into a basic political contradiction: that of building nuclear weapons that instantly destroy millions of proletarians of the enemy country; so that the defense of one's own nation subordinated class' solidarity of workers in the world.

Forced by the military technological imperatives, Marxist movement eventually intended the historical process of overcoming

¹⁰The mistake of this conception is to assume the science of nature as a unique theory, without variants and alternatives, as if it does not have principles that could be criticized and does not make use of questionable mathematical techniques; so much questionable to allow different formulations of a same scientific theory (eg in mechanics: Newton's, L. Carnot's, Lagrange's, Hamilton's, Hertz', etc.). The differences among these formulations clearly depend from different philosophies of science, and at last social ideologies. In other words, the mistake was to assume as a neutral axiom the Newtonian paradigm with such an exclusivist attitude to monopolize the notion of 'science'. The same mistake was repeated by Lenin even when the birth of special relativity and quantum mechanics overcame that paradigm. In the 1930s the failures of the first USSR's economic plans, led Stalin to offer a compensation to the expectative of the foreign Communist Parties; he claimed that in USSR an alternative natural science was started according to the idea of a "proletarian science" (Bukharin et al. 1971); however just afterwards Stalin repressed it. It was again claimed through a state's led experiment concerning agriculture (led by Lysenko), which however resulted in a resounding failure. Finally in the 1950s Stalin liberalized scientific research, accepting the dominant science. Against this USSR's rejoicing bourgeois science the student movement launched a slogan which contrasted both capitalist science and scientific involution of USSR: "Science is not neutral!"

¹¹Under this light, Marx's manuscript, "Critique of Gotha's program", represents his extreme attempt to reverse the dominant trend in the Second International. Subsequently, the same trend was countered by Bogdanov's book on the proletarian cultural revolution (1911) and later, in the 1960s, by the Chinese cultural revolution. But all these three attempts were unsuccessful.

the bourgeoisie according to a catastrophic military clash, although the basic choices of Army (arms' race: AI; and line and staff organization: AO) are the opposites to the choices of Marx's theory. In the end this Movement reaffirmed both the Western military progress and the dominant theory of a violent CR; they were the same of choices of dominant society¹².

Forty years after Russian Revolution, Chinese Cultural Revolution tried to renew the search for a political control over technology; but it had the same Lenin's naive attitude: a reading of Mao's "red book" was supposed to teach workers how to use technological tools (e.g. the lathe). In the end, even socialist China built nuclear weapons for its own national "defense"; afterwards this country changed the choice for a social development based on justice (PO) into the choice of becoming an economic power leader in the world, even more than capitalist countries (AO).

As a result, already a few decades after Marx's death, the original alternative choices of his theory (PI & PO) appeared almost vanished. No surprise if in this story the leaders of the proletarian class assumed an ambiguous role, not very different from the role played by the leaders of a capitalist society¹³.

Marxism had promised a historical transition from capitalism to a PI society, whose human relations had to dominate productive forces. But USSR has definitively postponed the achievement of the new society to a very distant future. As a matter of fact, no "real socialist" society in the World has reached its programmed target.

Owing to this blurring of the basic choices by an authoritarian policy leaving freedom to capitalist technological progress, Marxist movement did not introduce a new kind of RC¹⁴.

The Marxist theory, having degenerated into a program for a violent revolution, has pursued in every country a disruptive class conflict, which eventually spread a civil war. Having won within several countries (either by political or military means) this political project polarized all the states of the world by aligning them in two opposing Blocks, ready for a mutual suppression. Along forty years this conflict threatened a World military confrontation that could lead to global destruction. It was the most terrible conflict in the entire history of mankind. This world politics manifested that each Block was blind to any alternative CR to the military (nuclear) one.

According to the above assessment of Marx's theory, some events of the 1980s appear to be a wise recovery of the political program of workers' movement. First, the world demonstrations

against the Euro-missiles high lightened a large Western popular base that wanted a non-military CR. Then Gorbachev decided a unilateral stop to nuclear arms' race (non AI), an act that introduced non-military means of CR (as first, a trustful dialog) between the two Blocks. Eventually, in 1989 in socialist countries of Eastern Europe popular movements arose whose aim was to solve the problem of their freedom from deceptive dictatorships, which declared themselves "workers' dictatorship". These movements have involved a large number of citizens to recover the two alternative basic choices, a self-management organization (PO) and the development of human relations (solidarity) for performing highly risky and unprecedented actions (PI) according to a new theory of CR, i.e. non-violence¹⁵. By leveraging on these choices they have been able to successfully react non-violently to the brute force of repression. Hence, they have showed that in Europe a new kind of resolution of collective conflicts, beyond the military one is possible.

The Marxist Movement Inside the Context of Past Revolutions of Last Century

Marx' theory teaches that in order to overcome capitalism workers' movement has to draw basic lessons from historical facts.

Today the Marxist movement is disconcerted by the historical facts contradicted the main forecasts of Marxist theory, i.e. the historical events occurred in the years around 1989: the fall of USSR and many socialist countries. Does this fall represent the end of Marxism as well as its historical target of liberating mankind from capitalism? Also academic studies, after four "generations" of scholars on the subject of social revolutions, do not know how to evaluate this subject of study. For the lack of a theoretical framework in which to evaluate the historical meanings of 1989 revolutions previous two distressing questions remains without certain answer.

However, a decisive step forward has recently been taken. Two Californian researchers have created a database of all revolutions occurred in last century (1900-2006) (the authors neutrally call them "Campaigns"). Their statistical analysis of the main aspects of these revolutions has produced surprising results (chapter 1, based on the data anticipated by a paper of the two authors of the following book; [16, 17].

First, the number of these revolutions is very large: 323; they have taken several times in most of the 198 countries of the World (apart Western democratic countries). Second, among these revolutions, the number of non-violent ones was very considerable (about one hundred that is one third). Even more surprising is that the number of this kind of revolutions is increasing in time, as the following figure shows.

¹²Actually, Trotzsky was charged to built a new kind of Army of the defense of the post-revolutionary Russia; but Trotzsky's repression of both the anarchist rebellion of Kronstadt and Machno's attempt of an autonomous politics led revolutionaries to confirm the Western kind of Army as the most effective.

¹³Actually, Marx and Engels (and almost all subsequent Marxist theorists) were not workers, but bourgeois.

¹⁴The Dutch pastor Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (Beyer, 2002; Wikipedia) wanted to introduce a peaceful and non-violent attitude into the Second International; but in the early years of 20th century he abandoned the Movement because he was convinced that Second International was inattentive to the subject of peace. Within socialist movement the most important attempt to innovate RC was Jaurès' theory of a new national defence; it was intended by him primarily as a popular defence based on coordinated strikes of both peoples which were contraposed by the bourgeoisies through a war (Jaurès 1911). It is not a coincidence that he was assassinated the day before the outbreak of the First World War.

¹⁵It is not a case that the main one of these revolutions was Polish revolution, where the main social actor was an Union, Solidarnosc and that its crucial event was workers' non-violent defense of a major site of Union's non-violent bargaining, i.e. the factory of Gdansk shipyards. As a fact, the new method to solve social conflicts inside factories, was extended by Solidarnosc to the entire social life.

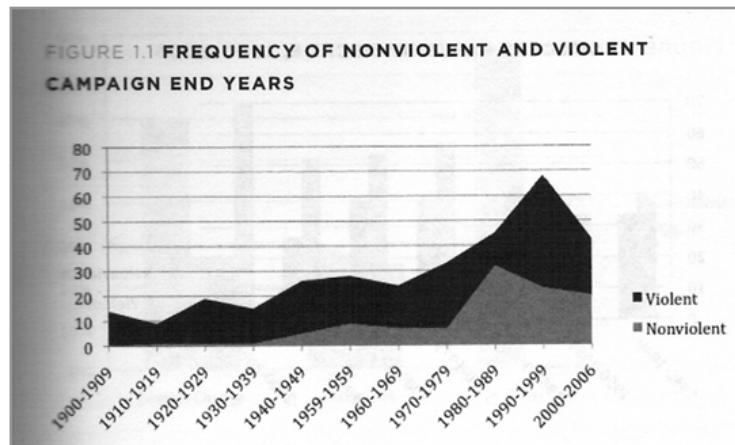


Figure 2: The Revolutions in Last Century

Fourth, the political importance of non-violent revolutions is great: 53% of them won, while only the 24% of violent revolutions was successful. In particular, in Latin America the percentage of victories of non-violent revolutions was 83% and in the former Soviet Union 80%. Last but not least, after a non-violent revolution the resulting government is more stable than after a violent revolution [18-22].

In the light of this appraisal of a century which was full of revolutions, we can conclude that Marx's ambiguities, deviant interpretations of his theory and deviations of Marxist movement from original proletariat's motivations have led to tragic consequences. Violent revolutions and wars have been stubbornly pursued by those who ironically believed they had a truly scientific conscience of mankind's history; and who therefore also opposed peoples' capability to carry out revolutions in a non-violent way (which half times was successful). The birth of a new kind of CR had to overcome even the opposition of Marxist movement planned, on a claimed scientific base, to liberate all peoples in the World.

In retrospect, we can conclude that the birth of Marxist movement was characterized by the birth of a radical alternative to the dominant society; but subsequently that movement gradually abandoned this alternative, owing to the ambiguities of both its political theory and its theory of CR, finally a catastrophic military one, yet considered as an unavoidable result of technological progress. Its political leadership, eventually of a dictatorial kind ignored any alternative to a violent revolution, notwithstanding this one threatened an imminent global destruction and maintained to the bitter end its deformed ideology. At last, the peoples of the Socialist Block demonstrated a wisely capacity to make revolutions according to a new theory of CR, the non-violent one.

The Current Perspective of the Pluralism of Development Models

In order to draw a deeper historical lesson than that of the many revolutions of the last century, we have to enlarge our attention to the entire history of Western civilization and there select the few revolutions which represent the most decisive ones for mankind history. We can certainly state that these revolutions are

those having changed the entire model of development (MoDv), that is at least one of the two basic choices of society: either the choice of the kind of organization or that of the kind of development. So we note that the MoDv based on the couple of choices AI&AO arose more than two centuries ago with the English (1688), American (1783) and French (1789) revolutions; the MoDv PI&OA arose with Lenin's revolution in Russia (1917). The MoDv AI&PO was born with the Iranian revolution of 1979 and then with the Arab spring of 2011. The MoDv PI&PO was perceived as an actor in world politics fifty years after the Indian revolution led by Gandhi took place; that is, after that non-violence spread throughout the World so much that in 1989 the non-violent revolutions of Eastern Europe's peoples took place; not only they have avert the immediate threat of a sudden destruction of all peoples targeted by a nuclear exchange between these two Blocks, but also they have cancelled the aberrations of the dominant Blocks, since, on one hand; they have brought down the "proletarian" dictatorships of the second MoDv and, on the other hand, in international politics they cancelled the World division of peoples, established in Yalta in 1945¹⁶.

In last century Russian revolution caused a mankind's trauma because it represented the first mass exiting out from the Western, consolidated MoDv. This revolution occurred in a backward country because, rather than a direct and unique alternative to the liberal MoDv it represented a merely centrifugal drive from it. After this revolution, its leaders chose the politics of developing only inside Russia the socialist MoDv ("The socialism in one country"). So that not only the communist Parties in other countries have been instrumentalized by a foreign development, but also the other MoDvs had to born in an independent way from, and also in opposition to the socialist MoDv. Eventually in 1989 the revolutions of Gandhian MoDv led mankind out of the antagonism of only the two established MoDvs (materialized by two Blocks including all countries), to enter into a co-existence of different MoDvs, as the pluralism of four MoDvs proposes. The birth of this pluralism was a shocking event in Western culture, which for centuries has been based on a CR of the type "win-lose", without co-existence agreements among previous enemies¹⁷. Hence, current political thought is disconcerted because it has to abandon a long theoretical tradition (at least the tradition of Hobbesian motto *Homo homini lupus*) that

¹⁶For a presentation of a general theory of non-violent politics see (Drago 2007).

¹⁷Evidence for this shock is, even after 30 years since the event occurred, the senseless historical appraisal: "The fall of Berlin wall", which nullifies the peoples as political actors, their non-violent method and their denial of the unique strategy planned by all States, the nuclear destruction.

in the past seemed irreplaceable, in order to move into a pluralism which in previous times never was theorized¹⁸. Arab springs claimed that also Arab countries want to be included inside this pluralist World [23, 24].

Today, the novelty of this pluralism of four MoDvs is not entirely manifest because, while the first three MoDv have - more or less powerful - representative states, instead the fourth MoDv does not yet have a representative state (not even India), but only movements from below (for example, that of the meetings of Porto Alegre), or simultaneous demonstrations around the world (the first one was in February 2003 against US war in Iraq; at present Greta's movement for Earth's survival). Hence the stronger States do not receive political pressures from States which represent the fourth MoDv (and if these States existed, would still be neglected by the stronger States, which still base international relations on their economic arrogance and nuclear deterrence, i.e. those kinds of actions that do not pertain to the fourth MoDv¹⁹).

The other two MoDvs (socialist and Arab) have representative States; but socialist MoDv, after the defeat of 1989, is blindly experimenting a new kind of politics and the Yellow MoDv has to emerge from a backward civilization which therefore Western MoDv can hope to absorb into its MoDv through colonialist methods, in particular (capitalist) market's economy and Western jurisprudence²⁰.

But today we can assume this pluralism precisely because it corresponds to the scientific one, based on the four MST. These MSTs offer the suitable scientific basis to every social group wanting to constitute and develop its own MoDv, even without an abrupt revolution. In particular, not before the present time people could plan a social revolution that knew well how to build a MoDv, because not before present time we knew that it has to be consistently forged on the two fundamental choices according to their specific language and strategy and according to the characteristic scientific attitude of the MST having the corresponding couple of choices [25].

In retrospect, according to previous appraisal on the history of Marxism six factors have been fatal for it:

1. In past times, the development of science and philosophy of science was inadequate to understand the fundamentals of the natural and social sciences, and thus to provide a truly scientific basis for planning a social revolution²¹.
2. Marx's attempt to build a new science of economy of his time was incomplete and insufficient.
3. The leadership of the Marxist movement had an even lesser understanding of scientific culture and historical consciousness.
4. Moreover, it unfortunately never devoted attention to the theory of CR, although workers and unions have already started to renew it; inasmuch as it chose the violence, i.e. the

backward (capitalist) attitude in CR, in fact it acted against its own politics of introducing people into a truly new society. Most leaders of Second International assumed the violent approach to the resolution of class conflict; so that both the practice of hard dictatorships on the peoples conquered by socialism and technological arms' race prevailed over a continuous improvement of the political theory.

5. The success of the first Marxist revolution inside a backwards country put the revolutionary movement in a very difficult situation because both the movement and its leadership ignored to represent more than the starting of a local alternative for exiting out the first MoDv. It ignored the final stage of the historical evolution of Western civilization, not the victory of a particular group of Western society on the other ones, till up their suppressions, and also in the World, but the coexistence of more political attitudes. In other words, it ignored the historical introduction of a new history of pluralism of MoDvs; in particular a society actuating the nonviolent CR [26-29].
6. No surprise if USSR accepted the slavery of the Taylorism and catastrophic military wars; and moreover it failed to found (through the philosophy of the 'dialectical materialism', Diamat) a false alternative social science and a false alternative natural science too (remember the fiasco of Lysenko's experiment).

As a consequence, the greatest and most generous attempt of mankind's history, elicited by Marxist movement, in order to change capitalist Western society into a world civilization of "a human sociality and a social humanity" failed.

Under the light of the pluralism of the four MoDvs, in retrospect we see that Marxist movement has the great historical merit of having started the first exit out the first MoDv materialized by Western society, and then, after the victory of Russian revolution, the merit of having elicited along seventy years the attempt of an alternative in order to constituted a new MoDv; i.e. in this period it had the task of breaking the monopoly of the Western MoDv and in addition to anticipate, for better or for worse, a pluralism that still today waits to be fully developed.

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¹⁸Recently Jürgen Habermas (Habermas 1998) tried to propose a cultural and political pluralism.

¹⁹Within a country "realist" politicians see each movement of the Green MDS as only pre-political, useful when it is channeled into their realpolitik programs, and, in the end, useful to take innovative cues and to extract from it budding leaders. Here there is all the opposition between the "two policies": on the one hand, the innovative one of the movements from below and, on the other, the conservative one of the States and of all their institutions (decision-making and power), in particular the dominant political institution: that of the Jacobin-type parties (turned to win 50%+1 of the votes to impose their own programme on everyone).

²⁰As a reaction to this approach among the States of these MoDvs, extremist groups (in the socialist MoDv South American guerrillas and in the Yellow MoDv the ISIS) want conquer through an armed struggle alternative States.

²¹It is primarily for this reason that some of Marx's followers (Bogdanov, V. Adler, Bernal, Sohn-Rethel, etc.) rightly attempted a new interpretation of the history of science, even though their efforts were ultimately unsuccessful, having failed to discover the alternative choices.

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