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## **Pluralism in Communism: Ideology in Conflict : Communist Political Theory**

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should not in the slightest detract from its being a process or from its being creative" (pp. 286-287).

Thus, the greatest shortcoming of the Cuban Church in its hour of crisis was its inability to create. It was not a creative force because of its deterministic mentality, its authoritarianism, and its despairing withdrawal from the world; all of which are a denial of the humanity of Christ and of His Mystical Body. It is in this sense primarily that Dewart points to the Cuban Church as the main factor in Cuba's becoming a communist state. For when a people were searching for an answer, and when the Church should have spoken, it remained silent.

This is the lesson of Cuba which Dewart proposes to the entire Church. "It is worth underlining once more the fact that the Church risks above all a spiritual failure. What must be feared is not so much the danger of persecution as the possibility that the emerging catholic universe might remain outside the World Church. What must be feared is not so much that it shall suffer as that it might fail; not so much that the world might crush it as that the world might pass it by; not so much that the Church's mission might be opposed by others as that it might be left unfulfilled by us..." (p. 185).

The book jacket describes this essay as a fearless condemnation of the prevailing opinions of our society. Its spirit is better captured in Dewart's quotation from a pastoral letter (May 14, 1962) of Bishop Huyghe of Arras, Boulogne and St. Omer: "That man is a Catholic who opens himself to all... He is a Catholic who... becomes... overwhelmed by distress, whatever form that distress may take. He is a Catholic who instinctively rejects everything that is a source of division, who cannot meet anyone without tirelessly seeking out an area of agreement. He is a Catholic who sees in each man not... the label which is applied to him, of unbeliever, or Protestant, or Jew, or Communist, but the brother for whom Christ died, and who has been placed in his path in order to receive his love" (p. 89).

R. EUGENE MORAN

## PLURALISM IN COMMUNISM

### IDEOLOGY IN CONFLICT: COMMUNIST POLITICAL THEORY.

By Dieter Dux. Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1963. vii, 198 pp.

This book is a collection of documents from Russia, Red China and Yugoslavia. Some are official papers of the various communist parties,

some are newspaper reports about official party documents and about events in the communist world. The collection covers the period from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956 to the 22nd Congress in October 1961.

Professor Dux begins his book with a historical survey of international communism, attempting to explain the differences between Russia and Yugoslavia and the disagreements between Stalin and Tito on how the revolution in Yugoslavia had to be conducted. Also examined are the different views of Stalin and Mao on the planning and execution of the revolution in China. Both revolutions, the Yugoslavian as well as the Chinese, Professor Dux notes, succeeded; the communist parties of both countries swept away a bourgeois-capitalist government, but because both Tito and Mao had refused to pattern their revolutions according to Stalin's ideas. This introductory essay also deals with the troubles of communism in Poland and Hungary, and with the subsequent events that saved communism in these countries. Albania's differences with Khrushchev's regime in Russia are also discussed. Disregarding Khrushchev's policies, Albania, it seems, had continued following the more militant ideologies of Stalin. For doing so, it gained Red China's support against the "new" ideas of Khrushchev's Russia.

The main body of the book is divided into seven parts, each ultimately serving to illustrate the ideological differences that divide the communist block, especially Russia, Yugoslavia, China and Albania. The seven parts explain respectively: (1) the redefinition of doctrine in the 20th Century Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; (2) the experiments to separate roads to Socialism, an examination, that is, of national communism and revolution; (3) the readjustment of policy, which is a study of diversity and the 1957 Congress of Communist Parties, (4) the struggle with right-wing revisionism; (5) the exposition of left-wing dogmatism; (6) the unity of opposites and the 1960 Conference of eighty-one Communist Parties; and (7) the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Party of the Soviet Union, and the Albanian issue.

Until World War II, most people in the non-communist world believed that communism was a real united international organization begun, inspired and controlled by the Soviet Union. The war, however, demonstrated that Russian communism did not have all the answers, that Yugoslavia, China, Poland and Hungary had their own problems which had no parallels in the history of Russian communism, which, therefore, could not be solved according to the lessons learned from it. As Leninism and, later, Stalinism differed to a certain extent from the doctrines of Marx and Engels, so, it seems, did Chinese and Yugoslavian communism (as well as Albanian) differ from the ideas of Lenin and Stalin. Each had its own peculiar character, determined by the context

of each country, to contribute towards the development of world communism. Often, the works of the various prophets and theoreticians of communism have been supposed to compose a unique doctrine; the fact, however, is that they do not. Lenin and Stalin were confronted with problems for which Marx and Engels had not provided answers; so it was with Tito and Mao.

In a brief introduction to each part, Professor Dux describes the contexts and main themes of the documents that follow. All these documents are statements of policy, accusations as well as counter-accusations made by Russia, China, Albania and Yugoslavia. There are also records that reveal the attempts made by each of these four countries to establish unity. All four, for example, have issued statements agreeing in principle that communism must develop its own way in each country, and that all communist countries should help one another, and, finally, that no one country would interfere with the internal working of communism in any other country. Still, other records betray basic differences. China, for instance, accuses Yugoslavia of being revisionist, a traitor because it has signed alliances with non-communist nations. China accuses Russia of Reformism because it has upheld the doctrine of peaceful co-existence and has discarded the Marxian dogma that there must be a revolution, either national or international, in order that the world be won to Communism. Albania, one notes, supports China, and China, in turn, defends Albania against Russia. There is, of course, some agreement. Communist nations are great and good; capitalist are imperialist, a threat to world peace. Communists do not export revolution, nor ever cause any trouble; they are not colonizers, nor imperial; they only take part in just wars when driven to them by the evil capitalist countries.

The differences, however, remain. It seems clear that communist countries in the future will have to fear other communist nations as much as non-communist countries. Although communist dogma has been supposed to be unique, there seems to be a desperate need among communist themselves for a good exegesis of this dogma. In the past, communists have often deceived the West by their double talk; now it seems they have begun to confuse one another as well. It becomes more obvious that Communism is now a *pluralism*. In these documents, it remains true, however, that communists all over the world are brothers, united against the evil capitalist and imperialist world. At the same time though, Russia cannot be wrong; China is always right; Yugoslavia cannot make mistakes; and Albania is infallible.

Professor Dux is to be congratulated for having put together in one volume these documents and their histories and explanations. Foreign Office personnel in the free countries would do well to study them again, though it is supposed and hoped that they shall have read the documents already. Students of political science should

read and re-read this book. Now that Khrushchev has been removed, the book may be for some an historical account merely of foreign policy difficulties peculiar to a particular communist regime. This, however, seems untrue. The book reveals that there is a great deal in the communist world that is not going to make unity easier as time goes by. There are different dogmas, because that is what the combination of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Tito has produced. The book also helps one find answers to questions concerning the nature of world communism, and form plans and policies in one's confrontations with communism.

AUSTIN DOWD

## A HANDBOOK ON PHILIPPINE LIFE

POLITICS IN THE PHILIPPINES. By Jean Grossholtz. Boston: Little, Brown, 1964. 293 pp.

Since 1946 there have been very few American works dealing with Philippine life in general. There have been some specialized studies concerning agrarian reform, communist subversion, or the struggle for independence. But aside from the four volume study prepared nearly a decade ago by the Human Relations Area File group at the University of Chicago, there has been no examination of Filipino life in its totality by an American scholar. Professor Jean Grossholtz has written a small but interesting analysis of the history, politics, social and economic life of the Philippines. A student of the Philippines might very well discover nothing startling in this small volume. In fact, he might even find a few historical inaccuracies. But then Professor Grossholtz' book was not meant for the specialist. It was designed to serve the needs of a college course in comparative government. It is part of a series that Little, Brown is bringing out under the editorship of Professors Almond, Coleman and Pye. The only serious limitation in this volume is the lack of a bibliography. The few footnotes, do serve to indicate the sources which were used.

MICHAEL P. ONORATO

## THE PHILIPPINES AND PRESIDENT MCKINLEY

IN THE DAYS OF MCKINLEY. By Margaret Leech. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959. 686 pp.